RELATIONS OF THE MOST FAMOVS KINGDOMES AND Common-wealths thorowout the WORLD:

Diſcourſing of their Situations, Religions, Languages, Manners, Cuſtomes, Strengths, Greatneſſe and Policies.

Tranſlated out of the beſt *Italian* Impreſſion of *Botero*.

And ſince the laſt Edition by *R. I.*

Now once againe inlarged according to moderne obſervation;

With Addition of new Eſtates and Countries.

Wherein many of the overſights both of the Author and *Tranſlator, are amended.*

And unto which, a Mappe of the whole World, with a Table of the *Countries, are now newly added.*



LONDON,
Printed by IOHN HAVILAND, and are to be ſold by IOHN PARTRIDGE at the ſigne of the Sunne in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1630.

1923

SOLD FROM
H. I. WHITAKER,
LIBRARIAN.
LINCOLN'S INN LIBRARY

TO THE READER.

THat this Author hath beene ſo carefully tranſlated into the Latine, Spaniſh, French and Engliſh languages, is a concluding argument (to me) that no man of thoſe Nations hath hitherto written ſo well in this Argument: elſe, what needed they to tranſlate him? Nay, and doubly tranſlated hee hath beene; not onely into their tongues, but into their bookes; ſeeing that all the Writers of Geographie, ſince his time, have tranſlated no ſmall part of him into their Writings. Of ſome of which, what is from hence borrowed, is their very chiefe credit and ornament. How much (I pray) hath that voluminous

French *Writer* (*translated into* Latine *by* Godofredus, *and into* English *by* * *our* Mr. Grimestone) *beene beholding unto this Author? How much hath that* * *Turncoat Apostatizing Plagiarie, that Enemie and Threatner of our* English *Nation, closely lurcht out of this Author? Some of our owne have beene more ingenuous, to name him when they quote him: and thats faire play.*

* The States of the world.
* *Petrus Bertius.*

What the Setters forth of the two former Editions, in our language, meant in concealing his name, we will not doe them so much wrong as to gheſſe at. Our Title page *acknowledges him to be that famous* Botero, *the* Italian: *a Writer, that still passes amongst his owne people not only for a* Wit, *but for a* Iudgement. *His way of writing is his owne; for tis* New: *and to commend the usefulnesse of it let this be enough, that the nimblest Politico's of these active times could (perchance) have wisht, That the Relations of* Giovanni Botero *had only beene in their owne Libraries. That in this third Edition we have taken upon us to adde some new Discourses, and to Augment divers of the old; we were emboldned unto by the voyces and judgements of the Buyers,*

whom

whom we perceived to be better pleased with those inlargements in the second Edition, than with the first. In what we have done, we have bound our selves to the Authors way and method: and how much wee have added, the next Page *shall tell you.*

We must not in the meane time conceale from you, how that divers of the Italians (*who are as naturall haters, as they are fearers of the* Spanish *greatnesse*) *have taken the same exceptions to* Botero, *that the* French *of old did to* Froissart: *who for writing so gloriously of the* English *victories, and so truly of the* French *overthrowes; have thought to disgrace his whole storie, by calling him a Pensioner of* England, *and a man hired to write by the good* Rose-nobles *of* England: *In like manner hath* Botero (*say some*) *beene suspected to have had a feeling of the* Spanish *Pistolets, for that hee hath written so magnificently of that Nation. This hath made us so wary and so carefull withall, by the truth of history to examine whatsoever might that way seeme hyperbolicall. Some things in that kinde wee had rather leave to be amended by your judgements, than either too much to wrong that Nation,*

or to correct our Copie by bringing it under our Index Expurgatorius.

Our Author deſerves rather to bee numbred among the Polititians, than amongſt the Hiſtorians or Geographers. *Tis to his purpoſe ſometimes to deliver you the ſituation of the Countrey he diſcourſes upon; ſo to ſhew you, firſt the Greatneſſe of each Kingdome: Secondly, how formidable or helpefull each Prince is likely to prove to his next neighbour; out of which two conſiderations, ariſe moſt of thoſe leagues, Alliances, and thoſe other Tyes of State, betwixt Kingdome and Kingdome. Thirdly, wee hence learne, how ſuddenly either Forces or Merchandizes may bee tranſported from one Nation to another. And all theſe helpe him to relate of the Greatneſſe and Riches of each Kingdome; which to doe, bee two of his maine purpoſes. The* Hiſtorie *that hee makes uſe of, is to ſhew you the valours of people, the power of taking opportunities, the advantages of the uſe of ſeverall weapons, &c. and that is alſo to his purpoſe. Both* Geographie *and* Hiſtory *together (which bee the two favourite ſtudies of the times) doe ſerve finally for the delight*

of

To the Reader.

of the Reader; *and doe altogether make up our Author into a complete and a fine companion for Gentlemen, for Souldiers, for Schollers, and for all men to passe the time withall: and for such an one we here commend him to your acquaintance. Fare well; and make him your owne.*

RE-

Relations newly added, or very much inlarged in this Edition.

Newly added.

Most of the Chapter of *Observation.*
Navarre. 194
The Lords the Estates part of the *Low-Countries.* 200
Urbine. 361
Mantua. 362
Millaine. 316
Savoy. 364
Malta. 373
Transylvania. 394
Estate of *Bethlen Gabor* in *Hungaria.* 399
A briefe Chronicle of his birth and fortunes. 399
The *Palatinate.* 285
Brandenburg. 300

Inlarged.

Roman Empire. 281
Bavaria. 301
Genoa. 337
Tuscanie. 324
Sicily. 369
Bohemia. 376

With divers others altered and amended thorow out the whole: and some new Additions in the *Indies*, not here mentioned.

RELATIONS of the World.

The First Booke:

Of Observation.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE

BEing to relate of the *Customes, Manners*, and *Potencies* of *Nations* and great *Princes*, my scope shall not bee to trouble your Readings with prooфes out of such obsolete Authors as are accounted very ancient, for with these Themes (by reason of Indiscoverie) those Ages were not so well acquainted: Againe, their Observations, Rules, and Caveats being not so well digested, nothing so certaine as ours of these lightsomer times, were neither so pleasant nor so usefull as these more assured & more moderne Relations. Time and the Warres have altered much since *Aristotle* and *Ptolomies* dayes; whose Rules and Observations have since growne partly out of use, and beene partly bettered. I cannot certainly subscribe to the opinions of such Philosophers, who building all upon Influences and Constellations, will have the faculties of Soules and Bodies to bee governed by the Starres and Climates: But my meaning is to lay downe some few Observations arising from the immutable provi-

dence of Nature, which remaineth constant, immortall, and is never changed, unlesse by Accident, Violence, or Times tyrannie; which notwithstanding in the revolution of an Age or two, returneth againe to its prime operation. From thence I will descend to discourse of such Reasons, as may in all probabilitie give occasion or advantage to one Prince or Nation to excell another either in keeping or inlarging. Thirdly, I will lay downe some Instructions for travell. And comming in the last place to the particular Relations of our Author, wee will premise a more exact and large description of the Countrey, and the chiefe Cities of note in it: Leaving all to your favourable construction.

Of the division of Temperature.

FIrst therefore, according to best *Authoritie*, let us firmely beleeve, That the Creator of all things hath not bestowed upon any particular Region like and semblable blessings to another; but that (as experience may warrant) to some one Countrey he hath given this good favour, to another that; partly in regard of situation, partly by operation of his ministers, as starres, winds, heat, cold, water, aire, diet, &c. *Athenis tenue cœlum, Thebis crassum: Athens enjoyes a cleare skie, and Thebes a foggie.* And therefore without offence, by the testimonie of good Authors, wee may bee bold to conjecture, that the people & Nations inhabiting divers climates of this vast Universe, are endowed with divers, strange, and opposite dispositions: It is naturall to the Inhabitants bounding upon the *North*, to be biggest boned, strongest set, and aptest for labour: and to the nations of the *South*, to bee weake, yet more subtill. *Acutiores Attici, valentes Thebani; The Athenians are the sharper witted, but the Thebans are the abler bodied.*

Now,

¶ Now, how farre theſe Influences of *North* and *South* ſtretch in operation; or where the *Eaſt* and *Weſt* put periods to their owne potencies; or what, in generall truth, is to be affirmed of their divers manners and qualities, is hard to ſay; and the harder, for that no man hitherto hath preſumed to undertake the taske amidſt ſo many obſcurities. For if all credit ſhould be given to *Hippocrates*, (whoſe authoritie was ever held oraculous) he will tell you, *That the people of the North are ſlender, dwarfiſh, lean and ſwarthie:* And *Averrois* will be bold to affirme, *That the mountaine people are moſt pious and wittie:* whereas univerſall experience doth condemne them of rudeneſſe and barbariſme. *The ignorance of the Ancients* (ſaith *Bodin*) *was once ſo groſſe, that not a few of them deemed the Ocean a River, all Iberia but a Citie.*

And becauſe all the *Ancients* in like error (except *Poſſidonius* and *Avicen*) limited the poſſibilitie of habitation, to conſiſt wholly betweene the Tropikes and the polar Circles; affirming, that beyond there was no health, no place peopled, &c. let this erroneous imagination for evermore be ſilenced, by the authoritie of all moderne Navigators, who have found the wholſomeſt and beſt peopled Countries of all thoſe parts, to lie under the Æquator: and the regions ſituated under the Tropikes, to bee tormented with more rigorous heat. *Alvarez* reporteth, that the *Abaſſine* Embaſſador arriving at *Liſbon* in *Portugall*, was that day almoſt choaked with heat; and yet is *Abaſſia* or *Preſter Iohns* country from whence he came, neere upon 30. degrees more Southerly than *Liſbon* is: yea, and betweene the *Tropike* of *Cancer* and the *Æquator* alſo, part of it lying even beyond the *Line*. And *Purquer* the *Germane* reported, that he had felt the weather hotter about *Dantzike*, and the *Baltike* Sea, than at *Tholouza* in a fervent Summer; notwithſtanding that *Dantzike* be farre more Northerly than *Tholouza*. And this is no paradox: The cauſe with good iudgement being to bee aſcribed to the groſſneſſe and thicknеſſe of the aire; conſidering that *Europe* and the *North* are full of waters; which burſting out from

hidden and unknowne concavities, doe produce infinite bogs, fens, lakes, and mariſhes, in the Summer ſeaſons cauſing thicke vapours to aſcend. Which (without doubt) being incorporated with heat, ſcorch more fervently, than the purer aire of *Affrike*, being ſtored with no ſuch ſuperabundance of watry elements: Even ſo fire, being inveſted in the body of liquors, or metals, ſcaldeth more furiouſly than in wood; and in wood, more fervently than in flame. And if the keepers of ſtoves and hot houſes, doe not ſprinkle the ground with water, that the vapour being contracted and the aire thickned, they may thereby the longer and better maintaine heat, and ſpare fuell; you muſt (for me) wander into the ſchooles of more profound Philoſophers for further ſatisfaction.

Of the Situation of Nations.

NOw to the South-wards, wee will limit the hithermoſt *Spaniards*, the *Siculi*, the *Peloponneſians*, the *Cretenſians*, the *Syrians*, the *Arabians*, the *Perſians*, the *Suſians*, the *Gedroſii*, the *Indians*, the *Ægyptians*, the *Cirenians*, the *Africans*, the *Numidians*, the *Libians*, the *Moores*, and the people of *Florida* in *America*, to be ſituated: but with this caveat, that thoſe wholly to the Weſt-wards in the ſame latitude, live in a more cold temperature.

The people of the North, I meane to be thoſe, which live under the fortieth degree to the ſixtieth: and thoſe of more temperature, who extend to the ſeventieth. Vnder the firſt are ſituated, *Brittaine*, *Ireland*, *Denmarke*, part of *Gotland*, *Netherland*, and thoſe Countries, which from the River of *Maſe* ſtretch to the outmoſt borders of *Scythia* and *Tartaria*, containing a good portion of *Europe*, and the greater *Aſia*.

The inhabitants of the *Midale Region*, as being ſubject neither to extreme heat, nor to extreme cold, I place betweene both *Extremes*, and yet able to endure both, with indifferent content. I alſo terme that the *Middle Region*, which lieth betweene the Tropike and the Pole; and not that which lieth betweene the Tropike and the Line: becauſe the extremitie of heat is not ſo forcibly felt under the Line (as aforeſaid) as under the Tropikes. So that, that cannot be accounted the temperate climate, which extendeth from the thirtieth degree to the fortieth; but that which beginneth at the fortieth, and endeth at the fiftieth: and the neerer Eaſt the more temperate. Vnder which tract, lie the further *Spaine*, *France*, *Italie*, the higher *Germanie*, (as farre as the *Maſe*) both *Hungaries*, *Illyria*, both *Myſiaes*, *Dacia*, *Moldavia*, *Macedon*, *Thrace*, and the better part of *Aſia* the leſſe, *Armenia*, *Parthia*, *Sogdiana*, and a great part of *Aſia* the great. And the neerer the Eaſt, the more temperate, although they ſomewhat incline to the South-ward, as *Lydia*, *Cilicia*, *Aſia*, *Media*, *&c.*

The ancient *Greekes* and *Romanes* both to ſet forth their owne skill in Geographie and Philoſophie, and withall to make ſhew of the largeneſſe of their conqueſts; with ignorance and idleneſſe enough, did like the *Chinois* at this day repreſent their owne kingdome in the map, as bigge as all the reſt of the world beſides. They therefore dividing the heavens into five *Zones*, made three of them utterly inhabitable: In thoſe two next the Poles their philoſophy judged not much amiſſe; for though no man of *Europe* hath beene neere to either of them, yet at that diſtance were the diſcoverers, yea the Seas themſelves frozen up with moſt inſufferable cold; and theſe the Ancients rightly called, The *frozen Zones*. But in that which is called the *Torride Zone*, their philoſophy was much miſtaken. This *Zone* takes up all that ſpace which is betwixt the two *Tropicks*, and is equally divided by the *Æquinoctiall* line; the whole breadth of the *Zone* being 47. degrees, that is, 2820. Italian miles of ground. Now in this vaſt tract to imagine, all heat and no

temperature ſufficient for a man to live in, was but an errour of the times, bewraying their owne unexperience, and the uncertainty of ſpeculative philoſophie.

It is true indeed, that neere unto the North pole men thinking to draw in their breaths, are in danger to have their throats pluggd up with an Iſicle: and the *Dutchmen* wintering in *Nova Zembla*, had their houſe covered with ſnow for nine or ten moneths together, nor could they get themſelves a heat with all the fire they could make. But there is not the ſame reaſon for the inſufferableneſſe of heat, that there is of cold. Heat is the friend of life and nature, and cold the great enemie and nipper of *vegetation*: And whereas cold can without doors receiue no temperer; heat on the contrarie is capable of very many. For ſo hath the moſt wiſe *God* ordered his Creation, that under the *Torride Zone*, there is moſt abundant plentie of waters; Rain-water, Snow-water, Sea-water, Lake-water, River-water, and Spring-water. As for their raines, even the heats cauſe them; for in thoſe moneths, when the Sunne is verticall, and right over their heads, and at that time of the day when he ſcorches from the height of his Meridian, at high noone dayes, even then moſt plentifully doth hee diſſolve the clouds; and the raines at that time quench his flames moſt temperately. At mid-day alſo have they (and that conſtantly) thoſe coole and gentle winds, which the *Spaniards* call the *Brizes*. In thoſe parts have they the moſt mighty Rivers; witneſſe the *Orelian* 70. leagues in bredth, and that of *Plate*, 40. leagues over; with divers others not much ſtreighter than our narrow Seas. There have they the Lake *Titicaca*, 80. leagues compaſſe; *Nicuragua*, 300. miles long; and the Lake of *Alexico* 1100. miles about. To come on this ſide the Line (yet ſtill under the *Torride Zone*) where can you finde ſuch impetuous raines continually falling for ſome whole moneths together, and ſuch vaſt Lakes and Rivers as in *Æthiopia*? the mouth of the River *Zairo* is 20. miles wide; nay, and in theſe places the rivers content not themſelves with their owne chan-

nels,

nels, but in the hotteſt moneths they then overflow the whole country, witneſſe the *Nile* and the *Niger*: Another commoditie of theſe waters is this, that the winds skimming over the face of them, fannes the coole vapour all over thoſe quarters. Nay, as if this were not enough, wee ſee that *God* hath provided water even in living and growing Ceſternes; the hollow truncks of moſt tree-like canes being full of water, and thoſe coole a little alſo; ſuch be plentifull in the *Moluccas*, even under the *Æquinoctiall*. Beſides all this, hath nature provided thoſe parts of many high mountaines, which caſt long ſhadowes, and mightily keepe off the Sun; yea, and which you would wonder at, even in that continuall neighbourhood of that great *Thawer* have you hils perpetually covered with froſt & ſnow: ſo is it in the Ile of Saint *Thomas*, which is juſt under the *Æquinoctiall*; and ſo are the ſilver hills of *Potoſſi* alſo. The generall cauſer of theſe ſnowes and colds is held to be the length of the nights (whoſe long and frequent intermiſſions be another maine occaſion of temper and cooling) and theſe are generally, and all the yeare, the neerer the Line, the longer, being there equall with the dayes themſelves; ſo that there it ſnowes and freezes as much in the night, as the Sun thawes in the day; theſe ſnow-waters being naturally more cold than other waters alſo. For theſe and other reaſons have our men of *Europe* found not people alone, but even white people, and moſt delicate and temperate dwelling (perchance the beſt in the world) in this *Torride Zone*, yea, under the very *Æquinoctiall*; yea, much cooler Summers, than in *Eſtramedura* in *Spaine*, or *Apulia* in *Italy*. To conclude this point, the ancient *Romanes* who lookt for nothing but roſt-meat in that *Zone*, and that raw men could not poſſibly live there, were a great deale worſe ſcorched in their owne *Italy*; nor have thoſe under the *Torride Zone* ſo much need of the *Romane Grottaes* or *Freskataes* for to coole them.

Of

Of the Constitutions, Complexions, and Natures of the Northerne man.

GEnerally, both in the *North*, in the *South*, as also in the *Middle*, you shall observe great difference both of fashion and qualitie, occasioned (no question) through the intermingled resort from both *Extremes*. But in the *Extremes* you shall see no such apparant diversitie. For the assured token of a *Scythians* countenance is, his reddish eye like those of the Owle, which also doe dazle at the sight of the light. Such eyes (saith *Plutarch*) haue the *Cimbrians*, and such at this day the *Danes*. The *Germanes* and the *Brittish* have them not so fierie, but rather grey, intermixed with a bright blackenesse, most resembling the colour of water. And this bright-shining colour (saith *Aristotle*) argueth heat: but blacke (the colour of the Southerne people) betokeneth want thereof. The grey eye (and such is theirs who inhabite betweene both) is sharpest of sight, seldome troubled with dimnesse; and according to *Aristotle*, denoteth good qualities: the Red, crueltie and austeritie, as *Plinie* and *Plutarch* observed of *Sylla*, *Cato*, and *Augustus*.

The bloud also of the *Scythian* is full of small strings, such as are discernable in the goare of Bulls and Boares, and betokeneth strength and courage. The people of the South haue their bloud thinne and fluent, like to that of the Hare and Hart, and denoteth feare. Whereupon it may be conjectured, that those Nations which are spread from the fortieth degree to the seventie five Northward, are hot within: but the people of the South, what they borrow from the Sunne, that they want in themselves; the inward heat being dispersed and drawne into the outward parts by the vehemencie of the outward heat: A reason why

in

in frosty weather our minds and joynts are courágious and strong: in heat, idle, and lazie; and so our appetites and digestion more vehement in Winter than in Summer, (especially if the Northerne winds be stirring.) The Southerne winds effect the contrary in all living creatures (saith *Aristotle*) as may daily be observed amongst the *English*, the *Germans*, and the *French*, travelling into *Italy* and *Spaine*: where if they live not sparingly, they fall into surfets; witnesse *Philip* Duke of *Austria*, living in *Spaine* after his *Germane* gourmandizing fashion.

Againe, the *Spaniards*, who in their owne Countries live most niggardly, in our parts of the world prove better trencher-men than the natives. And this experiment falleth not out true in men onely, but also in beasts, which (as herdsmen affirme) being driven towards the South, fall away and lose flesh: but if they feed towards the North, they prosper and wax fat. Which I the rather beleeve, for that *Leo Afer* writeth, that throughout all *Afrike* you shall almost see no herds of Cattell, nor Horse, few flocks of Sheepe, and scarce any milke at all. On the other side, the goodly droves of the *English*, the *Germans*, and the *Scythians*, are celebrated of all writers: not because their pastures are better, or sweeter than those of the South, (by the censure of *Plinie*) but for the nature and temperature of the Heavens, and the Ayre.

And as the Northerne man by nature is hot and moist, (the Elements of fecunditie) so there is no question, but that of all people they are, and have beene, the most populous. For from the *Goths*, the *Scythians*, the *Germans*, and the *Scandians*, not onely vast desarts, and goodly Cities have beene founded, and inhabited, but from their loynes also have Colonies beene derived thorowout all *Europe*. Well therefore might *Methodius*, and *P. Diaconus* resemble their Armies to swarmes of Bees. And most true it is, that *Iornandes* and *Olaus* terme the North, the Store-house of mankinde; because from thence the *Goths*, the *Gepidæ*, the *Hunnes*, the *Cimbrians*, the *Lombards*, the *Alani*, the *Burgundians*,

gundians, the *Normans*, the *Picts*, the *Heruli*, the *Swevians*, the *Slavi*, the *Swizzers*, and the *Russians* have not denied to fetch their pedigrees.

Which maketh me to muse, upon what reasons *Hippocrates* could build to say, That the Northerne Nations were unapt for generation, *causa frigiditatis*; whereas the conjectures of heat and moisture, argued in their hot and fervent breathings, proceeding from the stomacke, and more apparant in Winter than in Summer, are not so effectually verified in any people, as in the inhabitants of the North. The true motives, I say, of promptnesse to generation, and not of sensuall concupiscence, as *Aristotle* also would have us to imagine: A vice more proper to the Southerne man; performance to the Northerne man.

Which indifferent limitation, was (without doubt) allotted to either climate by the handy-worke of God; that those who were of sufficiencie for generation, should not greatly be addicted to pleasures; & the residue which wanted of that measure of heat and moisture, should delight in wantonnesse, to raise their appetites; without the which, they would neither propagate their issue, nor by inter-marriages maintaine humane societie.

And that this inward heat also maketh the people of the North more couragious, taller, and stronger, than the Nations of the South, is apparantly discernable, not in our parts onely (bythe operation of nature) but also in the people dwelling beyond the Tropike of *Capricorne*: where the more they decline from the Æquator, the more they spread in stature and tallnesse. For the land of the *Pentagones* (of some termed Giants) is situated under the same latitude that *Germanie* is.

Which assertions holding true, it is no wonder that this strong and couragious people, the *Scythians*, have from the beginning cruelly invaded the South, erecting therein many goodly Trophies: whereas from the South hath scarce ever beene attempted a journey worth speaking of, to the indammagement of the North.

The

The *Assyrians* vanquished the *Caldeans*: the *Medes*, the *Assyrians*: the *Greeks*, the *Persians*: the *Parthians*, the *Greekes*: the *Romans*, the *Carthaginians*: the *Goths*, the *Romans*: the *Turks*, the *Arabians*: the *Tartars*, the *Turkes*: and beyond *Danubius*, the *Romans* were ever unwilling to attempt. Indeed *Trajan* erected an admirable bridge of stone over that River; for it had twentie arches, the ruines whereof (by report) are to be seene at this day. But after that the same *Trajan* perceived, that those Nations were neither easily beaten, nor being beaten, would or could away with subjection, he commanded the bridge to be broken. Semblably, the *English* have given the *French*, and *Spanish*, many famous overthrowes, especially to the *French* in *France* it selfe, even to the hazard of their State; and yet never could either of both the Nations, at any time, (though often attempted) set sure footing in *England*.

These inrodes of the aforesaid barbarous Nations, I would not reiterate, but that in them (to mine understanding) the grievous threats of *Ezechiel*, *Ieremie*, *Esay*, and the rest of the Prophets, *That from the North should arise warres, footmen, horsemen, and the ruine of kingdomes*; have beene, in, and by them accomplished: and most properly ought to bee referred to that fore-divided partition, which stretcheth from the five and fortieth degree, to the fiftieth and five, where *Biarmia* is situated. For those which dwell beyond (being either none, or very few) are dried up, (to use *Hippocrates* his terme) with as vehement cold, as the people living under the Tropikes are with heat: Not by reason of their inward heat, (as *Aristotle* in his *Meteors* dreamed) but by the rigour of the cold, piercing their bodies, and wasting their humours; unto which humours, the Northerne people are generally subject. A manifest signe whereof, is their immoderate drinking, which in the *Saxons*, and the inhabitants of the *Baltike* Sea, could never yet be moderated by time, nor statutes. And that these humours cause the body to spread, let the Monsters of the Sea, resolve our doubts, who grow to that immensive vastnesse,

above all other living creatures, *propter humiditatis copiam*.

But (as I take it) this overmuch moiſture in the Northerne people, turneth them often into many grievous inconveniences. For if you obſerve any of thoſe Nations to travell towards the South, or to make warres in hot Countries, you ſhall finde them to faint and periſh through immoderate ſweating: as *Plutarch*, in the life of *Marius*, obſerved in the Rhewmatike bodies of the *Cimbrians*: And as experience manifeſteth in the Horſe, who being by nature hot and moiſt, liveth barely in *Æthiopia*, and liketh well in *Scythia*; whereas on the contrary, the Aſſe, being cold and drie, is luſtie, and of good ſervice in *Afrike*; in *Europe*, poore and baſe; in *Scythia*, not to be found.

And what now we have ſpoken of the ſtrength and courage of men, is obſerved alſo to be true of horſes. The Turkiſh and Barbary horſes, are like their Maſters, rather well limbd and well ſpirited, than for labour or long journeyes. The Spaniſh Iennet, like the men of his nation, quickly proves good for a ſouldier, both beſt, when beſt capariſond. The Hungarian is a fierce aſſailant, and his horſe muſt bee lookt too for feare of running away with the Coach. The high and low Dutch are bigge boned, but foggie people, and the Germane horſe is not to travell above thirtie miles a day; that nation admires a poore Engliſh Hackney. The Tartar is a ſtubbed ſquat fellow, hard bred, and ſuch are their horſes. And ſo for our Engliſh.

Of the people of the South.

THe people of the South, as concerning the conſtitutions of their bodies, are ſaid to be cold, drie, thickeskin'd, thinne and ſhort hair'd, weake, browne, ſmall timbred, blacke eyed, and ſhrill voiced: the Northerne men contrarie, and the middle people indifferently participating of both. The *Spaniſh* women terme the *Germanes*, *Mallespiſces*, that is, ſpongie fiſhes, for their continuall drinking; and in *Italy* and *Provence*, the inhabitants doe much

much wonder at the *Engliſh*, the *French*, and the *Flemmings*, for their nightly complaints of the bitings of the Gnats and Cimeces (a kinde of wormes breeding in their beds and bedſteads) whereas they themſelves doe little regard them.

But as the bodies of the Northerne people are endued with ſtrength and courage; ſo the weake conſtitutions of the Southerne Nations are ſupplied by the extraordinarie gifts of the minde; terme them what you pleaſe, either wit, or ſubtiltie.

Of crueltie alſo they have ever beene taxed: Reade *Leo Afer* his Hiſtorie of *Afrike*, and the *Carthaginian* diſſentions: or if Antiquitie pleaſe you not, then turne your eyes to the late butcheries of *Muleaſſes* and his children, and diligently weigh, if ever your eares heard of more helliſh furies than thoſe which theſe Princes have put in execution, either upon their vaſſals, or againſt their own linage. Which if you undertake, then you ſhall ſee miſerable *Muleaſſes* deprived of his kingdome, with his eyes burnt out, his face disfigured, and in lamentable diſtreſſe (by the cruelty of his brother) proſtrating his complaints at the feet of *Charles* the Emperour.

For to ſpeake uprightly, from theſe Nations (more than from any other) have tortures of more exquiſite device taken their originals: as exoculations, tearing of members, flayings, gaſhings with ſwords, ſlow fires, and impalements on ſtakes: all which the *Italians*, the *French*, the *Spaniſh*, the *Greekes*, and the people of *Aſia*, have ever abhorred, and never admitted, but upon occaſions of horrible treaſons, and that unwillingly too, as borrowed from their neighbours.

And, that no man ſhould conjecture, as doth *Polybius*, that evill education ſhould produce this diſpoſition of crueltie, I would adviſe him to looke into the nature of the Southerne *Americans*, who alſo bathe their children in the gore of their ſlaughtered enemies, then drinke their bloud, and laſtly banquet with the quartered carkaſſes of their

enemies. But if peradventure any man will object the like crueltie in the Northerne man, I would wiſh him to put this difference: that the man of the North is tranſported into fury by the heat of courage, and purſueth his revenge in open field; where being provoked, and paſſion aſſwaged, he is eaſily pacified: whereas the Southerne man is not eaſily provoked; nor once in paſſion, is eaſily to be reconciled: and in actions of warre, he wholly ſetteth his hopes on policies and ſtratagems, tormenting with great indignitie and crueltie his ſlaine or vanquiſhed enemies, and that in cold bloud. A diſpoſition baſe and brutiſh, ariſing partly (I denie not) from that inſtinct of fury, which evill education, and their inveterate deſire of revenge, doe ingender in nature, but more properly increaſed by the unequall diſtribution of humours, and theſe humours by the inequalitie of the elements. By the influence of celeſtiall providence, theſe elements are proportioned, and by theſe elements humane bodies are tranſported and bloud infuſed in the bodie, life in the bloud, the ſoule in life, and underſtanding in the ſoule: which, although it be free from paſſion, yet by proximitie it cannot but participate of neighbour-imperfection: the reaſon wherefore the people dwelling on either ſide our *Middeſt*, are more prone to vice and foule behaviour.

For as melancholie can no more be wanting to bloud, thanlees to wine; no otherwiſe can theſe paſſions, which ariſe from melancholie, be extracted from the body.

Now, the Southerne people having the greateſt portion of their other humours drawne out by the heat of the Sun, the melancholike (wherewith they moſt abound) remaine, and as dregges ſettle at the baſe of all their actions, being the more exaſperated by their froward and perverſe diſpoſitions. That men of theſe conſtitutions are utterly implacable, *Ajax* and *M. Coriolanus* may ſerve for preſidents; the former of whom, for that he could not have his will on his enemie, in a madding mood fell upon droves of cattell: the other would in no wiſe be reconciled to his Countrey,

before

before he saw the Cities thereof on a flaming fire, in danger of irrecoverable destruction.

But that the Northerne people have also their faults, and are subject to choler, I must not gaine-say, but advise you to consider, that when this passion happeneth to over-rule reason, it burneth the bloud, and incenseth the minde to quarrelling and revenge, but in a farre fairer measure (as I said before) than melancholie doth in the nature of a Southerne man. According to *Cicero*: *Passion may over-beare a wise man*; *madnesse cannot*.

Now, that the people of the South have beene given to the studies of contemplation, (a profession befitting their melancholike humours) let their excellent Writers, and Inventors of many noble Sciences, as the *Historie of Nature*, the *Mathematikes*, *Religion*, and the *operation of the Planets*, plead their properties.

The Northerne people, being lesse given to contemplation, by reason of their plentie of bloud and humours, distempering their minds, and hindering it's faculties, have, without teaching, found out such Arts, as fall within the compasse of understanding and apprehension; as Mechanicall workmanships, Ordnance, casting of metals, Printing, and Minerals.

Being also the Darlings of *Mars*, they have alwayes, and that with incredible eagernesse of courage, embraced the Art Militarie, loved Armes, levelled Mountaines, and turned Streames; giving themselves wholly to Hunting, to Tillage, to Grasing, and to those Arts which are managed by labour: insomuch, that a man may well affirme, That their wits consist in their hands. The reason why the Astrologers (if you please to beleeve them) affirme, *That those who have Mars Lord in their Nativities, become either Souldiers or Trades-men.*

Of the people of the Middle Region.

OF this division are those, who at this day, understanding the reciprocall bounds of Government and Subjection,

jection, and inured to civill and sociable conditions, are sufficiently enabled to frustrate the policies of the South, and to oppose against the furies of the North. Out of this mould would *Vitruvius* have a Commander to be chosen; and how judiciously, let others say: wee will only maintaine by historicall experience, that the *Goths*, *Hunnes*, *Heruli*, and *Vandals*, wasted *Asia*, *Afrike*, and *Europe*; and yet for want of good counsell, could never maintaine their Conquests: whereas farre weaker forces, assisted by wisdome and politike government, have not only brought barbarous Nations to civilitie, but likewise perpetuated most flourishing Empires.

In approbation whereof, the Poets fained *Pallas* to be armed, and *Achilles* to be by her protected. It is recorded also of *Cato Censorius*, that he was a valiant Captaine, a sage Senator, an upright Iudge, and a great Scholer: of *Cæsar*, that he was a Politician, an Historian, an Orator, and a Warrior: of *Agamemnon*, that he was a good Governour, and a tall Souldier. And therefore no wonder, if the *Scythians*, hating Learning, and the Southerne Nations, abhorring Armes, could never make good their conquered acquisitions. The *Romans* embraced both, to their great good fortunes, and according to *Platoes* rule, intermingled Musicke (as the saying is) with Martiall exercises. From the *Grecians*, they deemed it no discredit to borrow Lawes and Letters: from the *Carthaginians* and *Sicilians*, the Art Marine: the Militarie they had in perfection by continuance and assiduitie. Before these times, *Scythian*-like, they strucke downe-right blowes: afterwards, they learned of the *Spaniards* (saith *Polybius*) to thrust with the point.

Thus much, by way of Reading and Observation, for Inclination and Industrie: for mine owne part, I cannot but attribute these qualities of Strength in the *Scythian*, Wit in the *Southerne man*, and Indifferencie in the *Middle man*, to the Divine providence; who in his præscience adjudged it best, upon cruell and barbarous men, as upon Bulls and brute beasts, not to bestow these good gifts of the Minde:

neither

neither upon ſubtle and vafrous people, Courage, and Strength of body; leſt both ſhould abuſe both, to the deſtruction of each other. For as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, *There is nothing more dangerous than armed furie.*

Wherefore, ſithence all Nations have their faults, as well as their vertues, let us neither reproach the laudable ſobrietie of the *Southerne man*, nor tax the free drinking of the *Northerne man*; faculties (without controverſie) peculiar, to either people: but rather, according to reaſon, let us weigh with our ſelves, that the *Southerne man*, for want of naturall digeſtion, if he ſhould gourmandize, would fall into Surfets, Apoplexies, &c. and the *Northerne man*, if hee would, cannot conſtraine abſtinence, by reaſon of thirſt, proceeding of inward heat. And this ſhould have beene the conſideration of all Authors, before they had proceeded to raſh condemnation.

So againe, if the *Greeke*, the *Ægyptian*, the *Arabian*, or the *Chaldean*, be to be taxed of Superſtition, Sorcerie, Cowardize, Trecherie, or Laſciviouſneſſe; yet let them not be ſo rejected, but that wee vouchſafe in them, to imitate what hath beene commendable, what excellent: For from theſe Nations, in truth, have Letters, Arts, Learning, Diſcipline, Philoſophie, Religion, and the rules of humane Societie beene derived, over the face of the habitable earth.

Neither let us detract from the induſtries of the Northerne Nations, neither take exceptions againſt the frailties of thoſe whom God hath allotted to poſſeſſe the Middle Regions. For albeit (as I ſaid at firſt) that no over-weening credit be to be given to Starres and Planets, yet ſo farre let us leane to the learned, as experience may ſeeme to verifie what they have obſerved.

The Aphoriſmes of the Signes in the Zodiake (ſaith *Bodin*) are intricate, and not underſtood by us, conſidering, that by the Aſtronomers owne obſervations to theſe times, all the points of the Zodiake, and the Signes, have wholly changed their ſtations.

To the Southerne people, they place *Saturne* as Lord and

Governour: To the Middle, *Iupiter*: To the Northerne, *Mars*. And these in generall. But because of particulars, they put *Venus* in conjunction with *Saturne*, *Mercurie* with *Iupiter*, and *Luna* with *Mars*. The Sunne, as Moderator, they have confined as indifferent.

The *Chaldeans* say, That the influence of *Saturne* operateth in apprehension: the influence of *Iupiter*, in action: and the influence of *Mars*, in execution. The *Hebrewes* terme *Saturne*, quiet, peaceable, contemplative; *Iupiter*, just, wise, &c. and *Mars*, strong, and full of courage. *Saturne* (they say) is cold, *Mars* hot, and *Iupiter* moderate.

But the people of the *Middle Region* are neither borne so apt to the studying of arcane Sciences, as are the Southerne men; nor so eagerly given to Mechanicall labours, as are the Northerne men: but in management of civill affaires they prove most eminent. Let any man conferre Time and History, and he shall finde, that by this people the rudiments of civill behaviour, of Lawes, good Customes, Statizing, Merchandizing, Oratorie, and Dialect, have beene bettered, if not invented. And no marvell: for *Iupiter* and *Mercurie* are said to bee the Schoole-masters of Sciences, and they that are borne under either, are exceeding apt thereto of their proper inclinations. Witnesse *Asia*, *Graecia*, *Assyria*, *Italy*, *France*, and the higher *Germanie* (which lieth betweene the Pole and the Æquator, from the 40. degree to the 50.) From hence the greatest Empires, the best judges, the wisest Lawyers, the eloquentest Orators, the skilfullest Merchants, and finally the most exquisite Historians and Actors of Comedies, that ever were, have proceeded. In *Africa* have few such beene found: In *Scythia*, fewer, no, not one, *Anacharsis* excepted.

Thus hath God and Nature decreed, That the *Scythian* (or Northern man) should carrie the reputation of *Strength*; the Southerne man, the praise of *Contemplation*; and the people inhabiting betweene both, the *Attributes of Wisdome*. And yet in all places (according to their Situations) shall you finde, some more strong, some more contempla-

tive,

tive, and some more wise. *Sed à particulari non est syllogizandum.*

Of East, and West, what more can be spoken? To places parallel, the Sunne neither riseth, nor falleth. When it approacheth the South with us, (being about noone-tide) then is it said to fall, by the Easterne people; and contrariwise, then to rise by the Southerne. And therefore, as well to reconcile the doubts of the *Ancients*, as to satisfie the *Curious*, in these unrevealed workes of God, and his servant Nature; the Moderne Cosmographers have beene bold to suppose the finite limitation of the East, to determine in the Islands of the *Molucca*; and of the West in the *Hesperides*. For herein (say they) standeth the centre of the Globe, the Meridian of both Islands being 180. degrees distant one from another. On the other halfe of the Globe lieth *America*, divided from either angle by so immensible a tract of Sea, that it deserveth by it selfe, peculiar Bounds of East and West.

As for that great Globe (commonly termed *Australie*) I had rather say with *Bodin*, That as yet, it is better set forth for shew than for certainty.

And therefore in excuse of oversight to bee objected to the *Ancients*, in attributing peculiar influences to diversities of Climates, as the North-east, North-west, South-east, or South-west; let all be referred to the operation of the Cardinall points of neerest situation, and all (without doubt) may passe for tolerable construction.

Of the world, and the greatest Princes therein; and of the meanes to inlarge dominion.

IT now remaineth, that I undertake the second branch of Observation; which is to relate unto our traveller, of the greatest Princes and Potentates, which at this day sway the world,

and how they have attained to their Soveraignty.

This earth, all created by one God, was not all given to one man; nor did God for ever intaile the poſſeſſion and ſoveraignty over the ſame people, unto the ſame family. Foure Monarchies we have had, & this laſt much mangled and invaded in the declination of the Empire; thoſe Commanders who at firſt built their neſts with the Eagles feathers, falling out afterwards amongſt themſelves about the diviſion of the ſpoile. Hence the *Riſings*, and the *Ruines*, the *Decayings* and *Inlargements* of ſeverall kingdomes, juſt as mens ambition and meanes did enable them. Since the decay of the foure Monarchies, the greateſt Princes of the world are theſe at this day; The King of *Spaine*, and the great *Turke*, both riſen out of the ruines of the *Romane* and the *Macedonian* Monarchies. Next is the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, and the *Tartar* in the North of the world; The great *Mogore* in Eaſt *India*, and the great *Xeriff* in *Africa*. And theſe be the moſt renowned Potentates; and yet, me thinks, that in this one reſpect, no one nation comes neere the honour of the *Perſian*; which (firſt) was once a Monarchy; and ſecondly, ſince the decay of that, it hath ever continued, a rich, a great, an active, and a glorious kingdome, which neither *Aſſyria*, *Macedonia*, nor *Rome* it ſelfe can boaſt of. This one thing let me note, that the glory of theſe Northerne Princes hath beene much more powerfull, but nothing comparable to the ſtate and Majeſtie of the Eaſterne Monarchs. That of *Aſſyria* was planted in the very garden and treaſurie of the world, both for wealth and delicacie; and whereas the meaneſt ſubject may put a petition into the hands of one of our Princes, the Kings of *Perſia* kept ſuch ſtate, that it was death even for the Queene herſelfe to come neere the throne, untill *Ahaſhueroſh* held forth the golden ſcepter. The King of *Spaine* weares at this day (perchance) a homely Caſſocke of blacke Serge, many a Curate in his Country having a better; whereas the King of *China* gives not preſence, but rarely at the great ſuit of his people, and that out at the window of a gilded chamber,

ber, himſelfe glorioufly ſhining in Rubies, in Gold and Diamonds; and that at ſuch time too, as the Sunne ſhining upon him, even dazles the eyes of his adoring ſubjects, with the glitter of the reflection; and this they thinke the Sunne doth in favour of him, whence they call him, *The Sonne of the Sunne*. No Northerne or Weſterne Prince at this day keeps ſtate, but the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, and the great *Turke*; nor are any ſo obeyed: but their governments (as thoſe of *Aſſyria* and *Perſia* of old, and the great *Mogore* and *China* at this day) are rather Tyrannies than Monarchies.

Now moſt certaine it is, that all theſe Monarchies and mighty kingdomes arrived not to that height of Empire, but by time, by meanes, and by degrees: Time indeed perfected the deſigne, but twas the meanes that effected it. Let this be therefore laid for the ground of our diſcourſe, that there be many (though ſecret, yet) irreſiſtable cauſes of enlarging of Empire; which being made the right uſe of by a wiſe Architect of State, preſently ſhewes the advantage to lie on his ſide, that hath the true knacke of *King-craft*. Tis true, *That no man by taking thought can adde one cubite unto his ſtature*; but yet in that vaſt frame of commonwealths, by obſerving of ſome naturall and caſuall advantages, and by introducing of ſome good ordinances and conſtitutions, there may be found out that Art of *Themiſtocles*; To make a ſmall towne to become a great Citie, and to ſowe greatneſſe to poſteritie.

And theſe means conducing unto the enlargement of Empire, we will reduce unto ſeven heads: Firſt, numbers of men. Secondly, valour of the Natives. Thirdly, pretence of Religion. Fourthly, plentie of money. Fifthly, advantage of weapons. Sixthly, happineſſe of ſituation. Seventhly, the prudent apprehending of an opportunitie.

The inlarging of *Dominion*, is the uniting and eſtabliſhing of divers Territories under one Soveraigne government; whereunto is neceſſarily required ſuch numbers of men, and thoſe not mercenarie, if it may be avoided, as may Numbers.

exceed

exceed the fatall dangers and doubtfull chances, incident to casualties. For small numbers are soone consumed by diseases, or oppressed by a more mighty enemy; overthrowne in one battell, or extenuated by a long warre: to which inconveniences great numbers and populous Nations are not so subject. By these advantages, the *Barbarians*, the *Ægyptians*, the *Assyrians*, and the *Persians*, have for the most part brought their attempts to happy ends. The *Romanes* (if in respect of their honour) they did not ordinarily use huge Armies, yet they alwayes prevailed, by reason of their populous territories, or their indefatigable continuance; being thereby able the second and third time to reinforce their Legions, and finally with fresh supplies to overcome their enemies, being weakned with overcomming. And to multiplie and maintaine these numbers, as they sometimes received into their territories their very enemies, so at other times they sent forth Colonies of their owne people. By meanes whereof, and other such like policies, they grew to such multitudes, that in the eighth yeare of the reigne of the Emperour *Claudius*, the people were numbred to be six millions; a number at this present, not to be found in the bounds of all *Italy*; whereby they became conquerours of the parts of the world then discovered. Conquest (say I) undertaken by them, as much in regard of *their numbers*, as of *their valour*.

A good *Manroode* is an inexhaustible stocke. By populous armies did the Northerne Nations (called *officina hominum*, the shops of men) overrunne farre greater Nations than their owne. Small numbers are quickly consumed by mortalitie, or one overthrow: whereas the *Romanes* by frequent re-inforcing their legions with new Recruites, put *Pyrrhus* (who had often overthrowne them) to confesse at last, That if he overcame the *Romans* once more, he should be utterly undone; *Sepiùs possunt vinci, quàm tu vincere: Multitudes can indure to be overcome oftner, than a few are able to overcome them.* But most expedient it is, that the bodie and flower of the Armie, be made up of the natives, and not

not of ſtrangers: for he that truſts to mercenaries, may ſuddenly riſe and ſpread his feathers, but he will mew them ſoone after. The *Auxiliaries* that the *Romanes* made uſe of, were either firſt made their owne by Indenization, or as good as their owne, by entring a league offenſive and defenſive, againſt a common enemie. Neceſſary it is withall, that amongſt thoſe numbers there be a race of military men: ſuch be the *Timariotes* amongſt the *Turkes*, and moſt of the Gentry amongſt the *Polonians* and *Hungarians*. Let every Prince thinke ſoberly of his forces, unleſſe his *militia* of natives be good and valiant ſouldiers, able, and hardy bodies, and ſtout and ſturdy ſtomacks. The plough ('tis true) breeds the ſouldier, that is the *Foot* which makes the bodie of the Armie, but they muſt expect much time to harden, to drill and exerciſe them; and therefore the ſudden *French* nation, though they muſt have an *Infantery* of Foot, yet their maine truſt and glory of ſervice they lay upon their *Cavallery*, which bee their Gentry, which uſe themſelves to horſe and Armes continually. But the chiefe ſecret of all for enlarging of Empire is, the maintaining of a ſufficient number in Armes, ſuch as hath beene on both ſides in the *Low Countries* theſe 60. yeares; and ſuch an Army may well deſerve the name of a Schoole of Warre, and of a true *Militia* indeed. The *Venetians* (contrary to the former diſcipline) doe with great wages levie ſudden forces, and when the ſervice is done, as ſuddenly disband them: but they doe it meerely to keepe Empire, and not to enlarge it: their ſubjects be but few, and therefore their dominion enlarges not.

True *Valour* conſiſteth partly in judicious apprehenſion, (whereby both convenient opportunities are diſcerned and entertained, and all difficulties diſcovered and prevented:) and partly in the forward reſolution of the minde: by conjunction of which two Vertues, great enterprizes are undertaken with good ſucceſſe; dangers almoſt inevitable made light, and waighty attempts brought to happy concluſions. Of theſe two I doe not know which to preferre Valour.

Preferre as moſt neceſſary, and of greateſt importance: but moſt certaine it is, that the one without the other, little availeth, to the atchieving of any matter worthy enterprize. For wiſdome without courage, may rather be termed ſubtilty, than judicious carriage: and courage without diſcretion, is rather furious raſhneſſe, than true valour; neither let any man ſuppoſe, that from wilineſſe without force, nor force without judgement, can proceed any project of worthy conſideration. For all deſignes which have in them greatneſſe, have alſo in them difficulty and hardneſſe, and to maſter uneaſie actions, it is neceſſary both to uſe judgement in fore-ſeeing of dangers, and courage to overcome them once undertaken. Theſe two joyned in one man, or in one Nation, are apt meanes to raiſe their fortunes above their neighbours. As we ſee amongſt birds, the Eagle; among beaſts, the Lion; among fiſhes, the Dolphin; (in whom doe appeare ſome ſhadowes of wit and courage) are eſteemed as it were Princes above their Fellow-creatures.

But if any man affirme, that true judgement cannot be ſevered from true valour, yet give me leave to affirme, that ordinarily the one doth appeare more diſcernable above the other in divers ſubjects. For we may note in *Philip* King of the *Macedons*, and in *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, great foreſight and wiſdome, and in *Alexander* and *Hannibal* (their ſonnes) more courage and valour; In *Fabritius*, judicious warineſſe; in *Marcellus*, couragious forwardneſſe: both which were alike fearefull and diſaſtrous to the valiant *Hannibal*.

Yet I ſay not, but ſome actions are better dealt in, by the one, than by the other. For generally, to conquer and winne, courage is more availeable than wit; but to eſtabliſh and keepe that which is gotten, diſcretion is more to be deſired than it; as may well be diſcerned in *Spaniards*, who have ſurer ſetled themſelves in that which they have gained by their warineſſe and judgement, than did the *French* by their fury and hazzard.

But,

But, if any man ſhould urge me to ſpeake my opinion, whether courage or wiſdome be more neceſſarily to bee required; I would give my conſent with courage: My reaſon is, that wiſdome is given but to few, and that muſt be gotten by travell, by long time and ſtudie, whereas courage naturally is by divers meanes, and upon ſudden caſualties imparted and diſperſed in the mindes of many: which many having to deale with few, will caſually finde opportunitie to vanquiſh and overcome. As we read of the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, the *Tartarians*, and the *Turks*, who with courage onely have atchieved great conqueſts, and have brought to paſſe ſuch enterpriſes, as a man would have thought unpoſſible: The reaſon whereof is, that their ſudden and ſpeedy movings, and their unexſpected boldneſſe, hath confounded the Counſels, and amazed the judgements of the wiſeſt Commanders. Beſides, in ſudden hurly-burlies of war it is commonly ſeene, that courage openeth more gaps, and affordeth more releeſe, than policie; for that in ſuch caſes, reaſon is jealous, ſuſpicious, and fearefull, and men ſtand as it were amazed at the greatneſſe of the preſent danger: whereas courage doth oft-times gather ſtrength in extreme deſpaire. *Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem.*

Yea, it is commonly ſeene, that thoſe people who are more commended for their wit and policie, than for their courage and valour, have given place to thoſe who have beene more eſteemed for their reſolution, than for their skilfulneſſe as the *Greeks* and the *Macedons* doe at this day to the *Turks*: the *Gaules* of old, to the *French*: the *Ægyptians*, to the *Perſians*: the *Sarazens*, to the *Chaldeans*: and other Nations to the *Perſians* and *Parthians*. Yea, it is the received opinion, That the *French* did range *Italy* at their pleaſure under *Charles* the eighth, and gave them the Law, becauſe in thoſe times the *Italian* Princes did wholly give themſelves to the ſtudie of good Letters. Wiſdome.

Multitudes are nothing without valour: it never troubles the wolfe how many the ſheepe be; and ſurely a ſmall Armie of well trained and reſolved old ſouldiers, under a

prudent Generall, will not much care for a confuſed rabble and multitudes of a Barbarous enemie. Let the *Turks* come into *Epyre* with 50. or 60000. men, *Scanderbeg* never cared for above 9000. to goe againſt them; and his few well led men came ever off with victory: When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, having encamped his mighty Army of 400000. men upon the advantage of the hils, ſaw the *Romans* upon their march towards him not with above 14000. in their whole Armie, in a pleaſant humour ſayes he, Theſe men be too many for an Ambaſſage, and too few for a fight. But before night he found them enough, for they gave him both the chace and ſlaughter. True valour (now) is a due mixture of judgement for the diſcovery of difficulties, with a quicke reſolution to execute. Part them, and they are but ſubtilty, and fury; where they light together, they both advance the cauſe, the man, and the Nation. Both theſe have their ſeverall activities: Courage, is able at a pinch to man up it ſelfe, and with a ſudden aſſault to ſurpriſe the unperfected conſultations of the enemie. Iudgement hath its ſcouts ever abroad, to prevent ſuch like ſallies and cavalcadoes, that he be not taken ſleeper. Reſolution atchieves the victorie, and judgement keepes it. Shall wee goe leſſe? and for Iudgement take Policy, and for valour courage? which of the two now is to be preferred? The queſtion was anciently anſwered by the Orator; *Parva ſunt foris arma, niſi ſit conſilium domi; an army in the field is nothing ſo potent, unleſſe the Generall receives his inſtructions from the councell-table at home.* Policies office is to prevent dangers, and to plot deſignes: in both which it may be abuſed, either by feare, or want of intelligence. Againſt the firſt, courage is provided; the ſecond it regards not, as accounting no difficultie inſuperable. The *French* ſlander our Engliſh victories with imputation of raſhneſſe, rather than valour; ſaying, We overcame dangers, becauſe we were ignorant of them. And let us doe ſo ſtill: *Dummodò pugnando vincam, tu vince loquendo; We can give loſers leave to talke.* Finally, politike enemies, have ſtill given

ven way to reſolute, yea even when they were vanquiſhed: A reſolved or a famiſhed enemie that would get looſe or die, make him a bridge of gold to flee upon. Certainly, a couragious enemy is never deſpiſed, a politike one may bee.

Moreover, their is a certaine fierceneſſe, or rather fury, which commeth neere to valour: for that exceſſe of boldneſſe, where with the *Gaules*, and afterward the *Frenchmen*, have atchieved notable exploits, is in ſome ſort commendable. But withall it is worthy of obſervation, that ſuch like acquiſitions are commonly of ſmall continuance. Whereupon it was well ſaid; *Moderation to be the Mother of continuance, to States and Kingdomes.* The *Swiſſers* ſhewed themſelves notable herein, eſpecially in the warres of *Navar*; inſomuch as *Iames Trivultio* reporteth, that their battell ſeemed rather to conſiſt of Giants, than of ordinary Souldiers. Neither hath any Nation ever dealt more at adventure, or hath uſed more boldneſſe and blinde fury, than the *Portugals*, whoſe voyages beyond the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and the Straights of *Sinca-Pura*; their conqueſts of *Ormus*, of *Goa*, of *Malacca*, and the *Moluccos*; the defence of *Cochin*, of *Diu*, of *Chaul*, and of *Goa*, are more true and commendable, than in reaſon likely to have proſpered. Raſhneſſe.

Military valour (now) is uſually increaſed by ſome ſuch like means as theſe. Firſt, by uſing them to the wars: Secondly, by treating them like free men, & not like ſlaves: Thirdly, by inuring them to Arts manly: Fourthly, by appointing military rewards and honours for the ſouldiery.

When people are inured to the warres, it takes away the horrour and hideous feare of it, and makes it but a kinde of trade to the followers, who deſire it, to live by it. One of our luſty ploughmen of mid-*England*, would at fiſty-cuffes or cudgels ſoundly beclowt a *Hollander*: but yet for that he never ſaw men with iron faces, he durſt as well take a ſheet of an hedge, as come within the cracke of a piſtoll: whereas tis uſuall for the Bores of *Holland*, ſome with firelocks, & ſome with Loapeſtaves, to make out parties of foot to goe a-bootehaling, I Vſe.

a-bootehaling, and even to set upon the horse of the enemie. And all this is, because the *Englishman* is not used to it, and the *Hollander* is. For the same reason there is much difference betwixt the same people in time of warre, and after a long and effeminating peace. That felt *Hannibals* souldiers after their long and lazie quarter in *Capua*. Before *Da'lvaes* comming into the *Low-Countries* to provoke the *Hollanders*, there was not a more simple cullion in the world than a *Dutchman*, and now, no where a braver man: and what hath effeminated our *English*, but a long disuse of armes. Finally, though in a hard battell there would appeare a great deale of difference betwixt an old beaten souldier, who had seene men die familiarly, (even the sight of bloud making men fierce and feareless) and a man of our traine bands of *London*: yet surely would the Londoner much sooner prove fit for a battell, than the unexperienced country-man, even for that little use which he hath had of his Armes in the Artillery garden, and Military yard: of such force is use and custome to the increase of military valour.

Most requisite it is, that what people a Prince would make valiant, he should use freely, and not like slaves. A Nation overlaid with taxes, will never prove military. In *France* therefore where the peasant is but the day-labourer for his Land-lord the Monsieur, and never suffered to eat good bit, to weare good ragge, or scarce to lay up a quart-defcue at the years end; the Prince does not much trust to the Enfantery, which is made up of this slavish people. Inforced impositions, mightily abate peoples love and courages: and the blessing of *Iudah* and *Issachar* will never meet, That the same people should prove the Lions whelpe, which is used like an Asse betweene two burthens. But where the yeoman or husbandman may eat what he breeds, spend what he earnes, and have the benefit of the Law against the best gentleman of the Country, there are they fit for an helmet. And all this is in *England*: in no Nation under heaven does the common man live so freely, or dares spend so frankly; no where so free minds, or so able bodies.

Free usage.

Three

Three other uſages have we had in *England*, which have kept our people in ſpirit and valour. One was, the tenure of Knights ſervice: by vertue of which, when the Lord of the Mannor was called to ſerve the King, he drew his Tenants after him, who would not budge a foot, but live and die with their Land-lord and Captaine: for if they proved cowards to their Land-lord, how ſhould they looke his ſonne in the face, and how diſgraced ſhould they be at their returne into their owne Country? Thus proved we victorious in *France*.

The ſecond uſage was perfected by King *Henry* the ſeventh, which was to reduce the Farmes and houſes of huſbandry to a ſtandard, aſſigning ſuch a proportion of land to each, as might breed a ſubject to live in a convenient plenty; neither with ſo much, as ſhould effeminate him into the eaſe of a gentleman; nor with ſo little, as ſhould diſcourage him with beggery.

The third uſage was, the frequency of Serving-men and Retainers, who before that the ſinne of drunkenneſſe had overflowed their gals and courages, were no whit for valour and ſervice inferiour to the Yeomanrie. All theſe being kept in freedome, were maintained in courage, able and willing to ſerve both their Prince and Country.

3 Manly arts.

A third thing neceſſary to breed courage in a Nation, is (if other reaſons of State will beare it) that there be more addicted to arts manly, than unto ſedentary and within-doores occupations. Such I mean, as require the ſtrength of the backe, and brawne of the arme, rather than the fineneſſe of the braine or finger. Some have thought that the multitudes of Monkes and Friers, would if need were, be a great ſtrengthening to the Papacie, and fight hard for their Grandſire of *Rome*. But moſt aſſuredly thoſe cage-birds, have no military minds at all. When *Rome* was beleagred by the Duke of *Burbon* in *Charles* the fifth his time, and taken too, not a Frier came to the reſcue. The Kings of *England* have ſometimes made bold with the treaſure of the Monaſteries, but never thought their perſons ſerviceable.

Had they beene martiall-minded, such multitudes would never have suffered themselves to be turned out of their warme nests, in King *Henry* the eighths time, without stroke striking. And surely the taking in of the *Dutch* and *Wallons* into our Cities of *England*, was more out of charity than policie: for they being all given to neat and delicate manufactures, may seeme rather to bring riches than strength to the kingdome. Nor have our Kings hitherto tryed any of them in their souldierie. Studious, delicate, and sedentary arts, are not fit for armes: tis the whip, the plough-staffe, the flayle, the hammer, and the hatchet, that breeds the lusty souldier, that makes able bodies and couragious spirits.

4 Military rewards.

Another great maintainer of courage is, the invention and worthy bestowing of military honours and rewards, after the service is done.

The *Romanes* had their *Triumphs* and *Ovations*, their Garlands and their Donatives to inhearten their souldiers. Orders of Knighthood were also invented for this purpose. But what's all this to the common Souldier, who hath no reward assigned untill he be lame, and that a little from the Treasurer. As for releefe in an hospitall, a serving-man can make better meanes to get into it than a poore souldier after twenty or thirty years service. This is a discouragement. But nothing so bad as the *Spaniards*, whose practice hath beene for these many ages, to reward most of his great Captaines (especially if they were not naturally *Spaniards*) first with an empty title, and lastly (being not otherwise able to pay or recompence them) with a Spanish *fico*.

3 Religion.

A great and a maine advancer of a cause and enlarger of Empire, is Religion, or the pretence of it. Religion is well called the soule of the State; and is ever the prime thing to be looked into; most bitter dissentions and hinderances of all great actions, still proceeding from discontentments in Religion. *Anima est actus corporis*, sayes the Philosopher; *Tis the soule that gives action and motion to the body*; and if the affections and passions of the soule bee composed to a well

well ordered and contented tranquillity and ſerenity, there follows health, ſtrength, and growth in all the limbs and members of the body. The conſcience is an active ſparke, and can eaſily man up all the powers of ſoule and body, either for the maintenance or enlargement of it's libertie. *Bonum eſt ſui communicativum; Religion* (contrary to counſell) *deſires ever to be made publike*: the ſpirituall man as well as the naturall, ever having a deſire *generare ſibi ſimile; to beget others in his owne likeneſſe*; to compaſſe Sea and Land to make a Proſelyte. As therefore Princes have ſtill accounted it a dangerous thing to arme Religion againſt themſelves; ſo have they moſt willingly accepted of the countenance of Religion. No ſuch encouragement could come to the *Iſraelites*, or diſheartning to the *Philiſtines*, as when the Arke of God was in the hoſt of *Iſrael*: who is able to ſtand againſt theſe mighty gods, ſay they. Moſt ſurely is the kingdome of the *Pope* founded, whoſe ground is layed in the conſcience. The *Turke* pretending to propagate his Religion with fire and ſword, we ſee how that hath advanced his conqueſts: and what advantage hath the *Spaniard* more made uſe of in theſe late warres, than a *ſpecious* pretence of rooting out the Proteſtants, and the reeſtabliſhing of the Catholike Religion; by which ſecret he hath not onely ſtaved off the popiſh Princes and Electors of *Germany*, not onely from defending the common libertie of their country, but to enter that which they call the *holy league* with him, whereby for zeale of enlarging their Religion, they in the meane time weaken themſelves, that he at laſt picking a ſlight quarrell with them, may ſwallow them up one after another, having long before deſigned them (Papiſts as well as Proteſtants) to a common deſtruction; for though the *Spaniard* pretends Religion, yet he intends Monarchie. This plot beginning to be diſcovered, we ſee moſt of the Princes of Chriſtendome drawing to a *leaguer*, war, that is, to a cõfederacy of all Proteſtant Princes againſt all Popiſh; & who ſees not, that if the Romiſh religion prevailes, the King of *Spaines* Monarchie muſt needs prove as

Catholike (that is, univerſall) as his religion; and then will he prove the Catholike King indeed.

Now that the pretence of Religion may take the better, 'tis neceſſary that there be an union in it among all the ſubjects of the grand pretender; or at leaſt, that thoſe of the adverſe opinion be ſo few and weake, that they be not able to put an Armie into the field: tolerations of Religion are moſt dangerous: and ſurely, ſhould the King of *England* much exhauſt his land forces, to make a potent invaſion upon the Spaniſh dominions, the Ieſuites would preſently ſtirre up our Papiſts to call him backe againe for the ſtinting of a domeſtike rebellion: for to be feared it is, that though all our Recuſants be the King of *Englands* ſubjects, yet too many of them be the King of *Spaines* ſervants. No ſooner (on the other ſide) did the *French* King this preſent yeare lead his Army over the Alpes into *Italy*, but the Duke de *Rohan* thought it a fit opportunity for the Proteſtants to ſtruggle for their liberty. And therefore plainly as of all good cauſes Religion is the chiefe, ſo in Religion there muſt be unitie; and that makes it irreſiſtable. Finally, as naturall bodies are beſt nouriſhed by things of that nature and kinde whereof they conſiſt; even ſo that Empire which is gained or inlarged by Religion, muſt ever be maintained by it: Twas therefore the old rule amongſt the Conquerours, to bring in their owne language, lawes, and religion among their new ſubjects. The *Romanes* did this every where, and the *Norman* did it in *England*. The *Spaniard* indeed hath not much ſtood upon lawes and language, but hath ever beene diligent for his Religion: and though in the *Palatinate* he ſuffered ſome Proteſtant Miniſters awhile, (to make the conqueſt the ſweeter) yet thoſe being either dead or wearied out, he never ſuffered another Proteſtant to ſucceed. The diligence and fury of the Emperour for rooting out thoſe of the *Auguſtane* confeſſion in *Bohemia*, &c. may well confirme the truth of this obſervation.

4 Weapons.

The qualities of weapons, and the order of diſcipline are important

important inſtruments of this martiall greatneſſe. Advantage of weapons is like good caſting, and ſtrict diſcipline like skilfull playing, both which muſt needs winne the game. The *Macedonians* by their Pikes, and the *Romans* by their Pyles; the *Parthians* and *Engliſh* by their long bowes, have ſtill beene victorious. The ſame thing doth engine and fortification. The gunne hath brought all weapons to an equality: that onely domineeres now. Nothing reſiſts it but the ſpade. Tis a weapon of terrible execution, ſerviceable both by Sea and Land; &yet are not the ſlaughters made by the gunne, any way comparable for numbers, to thoſe bloudy battels wonne by the ſword. The charges of this, diſables Princes from levying Armies equall for multitudes to the Ancient; which now adayes beginne to be incredible. Infinite were it to ſpeake of the new invented engines and fire-workes, and of the ſeverall proviſions to prevent them: and whether after-ages ſhall invent a more terrible weapon than the gun, is to us uncertaine: which if it proves, the Inventor gets incredible advantage.

Treaſure is an advantage of great importance: foraſmuch as there is nothing more neceſſary in warres, or of more uſe in peace. By meanes hereof the *Florentines* became Lords of a great part of *Tuſcany*: they bought many Cities; they freed themſelves from the incurſions of divers enemies; they maintained the warres many yeares againſt the *Piſans*, and againſt the proweſſe of thoſe peoples, and the power of thoſe Princes which did aid them; and at the laſt brought that warre to good end. By meanes hereof, the *Venetians* made themſelves Lords of a good part of *Lumbardy*, and endured the forces of the King of *Hungary*, the Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, and of divers other Princes. Whereby it appeareth, that money worketh two notable effects, to the augmentation and continuance of the greatneſſe of kingdomes and eſtates: The one, to provide and gather forces, and thoſe being gotten, to uphold and maintaine, with ſupplies of Souldiers, victuals, munition and armes: The other, Treaſure.

that

that it doth offer us opportunity, (if not to weaken and vanquiſh the enemy, having gotten the advantage) yet at leaſt, it doth enable us to endure and withſtand him; that by drawing out the warre in length, wee may make him weary of continuance, and gives us benefit of time. By this temporizing, the *Venetians* being overthrowne in all places by the league of *Cambray*, in the end became Conquerours. So that, as to him that hath a populous army, and finds himſelfe mighty and ſtrong, it is moſt convenient to haſten the encounter, and to fight without prolonging of time; for delay (the overthrow of many actions) can afford him no other, but loſſe, ſickneſſe, infection, ſcarcity, famine, mutinies, and diſſolution of forces: So for him that is better furniſhed with money than with men, it is moſt advantagious to prolong the warre, and to ſtand upon the defenſive; for in the end, his money may gaine him victory.

Finally, although ſome men will not ſuffer money to be called the ſinewes of warre; becauſe as *Solon* anſwered once to *Cræſus*, (who in oſtentation ſhewed him his gold) *Sir, if another comes that hath better iron than you, he will be maſter of all this gold*: yet notwithſtanding, where numbers, policy, valour, and weapons have not either ſingly or altogether prevailed, there hath money alone done the feat. For this, have Townes and Kingdomes beene bought of traitors: with this, purchaſe we either peace or victory. No place is to be held impregnable, whither an Aſſe laden with gold may get up. Two great effects it workes: Firſt, it levies forces ſuddenly, and withall, keeps them long together: Secondly, a monied enemie may fight when he will, and but when he will, and muſt needs therefore weary out his adverſary, and ſo at laſt endanger either to overthrow him, or force him to a faire compoſition. For want of pay Armies mutinie, and will neither muſter nor fight; and eſpecially the *Germans*. But *Spinola* hath made great uſe of a ſecret of warre, how in ſcarcitie of moneys to awe theſe mutiniers; and that is by paying and contenting the horſe, and they ſhall keepe the foot in obedience. But this tricke

will

will not alwayes ſerve, for in an Armie a man can hardly tell which is moſt neceſſary, armes, victuals, or money; this laſt alwayes fetches in both the other.

The advantage of ſite, is of much importance, for the defending or inlarging of dominion, and doth chiefly conſiſt in this; that it be convenient for the making of an aſſault, and uneaſie to be againe aſſaulted. For a Country being as it were naturally fortified, hath eaſie meanes to make conqueſts, and get victory, to the inlargement of their owne dominions, and to the overthrow of anothers. Of this quality are the ſituations of *Spaine* and *Araby*, for both theſe are (as it were) *pene-Inſulaes*, having their greateſt parts incompaſſed with the Sea, whereby they may aſſaile the Countries neere adjoyning, and cannot without great difficulty be aſſaulted againe. The one hath dangerous ſhores without harbors, and is invironed with mountaines (having few and ſecret paſſages) the other is incloſed with ſands and deſarts. Of like quality is *Italy*: And among the Iſlands, *England*. But this advantage of ſituation I hold not ſufficient (of it ſelfe) to effect any notable exploit: for beſides, there is required plenty of victuals, ſtore of munition, armes, horſes, and divers other neceſſaries, without which, there is no hope to accompliſh any famous expedition. Moreover, ſuch a diſpoſition and quality of the country is neceſſarily to be required, that the aforeſaid habiliments may eaſily be brought together, and removed to places, whither occaſion ſhall command. And although thoſe, which poſſeſſe the mountaines and higher places, may with advantage come downe upon the plaine and low countries, and by reaſon of the craggedneſſe and hard paſſages of their country, can hardly be aſſaulted againe; yet have not ſuch people done any thing which may worthily commend them. For the mountaines be ordinarily long and narrow, or at the leaſt, much broken and divided amongſt themſelves (which muſt needs hinder the ſpeedy drawing together, and uniting of their forces and neceſſaries;) againe, are they unprovided of victuals, and of all other things requiſite Situation.

ſite of the warres, and therefore altogether unable to continue in action. So that they warre rather after the manner of robbers and theeves, than of true ſouldiers : It may alſo be added, that the mountaine-men cannot live any long time, without intercourſe and traffike with the men of the plaine Countrey. And therefore if upon any attempt, they doe not prevaile at the firſt brunt, their beſt courſe will bee to capitulate with their enemies, and to returne home againe, although with loſſe; as did the *Helvetii* at the overthrow of *Mount S. Claud.*

So wee may ſee, that the *Engliſhmen* which inhabit a plaine and plentifull ſoile, have alwayes prevailed againſt the *Scots* and *Welſhmen*, who upon preſumptions of their naturall ſituations, have divers times moleſted them. For the plaine Country by reaſon of the fruitfulneſſe, doth miniſter all things requiſite for warre, and to defray charges; conveniencie to joyne forces, and being gotten together, able long time to maintaine them : Whereas on the contrary, the Mountaines (by reaſon of their barrenneſſe) afford no proviſion for a long journey, nor are any way able to beare the charge of any notable enterpriſe.

Whereupon it doth proceed, that ſmall Iſlands having the foreſaid qualities of ſituation, have never attained any great Soveraignty; becauſe the advantages of the Land are farre greater than thoſe of the Sea. Moreover, their command cannot be great, unleſſe it be enlarged by meanes of the firme Land; for Iſlands hold the ſame proportion with the Continent, that the part doth with the whole. Beſides, they be for the moſt part long and narrow, as *Candy*, *Cyprus*, *Spagniola*, *Cuba*, *S. Laurence*, and *Sumatra*, and therefore cannot readily bring their forces together. Neither will I ſticke to ſay, that Iſlands (if not ſtrong in ſhipping, as *England* and the *Netherlands*) although they may with advantage come forth and aſſaile others, are notwithſtanding, as it were Cities without wals, laid open to the ſpoile of all Invaders. As it happened to *Sicil* being aſſailed by the *Athenians* and the *Lacedemonians*, and afterwards by the *Carthaginians*,

thaginians, and the *Romans*. But the Provinces of the firme Land, being for the moſt part of a proportion more round, and ſquare, have their forces continually neere together, and to be ſpeedily united; and therefore more ready and apt for oppoſition.

Yet to ſmall purpoſe are all theſe aforeſaid advantages, if opportunity give not aid thereunto. This opportunity is a meeting and concurring of divers cadences, which at one inſtant doe make a matter very eaſie, and at another time, being overſlipped, it will be impoſſible, or at leaſt very hard, to bring to like facility. Wherefore amongſt many and divers, I will here note the moſt principall. The firſt groweth by the baſeneſſe and negligence of the neighbour Princes, ariſing either by reaſon of a naturall jealouſie, defect, and dulneſſe, or of too long a peace. So *Cæſar* poſſeſt himſelfe of *Italy*, and of the Common-wealth, being ready, and in Armes, the State being diſarmed, not looking for any ſuch innovation. So the *Barbarians*, ſubdued the Empire of *Rome*: The *Arabians*, the Empire of the Eaſt, of *Ægypt*, and of *Spaine*: *Charles* the eighth King of *France*, gained *Italy*: The *Portugals*, *India*; The *Caſtilians*, the new world; and *Soliman*, the Kingdome of *Hungary*.

The diviſion of the neighbouring States, either into Common-wealths, or into petty Seigniories, and thoſe of ſmall power, gave courage to the *Romans* to make themſelves Lords of *Italy*, and made an eaſie paſſage for the *Venetians* into *Lumbardy*. This alſo made the attempt of *Thuſcan* light unto the *Florentines*, and no leſſe that of *Barbary* to the *Caſtilians*; which they would have found very hard, if either the one, or the other, had expected them with armed forces. Pettie Seigniories.

The variance and jarring of the adjoyning Princes did open the way to the *Turks* to enter ſo farre into *Chriſtendome*, and with little trouble to inveſt himſelfe of many kingdomes therein. So *Amurath* the third, preſuming upon the civill diſcords of the Princes of the bloud Royall of *Perſia*, made that attempt with great advantage. So againe the

the *Perſian*, upon the difference of the *Scrivano*, and the Baſhawes of *Syria*, hath reſumed the advantage, and accordingly proſpered. Neither doth the whole miſchiefe ariſe out of theſe inteſtine jarres onely, but in all factions one part will be ſure to intreat the aid of ſome forren Prince againſt the other: than which, no man can have a better occaſion, becauſe then he commeth armed into the owners houſe at his owne requeſt. So the *Romans*, ſet foot in *Sicil*, being cald in by the *Mamertines*: In *Greece* by the *Athenians*: In *Numidia* by the the ſonnes of *Micipſa*: In *Provence* by the *Marſilians*: In *France* by the *Hedui*, and ſo from time to time by divers others. So *Amurath* the firſt King of *Turks* got hold in *Europe*, being requeſted in aid by the Emperour of the Eaſt, being then in warre with the Princes of *Greece*. So *Soliman*, in *Hungarie*, being intreated by Queene *Iſabel*, and afterwards by King *Iohn*. So the *Aragons*, in the kingdome of *Naples*, being drawne thither by Queene *Ioane* the ſecond: and ſo *Henry* the ſecond King of *France*, made himſelfe Lord of three great Cities of the Empire. Often hath it beene ſeene, that he that is now called in as a friend, does after prove an enemie; and if one party in a civill warre cals in a forren arbitrator, both parties cannot get him out againe.

But another no leſſe ſucceſſefull opportunity hath alſo beene made uſe of, and that by way of marriage. By apprehending the opportunity of a marriage, were the two houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, and the two kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* united. But no Prince hath made ſo great advantage of marriage as the *Spaniard*. The match of *Ferdinand* and *Elizabeth* was the very foundation of their greatneſſe. By marriages were the ſeverall Provinces of the Low Countries united, all which fell to *Spaine* at a clap. Finally, for this advantage hath the houſe of *Spaine* three times purchaſed diſpenſations from *Rome* for inceſtuous marriages, and more they intended too: *Charles* the fifth Emperour, was ſolemnly contracted to our Queene *Mary*, and *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spaine*, ſonne to the ſaid Emperour,

perour, both wedded and bedded her: nay, upon ſtrong appearances ſuſpected it then was, that King *Philips* curteſies to Queene *Elizabeth* were for his owne ends, that if Queene *Mary* ſhould die without iſſue, he might marrie her alſo; which he afterwards attempted by the Count de *Feria*, promiſing to obtaine a diſpenſation: ſo ſhould *England* have beene laid to *Spaine*, and what ſhould then have hindred his Monarchie?

Now beſides thoſe advantages of humane policie and ſtrength (before mentioned) God himſelfe hath reſerved a power at his owne diſpoſing, in the giving away of victories, and in the cutting ſhort, or inlargement of Empire. And to this end hath ordained theſe naturall Agencies and Aſſiſtances of Seas, Rivers, Mountaines, Mariſhes, Wildernesſes, and the ſandie Deſarts. By theſe, helps he the weake to hedge and ditch out their incroaching neighbours; and by granting the maſterſhip over theſe to another Nation, he can at pleaſure ſcourge the rebellion or unthankfulneſſe of thoſe people, whom before he defended by them. And of theſe helps of nature ſomething will we ſay, and in their order. And firſt for the benefit of the Sea.

I

The commodities of the Sea, for the defending or inlarging of Empire.

Concerning the profits of Merchandize, (both for importing and exporting of commodities) I will not here ſpeake; (though even that tends ſo much to the inrichment and augmentation of the honour of the State, that in all treaties of warre and peace, I ſee, that the articles concerning traffike, are ſometimes two thirds of the treatie; for ſo were they I am ſure, in that politike and nice-driven negotiation of the peace betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, in the beginning of the Reigne of King *Iames*; the Lord Treaſurer *Cecil*, *Northampton*, and the greateſt Sages of the kingdome, being Commiſſioners on our partie; and the beſt pates of *Spaine*, for theirs:) but here I will onely treat of the Sea, as of a Soveraigne friend and bulwarke to that Nation that is neerlieſt ſituated unto it; and a maine helpe towards the keeping or inlargement of dominion. The Poets you know made a God of *Neptune* that obtained the ſoverainty of the Sea

as well as of him that had the government of the Land: and truly to be Lord of the narrow Seas, and to enjoy a royalty, That the ships of all Nations shall strike saile to one of the Kings ships, is none of the least honours: and to bee master of the Sea, is more of it selfe than a pettie Monarchie. He that is so indeed may give the law, as well as he that is master of the field. The Sea-fight at *Actium* was it that made *Augustus Cæsar* sole Emperour of the world: and *Pompey* learned it of old *Themistocles*, that he that had the best Navy, would in the end prove the Conquerour: The victory that the Christians got at *Lepanto*, so arrested the incroaching of the *Turkish* greatnesse, that they have done little upon Christendome never since. I mention not 88. nor that the resistance that the *Hollanders* have beene able to make against the greatest Monarch of the world, proceeds meerly from the advantage they have of him by their commodious situation upon the Sea, and by having more havens and ships than he.

This certainly will prove true; that if ever the Monarchie of *Spaine* be broken, it must be by Sea, even by the Fleets of *England* and *Holland*; and that know the Counsellours of the Emperour and *Spaine* well enough; who to make themselves masters of some good ports, have supplied their defect of a Navy, by a chargeable land army. For what thinke you else should be the designe of Monsieur *Tilly*, but to take the Sea by Land, to make his master Lord of *Stoad*, *Hamborrough*, *Luckstadt*, with other *Hansee* townes, and the *Sownds* of *Denmarke*? and what makes the Emperour (who yet had never greater vessell than a *Punt* or *Yaugh* upon the *Danuby*) to buy and hire ships so fast at this very present, at *Lubecke*, *Rostocke*, and other coast townes, and to appoint *Mansfelt* for his Admirall? Such a friend is the Sea to those that border upon it; and of such importance towards the defending or enlarging of Empire. But as for Islands (such as ours) wholly situate in it; certainly that wall of water and sand about us, is a surer fortification, than Frier *Bacons* wall of brasse could have beene. Our Almighty Creator

Creator (in an humble and a thankfull ſenſe bee it ſpoken) hath even married us to his owne providence & protection; the ſand about us ſeemes to be our wedding Ring, and the riches of the Sea our Dowrie. By benefit of the Sea (as long as we have kept our ſelves maſters of it) we have enjoyed peace, and have heard of, rather than felt, the miſeries of other Nations: and (certainly) ſo long as we keepe our ſelves ſo, wee are at liberty to take as much or little of the warre, as wee pleaſe: and at length (verily) even the wealth of the *Indies* will be but an acceſſary to the command of the Seas. The *Indies* being but like the *Bets* at play; he that winnes the game, gets not only the maine *Stake*, but all the *Bets* by follow the fortune of his hand. This finally, is the advantage of an Iland, that it cannot be taken if it be maſter at Sea: tis not ſo much matter what the Land-forces be (in the reſiſting of the lauding of an invading enemie,) ſeeing one Fleet is worth three Armies. Wee had two Armies drawne together on foot in 88. and one of traine bands to be called for upon occaſion; yet our Fleet (bleſſed be God) did more ſervice than they all; and good reaſon is there for it; For ſuppoſe an enemie this evening be diſcovered at Sea upon the coaſt of *Kent*, thitherwayes preſently make the Land forces; but ere morning the wind chops about, and the enemy is ready within foure and twenty houres to land Northward, or Weſtward, where the Army cannot poſſibly be to attend him; but a Fleet (now) is ever ready to dogge him with the ſame wind; and is ever and anon bearing up to him, ſtill beating upon his Reare; and if it be able to doe no more, can yet at leaſt hold him play, till the beacons be fired, and the Country forces come in to hinder the landing. And thus much for ſituation upon the Sea, and the ſtrength which that affords us either in offending or defending, in keeping or inlarging of Empire.

2 Rivers.

Of all creatures in the world, a River moſt reſembles a monſter. The head (like that of Rumor) is oftentimes not to be found; the mouth farre bigger than the head, and withall, fartheſt off from it; The head hath no motion; the

veines feed the bodie; the mouth serves not but to void the superfluities: How monstrous notwithstanding soever it be, yet most beneficiall it is. The next advantage to that of the Sea, being the commodity of great, navigable, & impassable Rivers. The *Roman* conquests never made stand in *Germanie* till they came to the banks of the *Rhine* and *Danuby*: but there they did for many ages. The swift River *Oxus* in the East of the world, hath beene the fatall bounder of two Monarchies: the River *Don* in *Russia*, hath the honour to part *Europe*, and *Asia*; and the River *Dee* by *Chester*, did a long time keepe our *Welshmen* thereabouts unconquered. Nothing awes a great River so much as a bridge; whose Arches he labours to overthrow with all his forces: for a bridge is the saddle to ride this Sea-horse: The Emperour *Hadrian* thought he had done such an act, when he had laid a bridge over the *Danuby*, that he expressed the memory of it (as of a victory) in medals and coynes. That mighty Armies have beene defeated in their passing of Rivers, need not be stood upon. When *Spinola* in these late warres, (being guided by a country butcher) had once passed the *Rhine*, and undisturbed set footing in the *Palatinate*: *Be of good comfort fellow souldiers*, (saith he to his Army) *Ile warrant you that we shall never be fought withall by this enemie*. For in passing of a River the enemy hath so many disadvantages, what by the swiftnesse of the streame, the smalnesse of the boats, the unsteadinesse of the footing, and the disorder in the approaching; that he that to save his owne will not then fight, will never fight: And thus see wee, that though Rivers be not (like the Sea) so apt to inlarge Empire, they bee most commodious to guard it, being once acquired: and that's no small benefit, seeing wise men have anciently accounted it, That *Non minor est virtus quàm quærere, parta tueri: Tis an argument of no lesse valour or fortune, to keepe what a man hath, than to get that which a man hath not.*

3 Mountaines.

None of the weakest boundaries to Conquerours and Monarchies are the Mountaines; for were all the world a levell and *Campania*, what should hinder him that were strongest

ſtrongeſt in horſe, to ſcowre it all over; and (as tis ſeene in the *Low Countries*) to make all men pay contribution to the maſter of the field, or the ſtronger party of horſe even at pleaſure?

Mountaines be naturall ſwellings of the earth, above the uſuall levell or ſurface of it: which make the ſame exception to the definition of the roundneſſe of the earth, that a wart or pimple may to the ſmoothneſſe of a young face. They may ſeeme to be ſome heaps of rubbiſh and offals, left of the creation of the world. The difficulty of the aſcent up to them, the horridneſſe of their cragges, the ſavageneſſe of their wilde inhabitants, (beaſts or people,) the chillneſſe of their froſtie tops, with the inhoſpitable barrenneſſe of their rugged ſides, may give ſcandall, or leave an imputation of beggery and barbarouſneſſe to that country that hath moſt of them; if their commodities be not thought upon as well as their diſcommodities. For as they keepe their neighbours poore, ſo they keepe them ſafe; witneſſe our unconquered *Wales* and *Scotland*, which, nor *Romans*, nor *Danes*, nor *Saxons*, durſt ever throughly ſet upon. The Emperour *Severus* loſt the greateſt part of his Army in the hils of *Scotland*: and how have our *Engliſh* Armies beene moyled in the *Welſh* mountaines? and we have finally, rather conquered the people, than the Country: Mountaines are natures bulwarkes, caſt up (as the *Spaniard* ſayes) at God Almighties owne charges; the Retreats they are of the oppreſſed, the ſcornes and turne-againes of victorious Armies. That knew the *Barbarians* in *Q. Curtius* well enough, who having retreated from *Alexander* the great, to the faſtneſſe of an inacceſſible mountaine, and *Alexanders* Orator in his parly and perſwaſive to them to yeeld, telling them of his maſters victories, and of the Seas and Wilderneſſes that he had paſſed; *It may be ſo* (ſaid they) *but can Alexander flie? Over the Seas he might have ſhips, and over land horſes, but he muſt have wings if he get up hither.*

Where (now) mountaines have naturally wanted, there hath Art ſupplied the defect: either by military *Foſſes*, as

in that great bank or trench upon *New-market heath*, which, ſerved for a boundarie to the kingdome of the *Eaſt-Angles*: and by raiſing up wonderfull and ſtupendous wals, as namely in that wall of *China*, which where the hils brake off, was continued and fortified for ſix hundred miles together: and that admirable *Roman* wall in the North of *England*, (even croſſe the Iland from Sea to Sea) for the keeping out of the *Picts*. To conclude, mountaines and wals made good by the natives, preſerve them in ſafety, but being once maſtered and overpaſſed by the Conquerour, give way to a fatall and a ſudden inlargement to his Empire, and ſet a finall period to the others liberty. When *Hannibal* had once paſſed the Alpes, within a little after, he preſented his Army before the gates of *Rome*. When *Tametlane* had wonne the wall of *China*, he did what he liſt afterwards in the Country: the *Brittains* loſing their wall, could not hinder the *Picts* from ſetting up their kingdome: and ſurely ſince the *Spaniard* hath gotten the paſſage over the Alpes, and made himſelfe maſter of the *Valtoline*, hee hath in expectation ſwallowed up all *Germany*, and in a manner beſieged even *France* it ſelfe.

4 Mariſhes.

Of thoſe other fortifications of nature, Mariſhes, Wildernesſes, and Sandy deſarts, I have leſſe to ſay. Tis well knowne what advantage the Iriſh *Kernes* have made of their bogges and woods. Two famous Cities in *Europe* are built in mariſhes, namely, *Venice* in *Italy*, and *Dort* in *Holland*; and both of them be called *maiden Cities*; for that hitherto they could never be raviſhed, never conquered. *La Fert* one of the ſtrongeſt townes in *France*, is thus ſituated: and in our Barons warres, have many ſheltred themſelves in the Ile of *Elie*. He that is to beleaguer townes thus ſituated, fights not againſt men, but nature. Mariſhes admit no drie lodging for the foot, no approaches for the horſe, no ſure ground for Ordnance, or heavie carriages: The towne feares no undermining; and a mariſh (finally) is not (except by long ſiege and famine) otherwiſe to be conquered but as heretikes be, and that's with faggots: and when that

way

way approaches be made over it, the towne is ours, and Empire is inlarged.

Amongſt Woods and Wilderneſſes, thoſe of *Hercynia* and *Ardenna* have of old beene famous, and were ſometime bounders to the unlimited *Roman* Empire it ſelfe: nor have they beene conquered by force, but by time. As for Deſarts and Sands, I will mention no more but thoſe vaſt Deſarts of *Arabia*, which the *Turke* cals his, but cannot conquer. An unknowne Sea and ſolitude of heath and Sand, is ſaid to keepe the two mighty Empires of the *Chinois* and great *Mogor*, from incroaching one upon another. In ſuch ſands have whole Armies and Caravans beene buried: over theſe they travell (as at Sea) by obſerving the ſtarres, and by Card & Compaſſe. Of all the reſt before named, theſe be the ſureſt fortreſſes, and the moſt inſuperable: no Army (that's wiſely led) dares venture to march over the hot ſands of *Lybia*. Deſarts afford no towns for ſhelter, no food for men, no paſture, or ſo much as water for horſes; all muſt be brought with them: and he that ſhall thinke to inlarge his Empire by making an invaſion this way, ſhall finde it worſe than a long ſuit for a dribling debt, the charges will amount to more than the principall. To conclude this tedious diſcourſe: man looks upon the world, upon Seas, Rivers, Mountains, Mariſhes, &c. as upon things ſet there caſually, or by chance; but God made them there, upon moſt wiſe deſigne: here he caſts up a mountaine and that barres a conquerour; here he powres out a River, and in paſſing of that, overthrowes an Army; there plants he a wood, and by dreſſing an ambuſh in it, gives away a victory; and upon changing the fortune of the field Empires take their beginnings or periods; lawes and religions their alterations; the pride and policies of men are defeated; that his owne power and providence might onely be acknowledged. For by helpe of theſe naturall cauſes, ſayes *God* ſilently unto Tyrants and conquerours, as at firſt he ſaid unto the Sea; *Hitherto ſhall thy proud waves goe, and no further.*

5 Wilderneſſes.

6 Deſarts.

Of Travell.

LAstly, ſithence *Plato*, one of the Day-ſtartes of that knowledge, which then but dawning, hath ſince ſhone out in cleerer brightneſſe; thought nothing fitter, for the bettering of our underſtanding, than Travell: aſwell by having a conference with the wiſer ſort in all kindes of learning, as by the Eye-ſight of thoſe things, which otherwiſe a man cannot attaine unto, but by Tradition. (A ſandy foundation either in matter of Science, or Conſcience.) Let me alſo in this place be bold to informe you, that all purpoſe to Travell, if it be not, *ad voluptatem ſolùm, ſed ad utilitatem*, argueth an induſtrious and generous minde. Baſe and vulgar ſpirits hover ſtill about home: Thoſe are more Noble and Divine, that imitate the Heavens, and joy in motion.

Hee therefore that intends to Travell out of his owne Countrey, muſt likewiſe reſolve to Travell out of his Countrey faſhion, and indeed out of himſelfe: that is, out of his former intemperate feeding, diſordinate drinking, thriftleſſe gaming, fruitleſſe time-ſpending, violent exerciſing, and irregular miſgoverning whatſoever. He muſt determine, that the end of his Travell, is his ripening in knowledge; and the end of his knowledge, is the ſervice of his Countrey, which of right, challengeth the better part of us.

Of Hazard. This is done, by preſervation of himſelfe from Hazards of Travell, and Obſervation of what he heares and ſees in his Travelling. The Hazards, are two: of the Minde, and of the Body: that, by the infection of Errours, this by the corruption of Manners. For who ſo drinketh of the poyſonous cup of the one, or taſteth the ſower liquor of the other, loſeth the true reliſh of Religion and Vertue, bringeth home a leaprous Soule, and a tainted body, retaining nothing

thing but the ſhame of either, or repentance of both: where-of in my Travell I have ſeene ſome examples, and by them made uſe, to prevent both miſchiefes, which I will briefly ſhew: And firſt of the better part.

Concerning the Travellers Religion, I teach not what it ſhould be, (being out of my Element) nor inquire what it is, (being out of my Commiſſion;) only my hopes are, he be of the religion here eſtabliſhed: and my advice is, he be therein well ſetled; and that howſoever his imagination ſhall be carried in the voluble Sphere of divers mens diſcourſes; yet his inmoſt thoughts (like lines in a Circle) ſhall alwayes concenter in this immoveable point; *Not to alter his firſt Faith:* For I know, that, as all innovation is dangerous in a State, ſo is this change in the little Common-wealth of a Man. And it is to be feared, that he which is of one Religion in his youth, and of another in his manhood, will in his age be of neither. Of Minde.

Wherefore, if my Traveller will keep this Bird ſafe in his boſome, he muſt neither be inquiſitive after other mens Religions, nor prompt to diſcover his owne. For I hold him unwiſe, who in a ſtrange Countrey, will either ſhew his minde, or his money. A true friend is as hard to finde as a Phenix, of which the whole world affoords but one, and therefore let not this my Traveller, be ſo blinde as to thinke to finde him every where, in his owne imagination. *Damon* and *Pithias*, *Pilades* and *Oreſtes* are all dead, or elſe it is but a dead Story. And therefore let him remember that Nature alters, like humours and complexions, every minute of an houre.

And as I would not have him to change, ſo would I wiſh him, to beware how he heare any thing repugnant thereto: for as I have tied his tongue, ſo muſt I ſtop his eares, leſt they be open to the ſmooth incantations of an inſinuating Seducer, or the ſubtill arguments of a ſophiſticall adverſarie. To this effect, I muſt preciſely forbid him the fellowſhip or company of one ſort of people in generall; thoſe are the Ieſuites, underminers and inveiglers of greene wits, ſeducers Of Religion.

of men in matter of Faith, and ſubverters of men in matter of State; making of both a bad Chriſtian, and a worſe Subject. Theſe men I would have my Traveller never heare, except in the Pulpit; for being eloquent, they ſpeake excellent language; and being wiſe, (therefore beſt knowing how to ſpeake to beſt purpoſe) they ſeldome, or never handle matter of controverſie.

As for other orders of Religion, Friers or Monkes, or whatſoever, let him uſe them for his bettering, either in matter of language, or other knowledge. They are good companions, they are not ſo dangerous; they talke more of their cheere, than of their Church; of their feaſts, than their Faith; of good wine, than good workes; of Curtiſans, than Chriſtianitie. The reaſon is, becauſe few of them are learned, many careleſſe in their profeſſion, almoſt all diſſolute in their converſation.

Of Perſons and Places.

I have excepted againſt the Perſons: I will now proteſt againſt the Places. Theſe are, *Rome*, *Rhemes*, and *Doway*, but theſe two laſt, being out of all ordinary road of Travell; I ſay, he that goes that way, goes doubly out of his way, and ſhall neither have this diſcourſe for his direction, nor me for his companion. Let me only ſay of *Rome*, becauſe it is the Seminary and Nurſery of Engliſh Fugitives, and yet a place moſt worthy to be ſeene, (*vel antiquitatis cauſâ, vel novitatis*) that it is ſuſpected of all, knowne to many, and proved by ſome, to be dangerous that way.

Thus much of the Perſons and Places have I noted, hee that ſhall meet with others of like condition and danger, let him ſee and ſhun. It remaineth I ſpeake of bettering the minde, by the knowledge and underſtanding of tongues: for, as for learning the liberall Sciences, he hath much better meanes at home; their manner of teaching, and orders of Vniverſities, being farre inferiour to ours.

Of Language.

For the attaining therefore of Language, it is convenient, that he make choice of the beſt places: Theſe are, *Orleans* for the French; *Florence* for the Italian; and *Lipſicke* for the Dutch tongues: for in theſe places is the beſt Language ſpo-

ken.

ken. And as we obſerve a difference of ſpeech in our Countrey; of the North, from the South; and the Weſt, from both: or as wee have learned of the *Greeks*, that they had five ſeverall kindes of *Dialects*: ſo differ they infinitely in *Germany*, but that of *Miſnia* is the beſt, where *Lipſicke* ſtands. More in *France*, where the *Picard* ſpeakes one, the *Norman* another, the *Britan* his, the *Gaſcoigne* his, the *Provenciall* and *Savoyard* theirs, the *Inlanders* theirs: but of all theſe, the *Orleanois* is the beſt. As alſo in *Italy*, the *Roman* hath one kinde of phraſe and pronunciation; the *Neapolitan*, another; the *Venetian* a third; the *Bergamaſco*, a worſe; but the beſt of all is the *Tuſcan*, where *Florence* ſtands: yet I preſcribe not theſe places ſo preciſely, as that he may not live in others, and learne the Language as well: for in *Tuſcany*, *Siena*, and *Prato*, are ſome places, where the ſpeech is as good, as that of *Florence*, and more retired, and of leſſe charge: therefore fitter for ſome, whoſe proportion for expence is but ſmall. So have ye in *Germany*, *Heidleburge* as good as *Lipſick*. And in *France*, *Blois* as good as *Orleans*.

Of Reading.

Having made choice of the place, his next care muſt be to make choice of a good Reader, whereof he ſhall finde in Travell great ſcarcity. Let good acquaintance, or good fortune, bring him to the beſt.

For were it, that there were good Readers, it were here needleſſe to ſet downe a courſe of learning: for hee might have a better direction from them. But for the cauſe alleaged, I will preſume to adviſe him, that the moſt compendious way of attaining the tongue (whether *French*, or *Italian*) is by Booke; I meane for the knowledge. For as for the ſpeaking, he ſhall never attaine it, but by continuall practice and converſation. He ſhall therefore firſt learne his Nounes and Verbs by heart, and ſpecially the Articles, and their uſes, with the two words, *Sum* and *Habeo*: for in theſe, conſiſt the greateſt obſervation of that part of ſpeech. Let not your Reader reade any Booke of Poetry at the firſt, but ſome other kinde of Stile; and I thinke meeteſt, ſome moderne Comedie.

Let

Let his Lecture consist, more in questions and answers, either of the one or the other, than in the Readers continued speech; for this is for the most part idle and fruitlesse: by the other, many errours and mistakings, either in pronunciation, or sense, are reformed.

After three moneths, he shall quit his Lectures, and use his Master, only to walke with, and discourse, first the one, and then the other: for thus shall he observe the right use of the phrase in his Reader, heare his owne faults reproved, and grow readie and prompt in his owne delivery: which with the right straine of the accent, are the two hardest things in language.

Privately hee may for his pleasure reade Poetry, especially, if at his returne, hee meane to Court it: but for his profit, if hee be a man of meanes, and likely hereafter to beare charge in his Countrey: or if a man of endevours, and willing to preferre himselfe by service, I wish him to Historie: If one that would make a fortune by the warres, I commend him (beside History) to the Mathematicks, discourses of warre, and bookes of fortification.

To this Reading he must adde a continuall talking, and exercising of his speech with all sorts of people, with boldnesse, and much assurance in himselfe: for I have often observed in others, that nothing hath more prejudiced their profiting, than their owne diffidence and distrust. To this I would have him adde an often writing, either of matter of translation, or of his owne invention, where againe is requisite to the Readers eye, to censure and correct: for who so cannot write the language he speakes, I count he hath but halfe the language.

These then, are the two only meanes of obtaining a language, of speaking and writing: but the first is the chiefest, and therefore I must advertise the Traveller of the one thing, which in other Countries, is a greater hinderer thereof: namely, the often hauuting, and frequenting of our own Countrey-men, whereof he must have a speciall care, neither to distaste them by a too much retiredneſſe, nor to hinder

hinder himſelfe by too much familiarity.

It is thought alſo, that one language is a hinderance to the pronunciation (if not learning) of another: which if it be in any, is in the pronouncing, not the learning: and in the *Italian* to the *French*, not contrary. To this effect therefore, I would wiſh the Traveller, firſt to ſpend his time in *France*; which language will much helpe to the underſtanding, and nothing hinder the ſpeaking of the *Italian*, eſpecially in us; who of all other Nations pronounce this language beſt next themſelves, by their owne confeſſion.

There is alſo another reaſon, why I would have him ſee *Italy* laſt, becauſe we beſt remember the laſt impreſſions; and I would rather he ſhould come home *Italianate*, than *Frenchified*: I ſpeake of both in the better ſenſe: for the *French* is ſtirring, bold, reſpectleſſe, inconſtant, ſudden. The *Italian*, ſtayed, demure, reſpective, grave, adviſed. I would with the Traveller therefore (becauſe I ſpeake now of bettering his minde by converſation) obſerve with judgement, what he ſeeth in theſe Nations of *Italy*, *France* and *Germany*, (for further I guide him not) & out of their better parts, leaving the worſe to themſelves, gather ſo much to his uſe, as may make him a complete Gentleman. For example, he ſhall obſerve, that the *French* hath valour; but he hath withall, *Vanitatem & Levitatem*. The *Italian* hath a diſcreet faſhion of carriage; but, with this he hath *Proterviam & libidinem*: The *Dutch* hath an honeſt and reall manner of dealing, but *non ſine commeſſatione & ebrietate*. Let him now of theſe three, learne their three vertues, ſo ſhall he come home a Valiant, Wiſe and Honeſt man. This is a better purchaſe than the Italian huffe of the ſhoulder, or the *Dutch* puffe with the pot, or the *French* Apiſhneſſe, which many Travellers bring home.

Touching conference, obſerve theſe rules: For the time, let it be, when you give leave to your minde to recreate your ſpirits, that you may the better conceive what you heare, and beſt digeſt things ſubject to your underſtanding. Let therefore the houres be in the morning, and in the Evening, when

Of Conference.

when the ſenſes are freſh, and the wits quiet. But if you finde your ſenſes dull with melancholy paſſions, quicken them ſhortly with ſome good ſocietie. Touching the perſons, let them be of ſome good yeares for the moſt part, though ſometime to heare a young man, will prove no prejudice. Obſerve opportunitie, ſometime diſcourſing with the learned concerning Hiſtory, the better to benefit memory by application of examples. At other times, frequent the company of the expert, that by noting their obſervations, and ſuting them to particular judgement, you may diſcerne the difference betweene Art and Nature, Experience and Learning. Sometime diſcourſe with the ſouldier, that in hearing of a drumme, you be not daunted in a skirmiſh. Conferre much with Travellers, that by their diſcourſe of forren natures, you may the better diſcerne of domeſticall diſpoſition: Forget not the Divines for the comfort of your ſoules, nor neglect the reading of Scripture, for the better direction of your life and conſcience. Talke not with women upon idle occaſions, leſt you trouble their wits, or diſpleaſe their humours. To conferre with fooles is frivolous; with the wicked dangerous; but with the honeſt availeable, for they are vertuous; and with the wiſe profitable, for they are gracious.

Of the body. It now followeth, that I ſpeake of the Body, which is preſerved in good ſtate, by diet and exerciſe: For his diet, I neither preſcribe what, nor how much to eat, I preſume him able before he ſet out, to keepe his noſe from his ſleeve, feed himſelfe, and be his owne carver: Onely, I muſt adviſe him to beware of their Wines, which agree not with ſome natures, & are hurtfull to all, in thoſe hotter Countries, except ſparingly taken, or well qualified with water. As for his viands, I feare not his ſurfetting; his proviſion is never ſo great, but ye may let him looſe to his allowance. For I would not have him live at his owne proviſion, (eſpecially in *France*) it will hinder his profiting, and onely further him with ſome few kitchen and market phraſes. Let him be ſtill in penſion with others, ſo they be ſuch, whoſe language he learneth.

learneth. His care ſhall be the leſſe, his profit the greater, & his expence nothing the more. I ſhall not need to tell him before, what his diet ſhall be, his appetite will make it better than it is; for he ſhall be ſtill kept ſharpe: onely of the difference of diets, he ſhall obſerve thus much; that that of *Germany* is full, or rather fulſome; that of *France*, allowable; that of *Italy*, tolerable; with the *Dutch*, he ſhall have much meat, ill dreſſed; with the *French*, leſſe, but well handled; with the *Italian*, neither the one, nor the other.

As for his Exerciſes, there is danger but of one in *France*, and this is Tennis play: this is dangerous (if uſed with too much violence) for the body: and (if followed with too much diligence) for the purſe, a maine point of the Travellers care. There is another exerciſe to be learned in *France*, becauſe there are better teachers: and the *French* faſhion is in moſt requeſt with us, and that is Dancing. This I meane to my Traveller that is young, & means to follow the Court; otherwiſe, I hold it needleſſe, and in ſome ridiculous. Of Exerciſes.

Theſe former therefore are two exrciſes, which I permit, but with their limitation. There remaine two other, to which I perſwade: thoſe tolerable, theſe commendable; thoſe of grace and complement, theſe of uſe and neceſſity, to him that will returne ably qualified for his Countries ſervice in warre, and his owne defence in private quarrell. Theſe are Riding, and Fencing. His beſt place for the firſt (excepting *Naples*) is in *Florence*: and for the ſecond (excepting *Rome*) is in *Padua*.

I muſt now aduiſe him, of ſuch things as are without himſelfe, but within the compaſſe of his owne care: Thoſe are Money, Bookes, Apparell. Of outward neceſſa ies.

Money, the ſinewes of warre, and ſoule of Travell, as at home, ſo abroad, is the man. They ſay he ſhould have two bagges, the one of Crownes, the other of Patience: but howſoever this laſt bee empty, I could wiſh that other were ſtill full, whereout he muſt proportion his yearly expence, not exceeding the limits of his propounded allowance. If hee Travell without a ſervant, foureſcore pounds

ſterling

sterling is a competent proportion, except he leame to ride: if he maintaine both these charges, he can be allowed no lesse than an hundred and fifty pounds: and to allow above two hundred, were superfluous, and to his hurt. And thus ratably according to the number he keepeth.

Of Money. The ordinary rate of his expence, is this: ten gold Crownes a moneth his owne diet, eight for his man, (at the most) two Crownes a moneth his Fencing, as much for Dancing, and no lesse for his Reading, and fifteene crownes monethly for his Riding: but this exercise hee shall discontinue all the heat of the yeare. The remainder of his hundred and fifty pound, I allow him for Apparell, Books, Travelling, Charges, Tennis-play, and other extraordinary expences.

Let him have foure bils of exchange with him, for the whole yeare, with Letters of advice, to be paid him quarterly, by equall portions: so shall he not want his money at the day, nor be driven to those shifts, which I have seene divers put to, by long expecting Letters out of *England*; which either their friends forgetfulnesse, or the Carriers negligence, or the miscarrying of their letters, by intercepting or other accident, hath caused.

If he carry over money with him (as by our Law he cannot carry much) let it bee in double Pistolets, or French crownes of weight: by these he is sure to sustaine losse in no place: and in *Italy* to gaine above twelve pence in the pound.

Of Bookes. Concerning his bookes, let them be few or none, to carry from place to place: or if any, that they be not such as are prohibited by the Inquisition: lest, when his Male is searched (as it is at every Cities gate in *Italy*) they bring him to trouble: whatsoever they be, they will put him to charge, for he payeth Tole for them at every such Towne. I would only have him to carry the papers of his own observation; especially a Iournall, wherin from day to day, he shall set downe the divers Provinces he passeth, with their commodities; the Townes, with their manner of buildings; the names,

names, and benefit of the Rivers; the distance of places; the condition of the soyle; manners of the people, and what else his eye meeteth by the way remarkable.

When hee commeth to the place of his residence, let him furnish himselfe with the best bookes of that profession, to which he addicteth his study, or other he shall finde, not to be got here in *England*; and at his departure, send them home by his Merchants meanes.

Of Apparell.

I must advise as well for his Apparell, as for his Bookes: that upon his journey, he be not overcharged with overmuch luggage; even a light burthen farre carried, is heavy: beside, somewhat is likewise to be paid for these, at the entry of every City gate. Let him also take heed, that the apparell he weares, be in fashion in the place where he resideth; for it is no lesse ridiculous to weare clothes of our fashion among them, than at our returne to use still their fashion among us. A notorious affectation of many Travellers.

Manners of Nations.

And lastly, because it is not amisse, to be acquainted as well with the divers natures of Nations, soyles, and people, as with the rule of instructions: first, I counsell my Traveller, not to make any long abode in any Region, which he findeth not agreeable to his naturall constitution; neither let him be ignorant of such comforts, as may prove best preservatives for his health: for although I hold it not best discretion to use the body to much physicke, yet in causes of extremity, to know the helpe of Nature, I hold it no vanity.

Nature of Soiles.

For the Soile (wherein Townes and Cities are seated) if it be sandy or gravelly ground, and neere unto some fresh brooks, springs, or river, it may probably promise health, both to the inhabitant and stranger: but if the earth bee moorish, and stand much upon springs, and low towards the Sea, it may prove healthfull to the inhabitant, yet hurtfull to the stranger, comming from a more healthfull Soile.

Of people.

For the people, let him chuse chiefly, and longest to stay amongst those kinde of Nations, who stand most affected

to

to the nature of his native Country, and let him bee never perſwaded, that his neereſt neighbours are his greateſt friends; for you ſhall often finde no greater an enemy, than within the wals of thine owne houſe.

Of the Spaniard.

I will firſt ſpeake of the *Spaniard*: Him you ſhall finde in nature proud, yet cunning. He will ordinarily uſe a kinde of courteſie, and ſeeme wiſe touching the world, and politike in plotting his will: valiant where he may either purchaſe riches, or reputation: jealous of his miſtreſſe, envious of worthineſſe, malicious upon ſuſpition, and bloudy in execution.

Of the Italian.

The *Italian* is more courteous, but no leſſe cunning, affable where he ſeems to affect, but deadly dangerous where he growes jealous: thrifty in his purſe, valiant in his kinde, and onely bountifull to his maſters. Sharply conceived, of freſh memory, and for the moſt part excellently ſpoken! Many of them are good Schollers, ſome very good horſemen, and for ſuch Courts as their Dukedomes afford, you ſhall finde many fine Gentlemen. Their Ladies and chiefe women for the moſt part are painted, but witty in ſpeech, modeſt in carriage, and where they affect, very bountifull. The chiefe men (as the Lords, Governours, and great Magiſtrates) are commonly ambitious, covetous, and vitious. And if you have the good hap to come into their houſes, you ſhall ſeeme to ſee the nature of a devill ſolacing in Paradiſe: For you ſhall obſerve a ſtately houſe, richly furniſhed; a Lady fairely painted, and gorgeouſly attired; you ſhall ſee a Garden full of ſweet flowers, and dainty fruits, a cage of ſinging birds, and perhaps a conſort of ſweet muſicke; a banquet of exceſſive charge, and amidſt all thoſe, you ſhall ſee an old ſheep-biter, with a noſe too tedious for his face, his beard like the briſtles of a hog, with a ſlavering lip, a bleare-eye, & of a ſwelling ſpeech, courting of a comely Lady, and couching of a cold peece of comfort, being no leſſe youthfull in deſire, than aged in performance. But take heed that in too much eying of his Lady, he grow not jealous of your affection, and ſuſpitious of her favour, to the

aſſured

assured shortning of your dayes, by a poysonsome tricke of an *Italian fico*, when he pretends most kindnesse.

For the younger sort, rather follow their good exercises, than conferre with their capacities: and above all company, avoid the haunting of brothell houses, which are there most infinite in number, & common in use. They will impaire your health, impeach your purse, abase your credit, and increase the ruine of your content and fortunes.

The Frenchman.

For *France*, you shall finde the people proud and phantasticall, kind, but variable, jealous in being a friend, and lost upon a light humour, cunning in policie, and bloudy in revenge. The Nobilesse commonly learned, the Souldier more desperate than valiant: much given to venery and irreligion; and making no conscience of abuse for the purchase of a commodity. The Governours wise, the Merchant rich, and the peasant a poore slave. The Ladies witty, but apish, and in their fancies as humorous as amorous: few of them beautifull, and commonly all painted and deceitfull, except some few of rare worth; which may bee the wonder of the country: And therefore as you finde them, so let them have their due honour. For *Germany*, you shall finde the Nobles and chiefe Gentlemen, either great Schollers, or valiant Souldiers; rather resolute to gaine honour, than proud of Authority: their Cities strong, and their Merchants very rich, and their Countries well peopled. For their Ladies and Gentlewomen, by the grossenesse of their diet, and too much delight in drinking and banquetting, they are for the most part a corpulent kinde of people; yet many of them strong and of bigge bone, (as we commonly say) good bearers, and good breeders. The younger sort, as well men as women, very industrious, and the elder sort rather politike than Religious: their Lawes very severe, and therefore the people in better order and obedience.

The German.

For *Poland*, the Cities are strong, and the people rather wise than wealthy: the Gentlemen for the most part given to armes, and the peasant in much subjection to the Gentry. The Merchant rather covetous than honourable, and

Of the Polaque.

the Schollers rather beloved than advanced: the women indifferent faire, and better witted than spoken: the old men studious, and the younger sort seldome idle; little given to drinke, and as little accounting of honour, except it be in the field.

Of the Netherlander and Dane.

For the *Low-countries* and *Denmarke*, you shall finde them much to agree in nature, but that *Denmarke* will admit a King, which I finde not willing in the *Low-countries*. Their Magistrates are rather wise by experience than by study; and the Souldier fitter for the Sea than the field. *Denmarke* is governed by the Kings law set downe: but the *Low-countries* have divers formes of Government, in a manner according to the disposition of the States and Governours: much given to drinke, and yet serving their times: politike in their government: their old men wise and covetous; their young men thrifty and industrious; and their Merchant very ambitious. For their religious, thinke of them as you finde them; I have seene them much reverenced, and well maintained. And as for their Ladies, they are wittie and of a good complexion; for the most part many of them are very faire, and much given to honour vertue; rather neat than proud in their attire; very kinde where they take affection.

The Muscovite.

The *Muscovite* is proud, stately, malicious: and those which be slaves are slaves indeed, especially when their Emperour or Lord controlleth: Superstitious, tending almost to idolatry; jealous, as having many wives; and bad performers of promise; nor must you challenge him of the same; for the good which floweth from him, commeth commonly from the fountaine of free will. Their women are very private, fearefull to offend; but once lascivious, intolerably wanton, beastly, idle, and ill attended.

The Grecian.

The *Greeks* are merry, lyers, blasphemers, promisebreakers, buggers, strong membred, and blacke haired. Their women are stately, comely of person, proud without doores; no lovers of dalliance, yet desirous of the company of men; cleanly in washing and shaving themselves:

whom

whom the *Italians* imitate, as also doe the East hot Countries, by reason the company of many men, may grow otherwise to great inconvenience, mercenary, fantasticall in apparell, and loving those who speake their language.

The *Turke* is a warlike proud man; a scorner of other Nations and languages; no idle talker, or doer of any thing superfluous: a judiciall sound fellow, hot and venerious; comely of person; majesticall in gate; a slave to his Emperour, and a lover of *Mahomets* race and Religion. Their women small of stature, for the most part of good complexions, and not to be seene or spoken to abroad: jealous, revengefull (when they have opportunity) lascivious within doores or in their baths; very pleasing in matters of incontinency, and cleanly. The Turke.

The *Persian* is lordly in his complement; rather fantasticall than curious in his apparell, yet sumptuous; and in his expences magnificent: maintainers of Nobility; lovers of learning and good qualities: fearfull of troubles, desirous of peace, and superstitious in his Religion. Their women gorgeous in attire, with high *Tiaras* and veiles, like the *Sultaneses* amongst the *Turks*: long sitters at feasts, delightsome in sequestration of pleasure; as beginning with a modest shamefulnesse, but ere you have concluded, delicately wanton; cleanly in much washing, but withall using perfumes and odours; loving truly, and desirous to be preferred in the first place of her husbands affection: For hauing many wives, they are desirous to please. The Persian.

The *Armenians* are very merry, sluttish, careless of greatnesse, desiring peace and ease, though it tend to slavery and bondage: having great bodies, comely, and willing to be soothed in any thing. Their women tall, and not faire, soone old, poore, loving their children, and incontinent. The Armenian.

The *Tartars* are swartish, illfavoured, with a great thick lip, flattish nose, careless of outward ornaments, swift on foot, vigilant, laborious, warlike, yet loving presents, and desirous to be much made of: their women futable, only wanting The Tartar.

or scorning money, they will bedecke themselves like the people of *Virginia*, with gewgaies of copper and latton about their armes and necks.

The Moore. The *Moore* is comely of body, stately of gate, of sufficient constitution to endure any worke or travell, implacable in hatred, treacherous, tumultuous, and superstitious. Their women have delicate soft skins, sumptuous in jewels, odors and perfumes, incontinent, good bed-fellowes in the darke, beautifull in blacknesse, and revengefull; yet being bought a slave, extraordinary loving to their masters, so they be well pleased and used accordingly, but being once got with childe, they expect manumission according to the custome of the *Mahometan* Law.

The Savoyen. The *Savoyen* is penurious, fooliſh, and ill-nurtured, yet doe the better sort imitate the *Spaniſh* pride, and by reason of his neighbour-hood to *France* and *Millane*, are reasonable good Souldiers, and the better enabled by the hardnesse of the mountaines. The women are strangely apparelled, ill-favoured, scolding, must be discommended, and for the most part wenny, that is, having great bunches under their chinnes with drinking snow water, like the *Helvetians* and 13. *Cantons*.

The Switzer. The *Switzer* is strange in his attire, yet not transgressing the limits of his inheritance; have great bodies, and are mercenary, as performing what he is commanded, and one that best approveth of his owne Country and habit; even preferring his owne snowy hils and coldnesse, before the fertilleſt places of *Lumbardy*. Their women are honest, somewhat better favoured than the *Savoyen*, ill brought up, plaine dealers, and so loveth her husband or friend, that she will goe with him to the campe, and dresse his meat.

As for the Kingdomes of *Saca*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and many like Nations, invironing the East and South of the Caspian, I meane not to relate of, because I finde the best Authors unacquainted with their properties and discoveries. The *Armenians* report them to be tyrannous, their chiefe exercise to be rapine, and murthering of passengers; with-

out

out forme of government, or controll of ſuperiours. Which done, they flie to the mountaines, and in deſpight of any forces, continue unſubjected; howſoever, unpuniſhed.

And therefore ſince I have deciphered the perſons, let me in a word adviſe thee of their properties: that is, to take heed of the pride of *Spaine*, the poyſon of *Italy*, the treaſon of *France*, and the drinke of *Flanders*. Beware of company, and let not raſh truſt in friendſhip produce matter of fruitleſſe repentance: Remember that *Damon* and *Pithias*, *Pilades* and *Oreſtes*, are all dead, or elſe it is but a dead ſtory. Nature alters like humours and complexions, every minute of an houre. And ſhould I not ſpeake too much to the worlds ſhame, I would adviſe thee to thinke, that there is no one man faithfull to another in the world. And therefore in this dangerous age, ſince every man is neereſt, and onely neere unto himſelfe, and hee is held the onely wiſe man, who hath the world at moſt command, let no man ſo preſume of his owne ſufficiency, as to neglect the benefit of counſell. Take a young man for thy companion, rather than for thy friend. The world affordeth but one Phenix, and let not any man be ſo conceited, as to thinke to finde him in his owne imagination. Serve God with devotion, and then care not for the devils illuſion.

When thou returneſt from theſe forren men, and forren places, reſolve then alſo to leave their forren manners. Firſt, come home to thy ſelfe, and then faſhion thy carriage, thy apparell, thy ſtudies, thy conſcience, and thy converſation, to the beſt patterne of the place, from whence at firſt with good intent thou began'ſt thy pilgrimage. So ſhall the remembrance of thy travell be pleaſant, the profit infinite, and thy returne an ornament to King and Country.

The Second Booke.

Of Europe.

The Commendations, Bounds, Religions, and Languages of it.

IT now remaineth, that I beginne to tell you, how according to our beſt and lateſt Coſmographers, this great Globe (for parts and parcels whereof, ſo great and univerſall quarrels have from the beginning beene entertained amongſt Princes, Peoples, and Nations) hath beene divided into ſeven parts: The firſt three whereof, viz. Europe, Africa, *and* Aſia, *were knowne to the Ancients. The fourth is* America Septentrionalis, *containing the Provinces of* Eſtotilant, Terra de Labrador, Terra de Bacchaleos, Nova Francia, Norimbega, Florida, Nova Hiſpania, *and others. The fifth is,* America Meridionalis, *which is a* pene-Inſula, *and disjoyned from the former by a ſmall* Iſthmus *or necke of Land, containing the Regions of* Braſil, Tiſnada, Caribana, Peguana, *and* Peruvia. *The ſixt, is termed* Terra Auſtralis, *wherein lieth* Pſitaicorum regio, Terra del fengo, Beach, Lucach, *and* Maletur, *ſituate betweene* Iava major, *and* Iava minor. *The laſt being under the Northerne Pole, is the leaſt of the reſidue, all almoſt unknowne, and divided by* Mercator *(upon a meere*

meere fabulous report of one that was never there.) into foure Iſlands, lying in a manner under the very Pole. This part hath not hitherto beene diſcovered, the neereſt approach that any man of Europe *ever yet made to the North Pole was by one* Marmaduke, *who in a ſhip of* Hull *arrived in* 82. *degrees, that is no neerer than within* 8. *whole degrees of the Pole, mountaines of Ice keeping him from diſcovering further.*

Of all theſe ſeven parts, becauſe Europe *is farre leſſe than any of the reſt, and yet exceedeth them all in Nobleneſſe, Magnificence, multitude of people, in might, puiſſance, and renowne; we will firſt beginne with the deſcription thereof. It is bounded on the North, with the North Ocean Sea, on the South with the* Mediterranean, *on the Eaſt with the floud* Tanais, *and on the Weſt with the Weſt Ocean. It containeth more than foure and twenty Chriſtian Kingdomes at this day, as farre excelling the reſidue of the Provinces in Religion, Arts, Valour, and Civilitie, as in elder age it did ſurpaſſe them in Proweſſe and Reputation.*

The principall Provinces, are Spaine, France, Belgia, Germany, Italy, Sclavonia, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Lituania, Moſcovia, *and that toward the North, called* Scandia; *wherein are* Denmarke, Norwey, Swethland, Iutland, *&c. The Iſlands are* Brittaine (*containing the Kingdomes of* England *and* Scotland) Ireland, Iſland, *and* Engroneland, *in the North Ocean. In the* Mediterranean, *are* Sicilie, Candia, Corſica, Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca, Nigropont, Malta, Corſu, Salamine, Mitilene, Sciros, *with many other in the* Archipelago. *The aire hereof is paſſing good, wholeſome, temperate, and ſoile exceeding*

fertile. Therein are many goodly Cities, famous Mart-Townes, and learned Vniversities. The people thereof have in all ages excelled all other Regions, in Courage, Arts, sharpnesse of Wit, and all other gifts of Nature. In times past, it commanded Asia, *and* Afrike, *by the Armes of the* Greeks *and* Romans ; *and at this day, it is of great force by the power of the* Turks *and* Muscovites, *and of no lesse reputation by the Navigations of the* English, Dutch, Spaniards, *and* Portugals : *so as it seemeth, that Nature hath given unto this people a precedency to rule and governe forren Provinces, as men farre surpassing all other Nations, in wisdome, courage, industry, and invention.*

This least and best part of the greater portions of the world, was so named of Europa *daughter of* Agenor *King of* Phœnicia, *brought into these parts by* Iupiter ; *in honour of whom the* Phœnicians *(being the first Navigators, and discoverers of these countries) might as well leave her name to all their new discoveries, (the habits, manners, and languages of these parts especially, at those times being all one, or not much different) as the* Turks, Æthiopians, *and all those of the East, call us by one name of* Franks, *and the Kingdomes of* France, England, Spaine, Germanies, &c. *are in the histories of the warres of the* Holy Land, *all together called the Kingdome of the* Franks, *our Languages the* Franke *tongue, and our Religion the* Franks *Religion. The figure of* Europe *is fancied to resemble a Queene, and so is she indeed, of all the world ; her Princes having some dominion or other in all parts of the world, and they none in her : The Crowne and Head of this Queene is* Spaine ; *her Necke must bee that part of* France *under the* Pyrenæan *mountaines ; her Brest*

Breſt, France *itſelfe*; *her Armes* Italy *and* Brittaine; *her Belly* Germany; *her Navell*, Bohemia; *the reſt of her Body hidden under her lower garments, are* Denmarke, Sweden, Lituania, Pruſſia, Poland, Hungaria, Dalmatia, Grecia, Moldavia, Tartary, *and* Muſcovia. *This Queene at this day commands* 28 *Kingdomes, all gathered up by three Emperours, the* German, Turke, *and* Muſcovite; *and eight Kings*, France, England, *and* Spaine, *hereditarie*; Bohemia, Hungaria, Poland, Denmarke, *and* Sweden, *elective Princes. States and Common-wealths in* Italy *and the* Germanies, *many and potent, ſome one of them* (Venice, *or the* Low Countries *by name) too hard a match for the moſt potent Prince of* Aſia, *or* Africa, *could they but come at him. For Riches, we have the moſt uſefull and ſubſtantiall; for goodly Cities*, Italy *alone hath more than* Aſia, Africa, *and* America, *all together: if other parts have any fortified townes, they here ſaw the firſt patternes. Vniverſities indowed, we onely have. Our Armes and Navigations have made us Lords of the Vniverſe. Our Arts mechanicke are incomparable. And all theſe hath God Almightie bleſſed with the ſeat of the Chriſtian Religion among us.*

Europe *is much inlarged to the Northward ſince* Ptolomees *time. The bounds are beſt ſeene in the map; the length of it is about* 3600. *Italian miles, the breadth* 2200. *miles.*

The Religions are ſuch as are profeſſed in ſeverall nations, either by toleration, as the Iewiſh, *by the* Turke, Emperour, Pole, Pope, Venetian, *and* Amſterdam: *or the Heathen, in ſome remoter parts of* Lapland, Finland, *and* Norwey, *where they are rather Witches than Chriſtians. Religions eſtabliſhed by command, are, firſt*

Mahome-

Mahometisme *under the* Turke. *Secondly, the* Greeks *religion in the same parts, and in* Russia. *Thirdly, the* Romish, *in* Spaine, Italy, France, Poland, *most of the dominions of the Emperour and other Princes of* Germanie, *the* Wallons *and* Archeduchesse *Countries. Fourthly, the reformed Churches, and they follow the doctrine either of the Scriptures, Fathers, and Councels, according to their purity, as in* England; *or else have they a relation to the opinions of Doctor* Luther, *as those of* Sweden, Denmarke, *the dominions of the* Electors *of* Saxony, Brandenburgh, *and divers others of* Germany: *or of Master* Calvin; *as in* France *especially, the* Palatinate, Hessenland, *and* Low Countries; Calvinisme *is also received in* Hungaria, *and* Transilvania; *where there be many reliques withall of* Antitrinitarians, Arrians, Ebionites, *and* Anabaptists: *Lower likewise in five of the thirteene Cantons of* Helvetia, *and amongst the* Grisons, *doe the* Calvinists *professe publikely. In* Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, *&c. the* Protestants *of the* Augustane *confession were esteemed two third parts. Of these severall Churches, though some follow the* Augustane *confession, as the* Lutherans; *some the* Helvetian, *as the* Switzers; *some the* Gallicane, *as the* Calvinists; *yet all of them agree in the fundamentall and saving points, and all accord in their detestation of the* Roman; *as is to bee seene in the* Harmony of Confessions.

Of the Languages of Europe, Scaliger *finds eleven mother tongues, the foure noblest of which, be the* Greeke, Latine, Sclavonian, *and* Dutch; *each subdivided into her daughter-dialects. The learned* Greeke *is no where vulgarly spoken at this day: The moderne, is nothing but a barbarous composition of* Turkish, Sclavonian, *and* Italian,

lian, *with the old* Greeke *corrupted. The* Latine (*worne also out of vulgar use*) *is degenerated into the* Italian, Spaniſh, *and* French, *all which three were anciently called* Romanſe. *The* Sclavonian *is a large & a ſtately tongue; it hath theſe dialects, the* Bohemian, Ruſſian, Polonian, Illyrian, Windiſh, *and the* Dalmatian : *The Characters be of two kindes ; the ancient, called the* Dalmatian ; *and the* Ruſſian *letter, corrupted from the* Greekiſh. *Theſe* Sclavonian *dialects and tongues doe differ, yet not ſo much as the* Italian *and* Spaniſh. *The worſt of the foure beſt is the* German *tongue, and that varied into the high and Low* Dutch ; *as alſo into the* Saxiſh, Friſian, Engliſh, North-Albing, *and the* Daniſh ; *which laſt is variouſly ſpoken by the* Danes *of* Denmarke, Sweden, *and* Norway ; *whence the* Iſland *ſpeech alſo commeth ; if theſe two laſt be not the ancient* Gothiſh.

The other ſeven of meaner elegancie are, firſt the Albanian, *ſpoken by the* Epirotes. *Secondly, the* Tartarian. *Thirdly, the* Hungarian, *brought out of* Aſia *by the* Hunnes. *Fourthly, the* Finns *and* Laplanders *ſpeech in the North of* Sweden. *Fifthly, the* Iriſh. *Sixthly, the* Welſh, *whoſe worth (being moſt expreſſively ſignificant, and having beene the language of the ancient* Celtæ, *and ſpoken in the moſt part of* Europe) *could not be valued, becauſe not underſtood, by the learned* Scaliger. *Dialects of this (but much varied) are our* Corniſh, *and that of* Brittaigne *in* France. *Seventhly, The* Biſcaigners *inhabiting for ſeven dayes journey on both ſides the* Pyrenæan *mountaines. Tis the reliques of the ancient* Spaniſh, *before it was altered by the* Latine. Scaliger *never heard of the* Manks *language, ſpoken by ours of the Ile of* Man, *the moſt of which is ſurely derived from the* Iriſh. *The*

Wallons

Wallons *alſo of the* Low Countries *have a* French *dialect, ſcarce to be underſtood by a peaſant about* Paris.

Ireland.

THis kingdome, by the *Engliſh*, *Spaniſh*, and *French*, is tearmed *Irland*, or *Ireland*; by the Brittiſh *Yuerdhon*, by the Inhabitants *Eryn*. According to the Celeſtiall Globe, it is ſituated betweene the Artike Circle, and the Tropike of *Cancer*, but neerer the Artike, containing in Latitude foure degrees and an halfe, and according to the computation of our late Writers, betweene the twentie and the 25. Paralels. In the South parts, their longeſt day is of ſixteene houres, with three fourths: In the Northerne, of almoſt eighteene. According to the Terreſtriall, it ſtands between the greater *Brittanie* and *Spaine*: on the Eaſt, disjoyned from *England* wich a tempeſtuous ſea, termed *Hibernicum*, not above one dayes ſailing: upon the Weſt beateth the vaſt Ocean: upon the North (where the *Deucalidon* Ocean diſgorgeth) it hath *Iſland*, disjoyned no further than a ſhip in one day may ſaile unto: upon the South, it beholdeth *Spaine* (diſtant three dayes ſailing) and the *Vergivian* Sea: From South to North it repreſenteth an Ovall forme, and by halfe is leſſe than *Brittanie*. Amongſt many writers *Camden*, whom a man may beſt relie upon, reporteth that it containeth 400. miles in length, and in breadth 200.

The aire hereof is moſt wholſome, the ſituation milde, the weather temperate, but not altogether good to ripen fruit: For neither in Summer ſeaſon, the heat is ſo parching that it driveth the Inhabitant to ſeeke the ſhade, neither the cold in Winter ſo rigorous, but that he may well live from the fire ſide: By the influence of the aire, all parts of the yeare are tolerably warme. It bringeth forth no venomous creature,

creature, neither nouriſheth any brought from other places. The quality of the ſoile and conſtellation of the Heavens is moiſt with the moſt; whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that both inhabitants and ſtrangers are troubled with the flix and Rheumes, and holpen or prevented with drinking *Aqua-vitæ*. The Land is of divers Natures, in ſome place rough and mountainous, in others, boggie and wateriſh; ſhadowed with huge woods, and expoſed to the winds, with intermixture of many great Lakes. Yea, in the ridge of their higheſt hils (mountaines indeed I cannot terme them) you ſhall find pooles & mariſhes. It hath goodly havens, and delectable plaines, but neither comparable to the woods for largeneſſe, nor greenneſſe. It is generally fertile except *Ulſter*, (which in ſome parts is fertile, in other-ſome barren;) And *Conaght*, which (in times paſt) through idleneſſe hath beene leſſe manured than any other Country, is fuller of hils and bogges, and for the greateſt portion woody. The hils ſwarme with cattell and ſheepe, from whence they reape plenty of butter, cheeſe, and milke. The wheat thereof is ſmall and ſhort, and thoſe vines which they cheriſh, ſerve rather for ſhade than profit. For in thoſe countries the Sunne entring into *Virgo*, cauſeth cold gales to blow, and in Autumne the after-noones heat is ſo faint and ſhort, that it cannot ripen the cluſters of the vine. It bringeth forth a race of excellent horſe, fit for journies in regard of their ambling paces, but not commendable for indurance. It breedeth the injurious Wolfe, and the Fox, as alſo all other creatures tame and gentle, neceſſary for life, but of leſſer growth except the Grey-hound. Almoſt all the woods are repleniſhed with Deere, (and thoſe ſo fat, that they can ſcant runne for fatneſſe,) with Bores, Hares, in great abundance, Goats, Fallow-Deere: Hedg-Hogges, and Moales, are ſeldome ſeene, but Mice infinite. It aboundeth alſo with Falcons, Merlins, Eagles, Cranes, and in the Northerly parts with Swannes. Storks are very rarely heard of thorow the whole Iſland, but ſuch as are there found are blacke. Pies and Nightingales are altogether wanting.

wanting. By reaſon of the Sea, their famous Rivers, and ſpacious Lakes, it is ſerved with moſt excellent Fiſh, and that peculiar to this Iſland onely. For to let paſſe many other, in *Vlſter*, the *Ban* being a moſt faire and cleare water, and ariſing out of the Lake of *Eaugh*, is the moſt plentifull River for Salmon that is to be found thorowout all *Europe*. For plenty and varietie, the like is to be reported of *Sinens* and *Erno*, a Lake by *Camdens* report, thirty miles long, and fifteene broad: Report ſaith, that this was once a delicate plot of ground, and well inhabited, but for the beſtiall abuſe of the people, it was ſuddenly ſwallowed in the waters. And to prove this true, men ſay that in faire ſeaſons, the Turrets and tops of houſes, are in the bottome to bee diſcerned.

The Iſland became ſubject to the Crowne of *England*, about the yeare of our Lord 1175. *Henry* the ſecond then reigning. At what time *Roderic*, King of *Conaght*, intituling himſelfe King of *Ireland*, inforced the reſidue of thoſe petty Roytelets, to crave aſſiſtance of the King of *England*, under whoſe protection they voluntarily yeelded their obeyſance.

It hath fifty Biſhopricks, whereof *Armach* is a Primacy, and *Metropolitan* of the whole Iſland. *Caſſils* is another Archbiſhopricke, authorized by Pope *Eugenius*, and hath under it nine ſuffragan Biſhops: *Dublin* is another, and *Toam* another.

It is divided into foure Provinces, (viz.) *Leynſter*, which Eaſtward reſpecteth *Engläd*. *Mounſter*, which lieth towards *France* Southward. *Conaght*, expoſed to the Weſt. And *Vlſter*, ſituated in the Northerly part of the Iſland. Some adde a fifth, placed in the middeſt, and terme it *Meath*.

Every one now is ſubdivided into Counties, and each Countie into Baronies, and hundreds; and every Barony into Pariſhes, conſiſting of Manors, Townes, and Villages, after the manner of *England*. That parcell of territorie which anciently was termed the *Pale*, is about the quantity of Yorke-ſhire in *England*, and is a Country at this day inhabited

bited by Noblemen and Gentlemen, deſcended of Engliſh race, being civill men, and have continued their obedience to the Crowne of *England*, and retained their Engliſh language ſince the firſt conqueſt. This people doe commonly marry within themſelves, and not with the meere Iriſh, who could never in their ſundry rebellions, draw the ſaid inhabitants to joyne with them by flattery, or expell them by force. The firſt Colonies planted therein, were compoſed of worthy and noble Engliſhmen, and eſpecially ſeated in *Dublin*, and other Cities, and borough townes thorowout the Realme: whoſe progeny having the mannagement of the affaires of the kingdome, ſubdued by degrees the greateſt part of the Iriſh, and brought them under ſubjection to the Crowne of *England*. And ſo long as they and their poſterity were imployed, as principall Officers in time of warre and peace, (being men throughly informed of all paſſages within the Kingdome, and acquainted with the diſpoſitions of the people) the Realme was worthily governed, and duly increaſed in civility, and yeelded ſome profit to the crowne without charge. Other Engliſh Colonies at ſundry times have there beene ſince planted, and eſpecially by our late and moderne Soveraignes, in the Provinces of *Mounſter* and *Vlſter*, by the name of Vndertakers: whereupon it groweth, that the Realme is now inhabited with Engliſh, and Iriſh deſcended of Engliſh race; and with the meere and ancient Iriſhmen, unto whoſe Nobilitie and Gentry, the ſir-names of *Mac* or *O* are commonly added. Vpon the Conqueſt, *Henry* the ſecond eſtabliſhed the lawes of *England*, then being divided into kinds, *viz.* the *Common law*, (as that the eldeſt ſhould inherit his fathers lands) and *Cuſtome law*, that (by the particular cuſtome of Manors and Townes,) lands ſhould be divided by the cuſtome of Gavelkinde, amongſt all his ſonnes; or that the youngeſt ſonne onely ſhould inherit the ſame, by the cuſtome of Borough-Engliſh: whereunto is to bee added a third, *viz.* the *Statute law*. Government.

He and his ſucceſſors held the poſſeſſion thereof, with all

all ſoveraigne royalty, and kingly prerogatives, by the name of Lords of *Ireland*; untill the day of king *Henry* the eighth, who by act of Parliament was acknowledged, intituled, and entred King of the ſaid kingdome, and ſo continueth it unto this day, being governed as a diſtinct kingdome by a *Lieutenant*, for Authority (Traine, Furniture, Proviſion, &c. farre ſurpaſſing any *Deputation* thorowout Chriſtendome) wherein Courts of Parliament are & have there beene held, conſiſting of the three Eſtates of the kingdome, in the ſame forme as is uſed in *England*, by commiſſion from the King under the great ſeale of *England*, authorizing the Viceroy, or Deputie, to ſummon a parliament there, and to give the Royall aſſent unto ſuch acts, as are agreed upon in that Parliament: wherein the King and his Councell of Eſtate of *England*, are to bee informed by certificate under the great ſeale of *Ireland*, by force of a Statute made in *Ireland*, in the tenth yeare of *Henry* the ſeventh. And after the kings allowance, the bils to be enacted and propounded in the Parliament there; So the Lord Deputy by force of the ſaid Commiſſion, gives the Kings royall aſſent, to ſuch acts as are agreed upon in the ſaid Parliament there.

So (as I ſaid before) *Ireland* is not onely governed by the *Common lawes* of *England*, by *certaine ancient cuſtomes* of that realme and this; and by divers ſtatutes here and there alſo, upon occaſion enacted; but alſo the like Courts and formes of Iuſtice are there (according to the ſaid lawes) uſed and adminiſtred: And alſo the Iudiciall records are made in Latine, and the Iudges and Lawyers doe plead in Engliſh, as is accuſtomed in *England*.

For the ſtudying of which Lawes, the Iriſh Gentlemen doe ſend their ſonnes to the Innes of Court in *England*, being alwayes ſuch as are deſcended of Engliſh race, and not of meere Iriſh: who are allowed to practiſe in *England*, after they are called to the Barre, as Engliſhmen are alſo allowed to practiſe in *Ireland*.

Neither the Nobility nor Commons of *Ireland* have any ſuffrage

ſuffrage in the election of the Viceroy, or blazing of Soveraigne Magiſtrates, but all is done by the King, and ſuch as are eſpecially authorized. And the inhabitants of Cities, and Borough-townes in *Ireland*, by their charters, (which they have from the Kings of *England*) doe elect their Magiſtrates and Officers, as the Cities and townes of *England* doe.

In *England*, the ancienteſt Earles of *Ireland* do give precedency to the Earles of *England*, for that they have no voice in the Parliament of *England*: neither hath the Nobility of *England* any voyce or prerogative in the Parliaments of *Ireland*. So Iriſhmen borne, are denizens by birth in *England*, and may beare Office, and inherit lands in *England*, (as experience teacheth) without charters of denization, as Engliſhmen are, and doe in *Ireland*. And ſo Iriſhmen pay onely ſuch cuſtomes and duties in *England*, as Engliſhmen doe, and ought.

The Wards of the Nobilitie are diſpoſed of by the King; and of inferiour perſons, by the Viceroy, and certaine of the Councell there, according to their Commiſſion. Even ſo titles of honours, lands and offices are uſually granted by the Kings of *England*, under the great ſeale of *England*, or *Ireland*, according to pleaſure.

The incivility (wherewith this ſo goodly a kingdome hath beene much branded) hath chiefly ariſen from want of education and learning: And ſecondly, for that the Country aboundeth with idle men, having no trade whereupon to live: which onely abuſe hath incouraged rebellion, the Ring-leaders not doubting to bee followed by theſe ſwarmes of diſſolute perſons, ready to take armes upon any occaſion for deſire of ſpoile.

But verily, ſithence that now of late the King of Peace and Pietie, hath wiped away all diſtruſt of former neglects, by his continuall induſtry to plant Religion and Arts, to re-people the waſted Provinces, and to extirpate the innated idleneſſe of the worſt bred *Iriſh*; there is no queſtion (under God) to be made, but that this beautifull Iſland,

being so neere a neighbour, so fruitfull in soile, so rich in pasture (more than credible) beset with so many woods, inriched with so many Minerals, watred with so many Rivers, invironed with so many Havens, lying fit and commodious for Navigation into most wealthy Countries, will in time prove profitable to the Church, advantagious to the Prince, pleasing to the Inhabitants, and comparable to any the best and civillest kingdomes of the Christian Common-weale.

Great Brittaine.

The Situation of England.

THe whole Island of *Brittaine* once divided, now re-united, under the name of the kingdome of *Great Brittaine*, is an Island situated in the maine Ocean, over against *France*, and divided into foure great Provinces: The first whereof the *Englishmen* doe inhabit; the second, the *Scots*; the third, the *Welshmen*; and the last, the *Cornishmen*. Every one of these doe differ from other, either in language, in manners, or in customes.

England, so termed of the *Englishmen* (the Inhabitants thereof) is by much the greater and goodlier portion, and divided into nine and twenty Provinces, which they terme Shires. Of the which, ten doe make the prime part of the Kingdome, and inclining towards the South, have their existence betweene the Thames and the Sea. Next as farre as the Trent, which runneth thorow the middest of *England*, are sixteene other Shires proportioned, whereof the first six lie towards the East, and the other ten lie more to the Inland, other six border upon *Wales*, and are bounded towards the West. About the heart of the Kingdome lie *Darbishire*, *Yorkeshire*, *Lancashire*, and *Cumberland*. And upon the left hand, inclining towards the West, *Westmerland*. Vpon the contrary side lie *Durham*, and *Northumberland*; Provinces opposed to the North, and sometime appertaining to the Crowne of *Scotland*.

These

These Shires are two wayes divided: first, into six circuits, parted among the Iudges, who twice a yeare goe over them for the holding of Assises. Secondly, into two Archbishopricks; *Canterbury*, who hath two and twenty Bishoprickes under his Province; and *Yorke*, who hath three in his. These are by the *Grecians* termed Dioceses, and take their denominations from the Cities wherein the Bishops have their Seas; the chiefe whereof is *London*, and was once the seat of an Archbishop, now translated unto *Canterbury*. Bishopricks.

This prime part, upon the East and the South is bounded with the Ocean: upon the West with *Wales* and *Cornwall*; upon the North with *Tweed*; the bounder also of *England* and *Scotland*.

At this River of *Tweed* endeth the length thereof; which being accounted to beginne at the Shore which lieth most Southerly, is from thence reckoned to containe about three hundred and twenty miles.

On this side the *Humber* it is accounted the fertilest for corne; beyond, mountainous, but excellent for herbage. For albeit, to one that beholdeth it afarre off, it seemeth all champian, notwithstanding, it hath many hils, and those for the most part destitute of wood; as also most pleasant vallies, wherein especially the Gentlemen have their mansions: who according to their old customes dwell not in Townes, but approach the Vallies and Rivers, and inhabit the Villages, as I thinke, the better to avoid the furie of tempestuous winds, whereunto the Island is sometime subject. Wherby it commeth to passe, that the Yeomen conversing with the Gentry, doe in every place savour of some good fashion, and the Vpland Cities are the lesse famoused.

The land generally is exceeding fertile, and plentifull in beasts: whereby it commeth to passe that the *English* people are more addicted unto Grazing, than unto Tillage: so that almost the third part of the soile is reserved rather for Cattell, Deere, Conies, and Goats: (for of this sort also there is great store in *Wales*.) And in every Shire you shall see Parkes impaled, and Forrests replenished with these

beasts; in the hunting whereof, the Nobility and Gentry doe much delight; there being more Parks in *England*, than in all *Europe* besides.

For provision of the Inhabitants, neither is it lesse stored with corne, wilde fowle, and fish, so that for plenty, goodnesse, and sweetnesse, it needeth neither the helpe of *France*, no, nor of any neighbour-bordering Country. Among other things, the flesh especially of their Swine, Oxen, and Veales, have the best relish of any part of Christendome; and of Fish, their Pike and Oysters. It bringeth not forth Mules nor Asses, but of Horse, for pace the best in the world, and of those infinite proportions, for service, running, and coursing.

Wealth. The wealth hereof consisteth in the never-decaying Mines of Tinne and Lead, of Copper, Iron, and Coales; On the Downes groweth a small and tender kinde of grasse, neither dunged nor watred with spring or river; but in Winter nourished with the moisture of the aire, and in Summer with the dew of Heaven; which is so gratefull and pleasing to the Sheepe, that it causeth them to beare fleeces of singular goodnesse, and exceeding fineneſse. The Island breedeth no Wolves, nor any other ravening beast; and therefore these their flockes wander night and day, by Hils, Dales, and Fields, as well inclosed, as common, without feare or danger. Most delicate Cloths are woven of this Wooll, which from thence are transported in great abundance, into *Germany*, *Poland*, *Denmarke*, *Sweveland*, *Italy*, *Turkie*, and the *Indies*, where they are in high request. There grow all sorts of pulse, great store of Saffron; yea, infinite quantities of Beere are transported from thence into *Belgia*; as also Pelts, Hides, Tallow, and Sea-coale. The Island is so commodiously seated for the Sea, that it is never without resort of *Portugall*, *Spanish*, *French*, *Flemmish*, and Easterling Merchants. The traffike betweene the *English* and the *Flemmish*, ariseth to an inestimable value: for *Guicciardin* writeth, that before the tumults of the *Low-countries*, they bartered for twelve millions of crownes yearely.

The

The aire is somewhat thicke, and therefore more subject to the gathering of clouds, raine, and winds; but withall, lesse distempered with heat or cold, for the same reasons of crassitude. The nights are lightsome, and in the Northermost parts of the Land, they are so short, that the falling and rising of the Sunne is discerned but by a small intermission; for that the Island is situated almost full North, and the Sunne in the Summer time moving slowly, and staying long in the Northerne Climates, doth almost compasse it round above. In the Winter, it is as farre removed, when approaching neerer the South, it runneth towards the East. I my selfe have observed, that in the City of *London* (being seated in the Southerly part of the Island) about the Summer Solstice, the night hath not beene above five houres long. At all seasons of the yeare the Country is most temperate, being subject to no extraordinary evill influence of the Heavens, so that diseases are not there very common, and therefore lesse use of Physicke than in other places: yea, many times some people there are, who attaine unto one hundred and ten yeares of age; yea some to one hundred and twenty.

Earth-quakes are here seldome heard of: and lightnings almost to speake of, as seldome. The soyle is very fruitfull and plentifull, and of all necessaries it yeeldeth abundance, except of those things which are peculiar to hotter, or colder Regions. Vines are fostered rather for the pleasure of their shadowes, than for the increase of their profits: yet prosper they in all places, and bring forth Grapes; which notwithstanding hardly wax ripe, unlesse an unusuall hot Summer, or an artificiall reflexion doe helpe them. Wheat, Rye, Barley, and Oats, are sowed in their seasons: other graines they commonly use not; and of Pulse, onely Beanes and Pease. The fruits suddenly knot, but ripen slowly; the cause of either is the overmuch moisture both of the soile and the aire. Wine (as aforesaid) the Land affordeth not; in stead whereof, beere is in request; without controversie by use, a pleasant and wholsome Be-

verage. Wines are transported from *France*, *Spaine*, and *Canaie*. The Woods are full of fruit trees, and most plentifull of Mast. The Rivers faire, and runne through many Provinces. The Downes are many, yet neither cumbred with wood, nor overlayed with water, which by reason therof bringeth forth a tender and short grasse, gratefull and sufficient for the pasturage of infinite flockes of sheepe; And whether it be by the influence of the Heavens, or the goodnesse of the land, they yeeld the finest and softest fleeces thorow the whole world.

And first I must put you in minde of a Miracle; how this beast, besides the dew of Heaven ordinarily tasteth of no other water, so that the shepherds of purpose doe drive them from all watry places, upon true observation; *That to let them drinke, is to let them bane.* Without doubt this is the true golden Fleece, wherein the maine wealth of the whole Island consisteth. And for to buy this commoditie, immensive treasure is yearely reconveyed into the Land by Merchants; from whence it is never conveyed, because it is provided by the Lawes of the Kingdome; *That no person transport Gold or Silver, Plate, Iewels, &c.* Whereby it commeth to passe, that no Countrey under the Cope of Heaven is richer than *England*. For, besides those masses of Coyne, which passe this way and that way, through the hands of Tradesmen, Merchants, and Gentlemen; there is almost no person of meane condition, but for the use of his daily table, he hath either a Salt, Cups, or Spoones of Silver, and according to his estate, more or lesse, for divers services.

It is no lesse stored with all kinde of Beasts, except Asses, Mules, Camels, and Elephants. It bringeth forth no materiall venomous Creature, or Beast of prey, save the Fox, worthy talking of: for the race of the Wolves is quite extinguished, and therefore all sorts of cattell stray as they list, and are in safetie without any great care-taking for an Heardsman: so that you shall see Heards of Rother Beasts and Horses, and Flocks of Sheepe, in all places wandring by day

day and by night, upon Hils and in Vallies, in Commons, and incloſed Grounds, (by ancient Cuſtomes laid open after Harveſt) wherein every Neighbour claimeth communitie to feed his Cattell.

For in truth, the Oxe and the Weather are Creatures eſpecially ordained for the Table, than whoſe fleſh there is not in any place a more ſavourie or delicious ſervice. Of the two, the Steere is the beſt, eſpecially if it be ſeaſonably powdered: of which there is no marvell, for that this choice is altogether exempted from labour, and fed up for food, and withall the diet of the Engliſh Nation conſiſting moſt upon fleſh.

The people are tall of ſtature, faire of complexion, for the greater part gray-eyed; and as in pronunciation they approach the *Italian*, ſo in conſtitution of body and faſhion they doe well-neere imitate them. They are civilly qualified, and take counſell by leaſure; knowing that profitable proceedings have none a more dangerous adverſary than raſhneſſe. Of their owne diſpoſitions, they are courteous, and in all good offices forwards, eſpecially the Gentry, even towards ſtrangers. Their acquaintance they invite to their houſes, and there entertaine them kindly, and feaſt them both at noone and at night merrily, neatly, heartily, and bountifully: and this they terme courteſie, or neighbourhood. In battell they are fearleſſe, excellent Archers, and in ſervice unindurable of temporizing, and therefore the ſword being once drawne, they forthwith ſet at all upon the hazzard of a battell, knowing that all good ſucceſſe attendeth the fortune of the Victor. Fortreſſes they build none, but rather ſuffer thoſe which heretofore have beene built, and are now by age growne ruinous, utterly to periſh: but being once in forren parts, they retaine all military diſcipline to the utmoſt. For Booke-men, their maintenance is bountifull, their proficiencie commendable, and their number numberleſſe. Their attire differeth not much from the *French*; their women are amiable and beautifull, and attired in moſt comely faſhion. Their Cities are honourable, their

Qualities of the Engliſh.

their Townes famous, Hamlets frequent, and Villages every where magnificent.

So that if any courteous Traveller would desire of mee to behold an Idea of happinesse *in abstracto*, fitting for the generall necessitie of life and upright conversation, *viz.* the use of diet, clothing, sociable feastings, solemne festivals and banquets, with approbation of magnificence: Or demand to see the place, where Law, indifferent to all sorts, permitteth the private man to thrive, to purchase estates, to devise chattels and inheritances to his children and kinsfolkes; to reward servants; or to countenance followers; with libertie of civill conversation, of comely burials and mourning for the dead, of rejoycings at mariages, of honest and friendly visitations, and harmlesse recreation; where every man eateth under his owne Vine, and doth what seemeth good in his owne eyes, so it tend not to scandall: Then let mee be bold to shew him the noble Kingdome of *England*; which to approve, I intend by way of comparison, (wherein most of our Gentrie are well acquainted) to make good what, I thinke, without offence, may be truly avouched.

England compared with Russia, and Æthiopia.

And first wee will begin with those Countries, of which wee have only knowledge by way of traffike, and so travell into *Russia* and *Æthiopia*. But there (alas to say nothing of the government, the sole load-starre of goodnesse and happinesse) the two extremities of heat and cold debarre both *Plentie* and *Abundance*, from unloading their laps amongst the Inhabitants, comparable to our happinesse and satisfaction. As for their government, and uniformitie of a Common-wealth (the name of Emperours only excepted) there is nothing worthy observation, more than the tyrannous controlling of Lawes, and the immediate prostitution of all sorts to the imperious will of the prevailer; nor in truth have they temple, palace, wisdome, peace or tranquillitie, such as Royaltie or good government intendeth, but both Empires (especially *Russia*) have suffered many convulsions from ambitious Vsurpers and unworthy Princes,

ces, who have traiterouſly ſupplanted one another, and by indirect courſes brought the ſubject into the houſe of ſlaughter; which undoubtedly is the maine reaſon why they cannot come neere magnificence, proviſion in houſe-keeping, navie, multitude of Princes, Nobles or ſubjects, with the equality of obedience to advance a true Scepter, or to manifeſt the glory of a king, by the flouriſhing condition of all eſtates. In a word, their Cities and Townes are ſubject to ſuch beſtiality and confuſion, that they ſeeme rather routed troopes of deformity, than men orderly diſpoſed to the mannagement of affaires, either of commerce, or of Noble trade: And ſo, in all other particulars, there is a meere diſparity betweene them and our propoſition.

With Germanie.

Shall we come neerer home, and with prying eyes (like the Cenſors of *Rome*) looke into the Empire of *Germany*? there the Princes are ſo abſolute, and the Emperour ſo timorous to raigne (as *Aſſueroth* did) from *India* to *Æthiopia*, over 127. Provinces, that neither the Queene of *Saba* will come to heare his wiſdome, nor to view the order of his Palace; neither will the King of *Arabia* ſend him preſents, nor the Confederates admire his magnificence: The Merchant will not bring him horſe, and fine linnen from remote places, nor ſupply his wants according to the prerogative of Kings: Nor are the Cities ordered by the appointment of his Miniſters, nor can he ſend his chariots to this place, nor his horſe-men to that; nor his Army whither he liſts, nor fill the ſtreets of *Ieruſalem*, when he would ſolemnize a Paſſeover? for the people live divided, and the Burger boaſteth of his policie, in manumitting themſelves, and giving their Townes the uſurpation of chiefe commandery; as for the having of many commodities, tending either to neceſſity or pleaſure, alas, the commutation conſiſteth in the inriching one another, wherin all the corruptions of avarice are put in practice, finally (God wot) to the augmentation of the Empires Majeſty. So that their Marts and Faires, are as ſo many boothes of drunkards, where with in ſtead of Ships at Sea, they fill the fields with wagons full of

ſtrange

ſtrange creatures, who make their bellies as great devourers, as the Sea. Nor can he goe with the wife King to view his navie at the red Sea ſhores, nor in perſon viſit the Cities which want fortification or repairing; nor in truth, doe any thing to come neere the ſix ſteps of gold on *Solomons* throne, but eat and carouſe, yet farre from the meane of mirth.

With Italie. Shall we venture over the *Alpes*, and the gulfe of *Venice* into *Italy*; and there ſearch the *Apennine* Hils, the fields of *Campania*, the *garden of the World*, *Lombardy*; the territories of *Rome*, or attractive *Naples*, for an inſtance of this our *Greatneſſe* and *Happineſſe*? No ſurely, For throughout this goodly territory, in one corner ruleth the *Spaniard*, at another end the *Savoyen*; then is intermingled a confuſed government of *pettie Princes*. Next lieth the *Venetian ſtate*, who meerely out of parſimonie (like their adjoyning neighbours, the *Florentines*) have obtained the reputation of wealth and greatneſſe. As for the Duke, he is but a voice unſignificant; for the Senate carrieth the ſword. And laſtly, the *Church*, with the mercenary contraries of bleſſing and curſing, keepeth Saint *Peters patrimony* as ſafe, as if the indubitate heire of ſome noble family, ſhould maintaine the privileges of his deceaſed Anceſtors.

But ſhould I knit all theſe models together, and ſet up the wals of *Rome*, incompaſſed with her ſeven hils in ſuch an order, that the fabricke might boaſt of twenty miles circuit, and the government lift up a head of *Daniels* viſion againe: Or that in a yeare of *Iubile*, I could ſettle you under the wings of an Angell on the top of the Popes Palace, as the Devill carried our Saviour to the pinacle of the Temple; And there ſhew you the conſiſtory of Cardinals, triumphs of a Popes Inauguration; his ſtately carriage (adorned with his triple crowne) on mens ſhoulders, with all the appurtenant ſhewes and ceremonies; yet would all come ſhort to our example. For the very proviſion of our Kings Palace would exhauſt the Country, conſume the commodities, and like barren ground, drinking up the raine, devoure

devoure the plenty of the Land, and pull in peeces their beſt compacted husbandry. As for their drinking in veſſels of gold, well may it ſerve to divulge the glory of ſome ambitious triumph, but nothing verifie the bounty of an overflowing cup; conſidering the wines are not onely ſmall, but the vintage ſo barren and penurious, that to conceale the ſcarcity thereof, by parſimonious cuſtome of the Country, women and children are forbidden to drinke thereof. As for the *Villano*, he is glad of water to quench his thirſt, fetcht from muddy channels, falling from the mountaines of ſnow, and cleanſed with much adoe by the ſwift courſe of *Eridanus*.

Many other defects doe beſpot the face of this goodly creature, and debarre it from the boaſt of our eſſentiall happineſſe. For though the Inne-keepers daughter goe in a ſatten gowne, and that the bravery of *Italy* be diſcovered in the attire of the people, as if every burre had golden kernels, and every corner were full of ſilkwormes; yet is there neither method of government, nor can the inhabitants rejoyce under unity, or any privileges of a ſtrong compacted Adminiſtration, tending to the aſſurance of love, true alliance, or obedience: ſo that in a manner all the defects, deforming the beauty of Kingdomes (more than ſome private bleſſings, and theſe ſcattered as it were by the hands of divine goodneſſe) may be here lookt upon with pitifull eyes, and much lamented with judiciall hearts. And however the oſtentous heaps of ſtone tranſport the ſleight credulity of the ignorant; that *it ſurpaſſeth for Cities, buildings, and outward magnificence*; yet when you come to examine particulars, you ſhall finde it like a rotten poſt gilded on the out-ſide. For what ſaith *Tacitus*; Cities *are compacted of men, and obedience of people, ſubject to a good forme of government*, and not of houſes and palaces made of lime and ſtone, unfurniſhed of dwellers, void of hoſpitality, and jealous of each others beſt inclinations. So that beſides all naturall imperfection in *Italy*, there is neither roome in the houſe for ſervants, nor litter for thy Camels; neither canſt thou fetch

the

the well-fed Veale from thy droves, nor dreſſe fine Veniſon, nor kill the fat Calfe, as in other Countries; which makes me to remember a pleaſant jeſt of one of the ſame Country, ſpoken to a ſtranger, demanding the reaſon why the Muttons and Cattell were ſo ſmall and leane: *Becauſe* (quoth he) *we* (Italians) *eat up the graſſe in ſallets, and by robbing the paſtures, deceive the Cattell.* In another place, a Curtizan being queſtioned of the conditions of men in her faculty, concerning buſineſſe of Incontinency, onely anſwered, *Seignior Il Italiano piſciarum molto.* Neither to flatter them (according to the ridiculous ſoothing of Princes) can I exemplifie any of their glorious actions abroad, or famous attempts at home, more than the ruining one of another, and making of forts and fortifications, which ſometimes have proved as fatall as *Perillus* his Bull to the Inventor; imboldning diſobedience to relie on a wrong ſecurity, and at all times augmenting diſtruſt and foule ſuſpitions amongſt their beſt Cities and governments. How is *Millan* and *Naples* curbed, and the brave liberty of the Gentry ſtrangely fettred, by the terror of late built citadell? Of which notwithſtanding even the *Spaniard* himſelfe is tranſported to imagine; *That ſouldiers may be corrupted, and no place to be ſo impregnable, but the endevours of men can fruſtrate and overcome.*

And were it not to overlooke them with a malevolent aſpect, I could informe you, that notwithſtanding their diſperſion of their wares and Merchandizes, throughout all the Ports of *Europe* and *Turkie*, yet is it bounded with ſuch wants and overſights, and that within the compaſſe of their Mid-land Seas (except in purſuing of ſome ſmall pyracies) as that I never read nor heard, that ever they made true uſe of navigation, nor admitted the juſt conditions of Saylers and Souldiers. Inſomuch, that on my knowledge, even the potenteſt ſtate there, boaſting of the bravery of 200. gallies, and eight or ten galleaſſes, neither hath ſufficient men to man twenty, nor can without time and great expences (amongſt themſelves) fill up the inventory of that ſcarcity.

Shall

Shall we then come to *Spaine*, where the *Grands* of the Kings Court have golden keyes to his chamber, and are privileged by patent to ſtand covered before his Majeſtie? where the Exchequer is full of gold from *India*, and the Treaſurers bring in accounts of 100000. Souldiers in garriſon with other imployments yearly paid, & orderly ſupplied? where the Nobleman inſulteth for his *Gotiſh-blond*, and will prove a true *Caſtilian*, more ancient in Gentry than the race of *Othoman*, and every man weareth his ſword point-blancke, looking as high, though not ſo bigge as a *German*, who hath eat and drunke more at a meale, than a *Don* doth in a weeke? where ſo many kingdomes are united, making a more perſpicuous ſhew over the univerſe, than the ſeven ſtarres doe in the Firmament, over the ſingle planets in their ſeparated ſpheres? where they can without boaſting, I will not ſay vaine-glory, tell you divers Hiſtories of their voyages at Sea, diſcoveries and plantations of Countries, conqueſts of both the *Indies*, and Armies in the field: ſhall wee (I ſay) here caſt Anchor, and looke out a match for our example? Me thinkes I am anſwered by every man that weares a great ruffe, and a full paire of hoſe; If *Spaine* doe not equall it, who can doe it? I will not tell you that as yet, but preſuming to ſhut *Spaine* out of doores, for entring into the privy chamber of our example; let me aſſure you upon ſubſequent proofe, that (would *Apollo* pardon the compariſon) I can compare his *Indian* wealth, to nothing ſo like, as to *Midas* wiſh, who (notwithſtanding his golden fortunes) wanted, as all men know, the uſe of natures benefits, and could neither eat nor drinke without choaking. But to particulars. With Spaine.

What hath *Spaine* worthy commendation, much leſſe what prerogative of happineſſe? *Canaan* flowed with milke and honey, bleſſings of food and increaſe, that the King had not only his proviſion without repining, but *Iſrael* (as the ſand of the Sea) ate, dranke, and made merry, which *Spaine* cannot doe. The burnt hils, and deſart places will pregnantly prove the aſſertion. The Country man hideth

his

his garlike and onions, as ashamed of his diet. The Citizen powders fish, and buyeth cheese of the *Dutchman*. The Gentry is limited what he shall eat, and how much meat he shall carry home. The Court hath much adoe to be supplied, and many concussions are put in practice from the Kings prerogative, to furnish the offices with reasonable allowance; and in truth the provision is farre short from the expences of other places. For in generall, they are sometimes afraid to want bread, imploying certaine Agents for transportation both of corne and victuall, even from remote Countries; tempting us with gold and payment of ready money: For which purpose onely is there a Proviso in their Acts of Parliament, concerning the exportation of coyne. Of which, at a word, though they have great cause to boast, yet by the way let me demand, how came the discontents in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, &c. who incited the garrisons of *Antwerp*, *Brussels*, and other Townes to mutinie? who distasted sundry times whole Armies upon their marches and imployments? who counselled the Treasurer to be so slacke in payment of *Liberances*, and Souldiers pensions? who doth every yeare thrust the garrisons into penury and scarcity, insomuch that not only in the *Low-countries*, but even in the governments of *Millan*, *Naples*, and *Sicil*, the Souldier wanteth, and many times is compelled to remit the one halfe, to purse up the other? Is it not for lacke of Treasure, the pride whereof hath made his heart fondly to swell, or by disorderly distributions? Or more truly, to procure humane necessities, the magazin whereof continually lyeth in the English and Dutchmans hands. Let not man therefore be afraid of this *monster Opinion*, nor seduced with the vanitie of reports. For put them to skirmish funderstanding, and the wealth of *Spaine* will prove but false fire; according to the late and neere experimented Proverbe; *The King of Spaines pay is the greater, but the Dutch the better.*

As for their hungry boasting of fruits and herbs, it is in a manner an offence to Nature; For God made the beasts of the

the earth to have ſuſtenance from the ſame, but man to command all: So that *Adams* wiſdome gave them titles, and his ſuperioritie preſcribed ſubjection; but how? to mans uſe, for mans ſuſtenance, for mans neceſſitie; and laſtly, for mans delight. Thus doth oile make a cheerefull countenance, and wine a gladſome heart. Thus did the Kings table furniſh it ſelfe, in this ſenſe the ſongs of *David* praiſe *God* for his many bleſſings. Thus were incenſe and odours provided, and the love of brethren compared to the dew of *Hermon*, and the coſtly ointment on *Aarons* veſtures: which bleſſed allowances, make mee to remember a ſpeech of Sir *Roger Williams* to an idle *Spaniard*, boaſting of his country citrons, orenges, olives, and ſuch like: Why (ſaith he) in *England* wee have good ſurloines of beefe, and daintie capons to eat with your ſauce, with all meat worthy the name of ſuſtenance; but you have ſauce and no ſuſtenance: and ſo *mich God dich you* with your ſuſtenanceleſſe ſauce.

Canaan had neighbourly meetings, feaſts of triumphs, and times of private rejoycings: *Spaine* dares not, nor can bid you welcome. Idle jelouſies, private hate, or hatefull pride, feare of expences, and vaine-glorious ſpeeches, will quickly debarre you from the pleaſure of invitation, from the freedome of converſing one with another, which cannot ſavour the noble entercourſes of mutuall amitie. *Canaan* had the Temple furniſhed, as God commanded, the Prieſt obedient to the King, the Prophets in eſtimation, and the Feaſts orderly celebrated: *Spaine* is polluted with worſe ſeveritie than Paganiſme hath invented, *viz.* the cruell Office of Inquiſition, wherewith the Kings themſelves have beene ſo over-awed by the inſolence of the Clergie, that ſome of them have not ſpared to commit repentant error, to pleaſe the Pope. *Canaan* was a receptacle of ſtrangers and Princely ſolemnities; *Spaine* hateth all men, commits them to fire and ſword, and cannot order one ſolemne Feſtivall, unleſſe at a Kings Coronation, a Princes mariage, or a Cardinals jollitie; where yet an *Italian invention* ſhall fill a table with painted trenchers and diſhes of *China*, but a hungry belly

may

may call for more meat, and be never the neere.

Canaan had cities of refuge, cities of ſtore, cities of ſtrength, cities for horſes, and all for the Kings magnificence; to all which the wayes lay ordered, and men paſſed to and fro without danger and want: In *Spaine* you muſt have a guide, yea ſometime a guard, and are ſo farre from expecting releeſe after your dayes travels, that if you have not a Borachio before your ſaddle, and made your proviſion on the backe of an Aſſe, you may happen to be tired for want of ſuſtenance, and faint with *Iſmael* for lack of water.

Canaan had beautifull women, and the Scripture ſets it downe, as a bleſſing of God: But *Spaine* muſt mourne for ſtrange diſparity, and either lament that her women are painted, (like the images of the grove) or ſit in the high-way as *Thamar* did, to deceive *Iuda*. For in truth they are for the moſt part unpleaſing & ſwartiſh, or elſe by comming to be Curtizans, dangerous and impudent. Thus as yet *Salomon* muſt ſit without compare, and his kingdome unmatchably triumph with a noble prerogative.

With France. But what muſt we thinke of *France*, (ſayes one) is not your breath now almoſt ſpent? and will you not be ſatiſfied with the goodlieſt kingdome of the world? The anſwer ſhall not be peremptory, nor derogate from the merit of its leaſt worth or vertue: yet are they traduced for many defects, and I beleeve will fall ſhort to our expectation, at leaſt I am ſure dare not abide the touch of triall.

In *Salomons* Court, the Queene of *Saba* commended the obedience of the Princes, the ſitting of the Kings ſervants, the ordering of the Palace, and the multitude of the proviſions daily brought in: In *France* the Princes conteſt with the King, & the Clergie affront the Princes, & beare downe the States; the Pages mocke the Gentlemen, and the Gentlemen are proud of nothing but ſlovernneſſe, unbeſeeming familiarity, and diſorder. So that with much adoe, the mechanicall man ſtands bare to the King, and the Princes ſit at meat like Carriers in an Hoſtry, without reverence, ſilence, or obſervation, and a vile cuſtome having got the

upper

upper hand, hath depreſſed the Majeſtie of ſuch a place, which indeed reduced to uniformity, would much augment the glory of *Europe*.

A wiſe State, and potent Kings, have built Navies, and travelled themſelves in perſon to view them, raiſing cuſtomes from their Merchants, loving and maintaining good Mariners and Pilots, contracting leagues with remote Princes, and making the confirmation of them honourable and advantagious: But *France* wanteth ſhipping, is careleſſe of Navigation, can raiſe no good Sailers, ſeldome attempteth voyages or diſcoveries, and conſequently hath its Cities and Merchants converſing without forme or noble condition. For in *Paris* they dare talke of the Kings miſtreſſes, intermeddle with all tractates of Parliaments and State, call any Prince *Hugonet*, who dares onely ſay, That *Noſtre Dame* is but a darke melancholike Church; and finally, juſtifie very monſtrous and abuſive actions. So that to tell you of their inconſtant and refractorie diſpoſitions at all times, would ſooner diſcover their loathſome effuſions of Chriſtian bloud, than prevent the cuſtomary and miſchievous practices of this people.

As for the Court, by reaſon of inveterate diſorders, it is a meere map of confuſion, and expoſeth many actions, more ridiculous, than worthy of imitation.

The Husbandman, he is termed a Peaſant, diſparaged in his drudgery and ſervile toilſomneſſe, liveth poore and beaſtly, is afraid of his owne ſhadow, and cannot free the Vineyards from theeves and deſtroyers. Yea, all the Countrey ſwarmeth with Rogues and Vagabonds, whoſe deſperate wants drive them to perpetrate many haineus murthers, although for the moſt part the Provoſts of every government are very diligent. The cauſe, as I conjecture, for that the paſſages are toyleſome and diſordered, yea, many times dangerous, to which may be added, the much connivencie at notorious crimes, with many particulars choaking the breath of happineſſe, from giving life to a glorious kingdome indeed, if the reciprocall duties betweene Prince and Subject were but moderately extended.

But now to produce *England*, shall we say, that it is matchlesse, or faultlesse? Surely no; we have (no doubt) our imperfections as well as other Nations. But certainly, by that time the Reader in the ballance of judgement hath poysed the differences of plenty and scarcity, of necessaries and abilities for Peace and Warre, the one for life, the other for defence: I make no question, but for the first, when he hath read the censure of the Pope, how that *England* was *vere hortus deliciarum*; *vere puteus inexhaustus*; his Holinesse, if he might have it for catching, had no reason but to conclude: *Ergò ubi multa abundant, de multis multa possunt extorqueri.*

M Paris fol. 683.

For the second, how ever *France* and *Spaine* have beene alwayes accounted the ballances of *Europe*, yet hath *England* stood as the beame to turne the Scale: which particularly to prove, I will never goe about, by recitall of our Ancestors undertakings, or our Merchants adventures over the face of the universe of French or Spanish Victories, releevement of neighbours, or expatiating of honourable reputation amongst the *Muscovites* in the North, or the *Mogores* in the East; but unpartially bid you looke upon the face of the kingdome as now it stands.

The King.

If the glory of a King consist in the multitude of subjects, how honourable is the State of *England* at this day, which most harmoniously and absolutely commandeth over the *English*, *Scotch*, *Irish*, *Welch*, & the *French* of *Gernsey* and *Iersey*? If you desire to behold Palaces & goodly buildings, where are so many, & so good belonging to any kingdome in the world? If a Court, I verily beleeve for State, good order, expences, entertainment, and continuall attendancie, other places will be found to come farre short. If shipping, & a Royall Navie, I hope you may depart with satisfaction, especially if you were instructed in the secrets of their service and strength. But let late triall performed in the face of the world make due report of those vertues. If you will muster us at land; who can shew such companies of foot, such sufficient troops of serviceable horse, and so many worthy servitors, and so well appointed? what subject living

The Court.

in

in a civill Common-wealth, can shew me (as I can doe many in *England*) a Gentleman of his owne tenants, able to bring such faire companies of men into the field?

If martiall spectacles be distastefull, then looke upon the Nobility, and grave Counsellors; but withall prepare a reverent respect, and settle your esteeme so resolutely towards them, for their orderly life, their sweetnesse of manners, integritie in deciding of controversies, and affability in admitting of Sutors; that although you come from the *Grands* of *Spaine*, the Princes of *France*, and the ostentous pompe of Cardinals, yet be not too prejudicate, nor transported with selfe-conceited wilfulnesse, and you shall see as great bravery, retinue, and observation amongst us, as any subject in the world dare challenge. The Nobility.

After them, looke upon inferiours, you shall see them generally so many, and so well attended and appointed, that I protest them farre exceeding other places, both for gracefull shew, and sufficiency of execution.

Will you be ravished indeed, and transported with the love of the world? Come, and behold the beauty of our Ladies, and their disposing at a night of solemnity: to which if you adde the generall contentment, which our English women afford, without sophisticate and adulterate favours, there is no man can hold his peace, but proclaime our preheminence.

If you would see justice proud of her entertainment, and how she presents both *præmium* and *pœnam* to the severall attendants at the barre; looke into our Courts, and view the same in most perspicuous eminence, without so much as the least cloudy respect of persons. Courts of Iustice.

If you will enter our Gentlemens houses, I hope there are no such cupboords of plate, beds of velvet or imbroidery, hangings of tapestrie, variety of roomes, duty of servants, order of house-keeping, store of pastime, and all in grosse (that man can desire) in any Country in the World.

If you will search our Cities and Townes, what they want in outward deceit of formality, it is supplied in sweet- The Gentry.

neſſe and delicacie within doores, ſurpaſſing the beſt of them in wealth and furniture. As for expences, I am ſure ſome Citizens of *London* are at more annuall charge of diet, than the Dukes of *Venice*, *Florence*, or *Genoa*. If you will examine our Merchants; however ſome great *Fowker* or *Agent* for a whole Kingdome, for *Genoa*, *Antwerp*, *Bruſſels*, or other Cities, may ſurpaſſe us for uſury, and ſuppoſition of wealth, there died not two ſuch in one yeare, and out of one Towne in the world, as Sir *Iohn Spencer*, and Maſter *Sutton*. Generally all the reſt ſurpaſſe for curious fare, ſtatelineſſe, education, and orderly contributions. Beſides, they live at home in eaſe, purchaſe Land with ſecurity, bring up their children daintily and decently, maintaine their families in obedience, and cannot be matched by any forren oppoſition.

The Citizens.

Finally, if you would bee acquainted with the tradeſman, artizan, and other of manual occupations; looke how he lives, looke how he fares, looke where he dwels, looke what he weares, looke where he goes to buy his meat; to ſuch markets and ſhambles, that the very ſight aſtoniſheth all ſtrangers, being once made acquainted with their rarity and goodneſſe.

The Husbandman or Yeoman compared.

But indeed if you would have cauſe of wonder, then looke upon the husbandman, and compare him to men of like ranke in other places, and I beleeve upon mature conſideration, our adverſaries will repine at their felicities, and our friends embrace our noble freedomes with deſire of imitation.

Compared with the Turk.

In *Turkie*, with the reſt, hee is a poore and unfortunate ſlave; and whether *Muſcelman*, or Chriſtian, he dare not manure his ground to the beſt profit, and therefore liveth poorely and ſluttiſhly.

With the Hungarian.

In *Hungary*, and thoſe parts, they reſemble carrion; for living under the *Turke*, nothing is his owne, and in the Chriſtian government all is taken from him, either to furniſh the warres, or to maintaine the ſouldier.

With the Italian.

In *Italy* they are a little better, as long as they be able to pay

pay their rents, and husband their grounds. Yet doe they ſeldome live of their owne, or lead a life beſeeming the freedome of converſation. Beſides, in many places they are ſo terrified with the wretched troopes of the Banditie, who make prey of their labours, that they know the robbers, yet dare they neither detect them, nor deny to entertaine them. After the faſhion of *Italy*, they will be a little gawdie (eſpecially the women) in apparell, and are very induſtrious, as having in one ſelfe-ſame field, (if the ſoile will yeeld it) though it conſiſt but of an acre, both Corne, Vines, and Fruit-trees; Honey, Roots, Sallets, Bees, and Silk-wormes. He is now called a *Villano*, and ſerveth to no other uſe than to inrich his Lord, feeding himſelfe upon Garlike and Onions, and is acquainted with no good thing, but ſuperſtition, a few gawdy cloaths, and the incontinent life of Curtizans.

In *Spaine* it is farre worſe; the Contadini are numbred amongſt the reproaches of their government, and eſteemed almoſt as the Aſſes, that bring their Cabages, Melons, and ſuch like traſh to the markets. For he dare not attempt to cheapen any thing appropriate to the uſe of the Gentleman; As fleſh, fiſh, wheat, or excellent fruits. Nor muſt he, if he have of his owne, but furniſh the market with the beſt, feeding himſelfe on the worſt and vileſt ſtuffe. Beſides (the errour of *Italy*) if the mother have a comely daughter (or worſe) ſhe is contented for money to yeeld to proſtitution, &c. With the Spaniard.

In *France*, the peaſant is not onely beaſtly within doores, but churliſh, ſavoring nothing but his labour, with baſe and ſervile behaviour, with poore and miſerable expences, with obſcene and filthy lodging, with jealous and malicious entertainment, with illiberall and ill-becomming freedome of ſpeech againſt both Court and Commonwealth. With the Frenchmen.

In *Germanie* the Boore is ſomewhat better, for he eateth fleſh ſometimes, though vilely dreſſed; will be drunke and merry; muſt be alwayes imployed, and alwayes an hungred, With the German.

gred, or desirous of drinke; And can apparell himselfe handsomely to goe to Church on Sundayes, or Holydayes. But they are dangerous in their tumults and rages, and not to be trusted upon reconciliation after a wrong.

With the Irishman.

In *Ireland* he is termed a churle, in *England* a Clowne: but looke on him truly, as he liveth indeed, and you shall finde him a carefull maintainer of his family, in continued descents, and in times past he would not have altered his addition of rich Yeoman, for the vain-glorious title of poore Gentleman: You shall see them dwell in neat houses, Manors, Lordships, and Parks, to the annuall value of a thousand pounds sometimes: their sonnes knighted, their daughters well bestowed, their other children so dispersed, that Lawyers, Citizens, Merchants, are raised throughout the kingdome, from the sonnes and kindred of these countrimen. Yea, you shall see them invited to the Court by service, or promotion, and knowing that the breath of Kings advanceth or dejecteth, can attend the good houre, and such graces, as a Princes favour may distribute to a well-deserving subject.

Thus liveth our Countriman, and is able, though but a Farmer, to lodge you sweetly and handsomely, to set a peece of plate on the Cupboord, five or six dishes of good fare on the Table, with fresh and fine linnen, and a cheerefull welcome. He is so nurtured besides, that he can tell his Lawyer a formall tale, and complaine to the Iustice, if a farre better man wrong him. And finally, in a carowse of good liquor of his owne brewing, can chaunt it with the Poet; *Anglia Libera gens, cui Libera mens, &c.*

Concerning traffike.

Concerning traffike and imployment at Sea, what kingdome hath more commodities within it selfe, wanteth lesse, or is better furnished from forraine parts? So that whether for gaine sake they make sale of the best things, or that there is a secret in importation, or that our Merchants are curious in selecting the choicest, I know not, but am sure, that our *England* is the very shop of the World, and Magazine of Natures dainties. If it be a blessing for every man to

eat

eat under his owne roofe, to ſit with the pleaſure of converſation in his Orchard or Garden, to enjoy the fruits of the earth with plentie, to live in neighbourly gratuities, having in a manner our doores open all night, to have many children, ſervants, and ſtore of cattell, to purchaſe great eſtates, marry our daughters beyond expectation, and ſtrengthen one another in worthy families, and ſutable kindred; Then looke upon *England*, and tell mee, where is the like? If it be a bleſſing not to be ſuppreſſed with ſuperiours, not to have the Common-wealth rent in peeces by tyrannie, not to ſee others enjoy the fruits of our labours, not to be tormented with intruſion, uſurpation, or malicious lookes of covetous Landlords; Looke amongſt us, and demand, Who can complaine? Or at leaſt, who is ſo wronged, but he may have ſatisfaction or redreſſe? If it be a bleſſing, to enjoy the preaching of the Goſpell, to be freed from corrupt and abſurd ceremonies, to rejoyce in the libertie of an upright conſcience, to continue in a true, perfect, and eſtabliſhed Religion, to abound with reverend learned men, to have liberall exerciſe and diſpute of our faith, to be reſolved of our doubts, with moderate perſwaſion, and diſſwaſion, and to have all controverſies tried upon the touchſtone of Gods truth; Come and heare us, and tell mee wherein you are not ſatisfied. If it be a bleſſing to have ſociable converſation, and yet with convenable reſpect, to continue the freedome of neighbourly meetings, exempted from the intolerable yoke of jelouſie, to love one another with thoſe comfortable conditions of charitie, to feaſt without ſcandall, to entertaine without repining, and to be merry without incontinencie, examine the conditions of us all generally, and ſetting mens imperfections aſide, which follow life, as the ſhadow doth the Sunne, and tell mee, where is offence? If it be a bleſſing to make the beſt uſe of Natures bleſſings, to be rather helpfull, than ſtand in need of others, to take and leave warre with all Kingdomes of the World, to have confining Princes congratulate us by Embaſſage, and to welcome all commers with a noble and correſpondent invita-

tion; take up our example, put us to the triall, and see whether I speake vaine-gloriously. To conclude with the best of all blessings, if it be a blessing to live under a Royall Monarch, to rejoyce in the kindred, alliance, and strong confederacie of Kings; to have adjoyning Countries studie our observation, and to see our Country and people flourish in all good things; Looke upon us, pencell out our defects, (if you can) and let not emulation, which attendeth on vertuous desires, be turned into envie, or so corrupted with malice, that you will not yet confesse our blessed prerogatives.

But you will say for all this, we neither fetch gold from *Ophir*, nor are our Cities of sufficiencie to march in the first ranke of magnificence. To the first I answer directly, wee may if we list, either fetch treasure where it is, or bee the cause that it shall be brought us, even to our owne doores in peace. For I am sure wee have not onely Ships and Men, but such hands and spirits, as with *Davids* Worthies can pull the speare out of the hands of the *Philistines*, and sweetnesse from the strong: and who shall hinder us? I hope neither *Spaine*, if there were occasions, nor the Gallies of *Messina* or *Malta*; nor the Confederate Princes of *Italy*, nor the Navie of *Turkie*, nor the fortifications of *China*, nor any one worldly Prince, unlesse our sinnes and profanation cause the Angell of the Lord to keepe us backe, or strike us with terrour: But happy be the conditions of true worthinesse: true valour, even for conscience and honours sake, will doe no wrong.

As for our buildings, and Cities, I answer, *Ars non habet inimicum nisi ignorantem*, and men are too prejudicate, that either say or thinke so. For of my owne knowledge, there are not so many beautifull Churches, and stately houses, within the circular dimension of so much ground in the world: so that if our Gentlemen admitting the custome of living in Cities, as they doe in most parts of *Europe*, could range all the edifices of eminence in a Shire, within a wall; or that wee were sited in a Continent like

the

the thorow-fare of *France*, *Germany*, or *Italy*; we ſhould queſtionleſſe have more glorious, great and populous Cities, than any Kingdome: which with *Ahaſueroſh* can hold up a Scepter of potency, to keepe Majeſty from violence, though a decree of defiance were publiſhed never ſo terribly: yea I will avow, that our Townes and Villages, (eſteeme of them as you pleaſe,) conſidering the uſe and neceſſity of travell, doe farre ſurmount the Hoſteries and entertainment of all other nations: And am ſure, if you will let looſe the Queene of Cities, as they terme *Paris*, to looke bigge and angerly upon us, our *London* can affront her with a matching countenance, and over-match her in many ſeverall excellencies.

The diſpoſition of Malecontents abroad.

And ſurely, if any man ſhould materially object againſt theſe my aſſertions, I ſhould deeme him either ſome young humoriſt, ſome petulant factor, diſcontented traveller, or head-ſtrong Papiſt: of which profeſſion, I miſdoubt not, but to finde many amongſt men, who being either diſtreſſed at home, or unſetled abroad, to their private ends will not bluſh with the King of *Aſſyria*, to laugh at the weakneſſe of *Iuda*, for being confident in the promiſes of God, will raile on religion, condemne government, extoll petty Princes, and with *Naaman* the *Syrian*, preferre the waters of *Babylon*, before the wholeſome River of *Iordan*. But come to particulars, they ſticke in the clay, and like an unbroken colt, flinging up and downe, and ſweating with rage, and neither able to goe forward in a handſome courſe, nor remaine patient in expecting the will of the Rider: Or, open them but one window, to let in but the light of our glory, by diſcourſing of our Navie, the generall muſters of the Country, the arming of every Gentlemans houſe, a Noblemans attendance, a Ladies jewels; the Majeſtie of our Vniverſities, the happineſſe of our Husbandman, the wealth of our great Cities, and order in the adminiſtration of the ſame: Then ſtand they with *Niobe* tranſhaped into ſtone, and remaine confounded, by reaſon of their former perverſe and ignorant wilfulneſſe. But I will not be uncivill in exprobration, only

only let me tell them, that becauſe in beaſtly *Galata* and *Conſtantinople*, the Merchant may goe into divers *Baſhawes* and *Greekiſh* houſes, and there by entertainment tranſported with outward deceit of colours (as painting, gilding, in-laid workes, and ſuch like) hee maketh a wonder at the coſt and pompous expences; not remembring how their beſt maſters in *England*, are ſcarce admitted up ſtaires into many worthy houſes of our Noblemen and Gentlemen, which being admitted, would afford other manner of diſcoveries, both magnificent and wealthy, even to true admiration. Becauſe in *Venice* they have overlooked the *Bucentaure*, S. *Marks* Palace, and *Piazza* (*a dainty front of buildings* on the grand *Canale*) the *College of Ieſuits*, a *Mercer or two* that ſelleth Copes and rich cloaths of gold for high Altars, the *fundamento novo*, the *Arſnall*, &c. Therefore *England* hath but poore furniture, wanteth the eſſentiall meanes of Princelineſſe and Majeſtie, is onely gawdie in colours, a little imbroidery, and gold lace, which they allow to Players and Mountebanks, both in *Venice*, *Florence*, *Verona*, and the reſt of her Cities.

Becauſe in *Genoa*, *Naples*, *Rome*, and ſome other places, they may ſee an even ſtreet of houſes, with a pillar or two of jet, jaſper, and hard marble; a Cardinals Palace, and ſix moils in a Caroſſe, to attend him but to the conclave: a ſtately *Moſque* in *Turkie*, the *Domo* in *Florence*, *new Saint Peters at Rome*, and ſome other oſtentous buildings, they ſay our beauty is eclipſed, and wee muſt ſubmit the controverſie to the apparant bravery of forren magnificence: whereas in truth they hold no more compariſon for Majeſty, (though diſperſedly) either with our Courts, late Country buildings, demeſnes adjacent, and commodious houſes about the Citie for receit, capacity, and entertainment, than bird-cages doe to delightſome Arbours.

But who are they that ſo entertaine Tables with this returne of diſcourſe? ſurely none but our faſhion-follow-Travellers, who with many long lookes, expecting in an Almanacke for a yeare of Iubile, flie over Sea by flocks towards

towards *Rome*. Where by the way, in *Auburg*, *Noremberg*, and some other Cities of *Germanie*, meeting with a flaggon of wine, wherewith the Burgers (according to custome) with such entertainment use to welcome strangers, they presently write over, with what state they were feasted, and how graciously admitted into Cities resembling new *Ierusalem*, in respect of our disproportion of building, and unequall fashion of our streets.

Because in *France* they may drinke wine of *Orleance*, or *Lyons*, and for their money satisfie incontinencie, (wherein yet they confesse *Italy* to surpasse) Oh! say they, *England* is a barren Countrey, and farre from becircling her forehead with the garland of *Bacchus*, or wreath of *Abundance*, but sitteth desolate like a widow, having the curse of baldnesse inflicted upon her.

Because in *Padoa* they are told of *Antenors* Tombe in the streets, seene the Amphitheatres in *Verona* or *Rome*, (monuments truly resembling the wrinkles of an old face) or beheld the wals of *Constantinople*, the ruinous *Colosses* of the Citie, with the *Aquaduct* in the Country; Oh! these be Kingdomes that make aged Time young againe, and surpasse our new Nation for wonders and works of Majestie.

Because they have beheld, though peradventure with little understanding, the forts of *Mount-mdian*, and *Saint Katherines*; the citadels of *Millan* and *Antuerp*; the Castles of *Naples* and *Saint Angelo*; and have beene acquainted with the examination of passengers at *Lyons*, *Millan*, and the frontier Townes of the Princes of *Italie*; They presently exclaime against our weakenesse, and ill-advised discipline, which leaveth our Country (as it were naked) to all inconveniences of wind and weather.

In the next ranke, come up our male-contents, and they are such as being uncerely gulled with pride, selfe-conceit, and fantastick vaine-glory, have run a prodigall hunting-journey with *Esau*, untill being weary and hungry, they have beene inforced to sell their birth-rights for a messe of pottage. Then with *Yorke* and *Stanly*, and thousands more, they

they enter into violent courſes, curſe *David*, raile on their Countrey, and accuſe Authoritie of injuſtice and partialitie: With the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Biron*, they ſet up the praiſes of the Spaniſh King, and the tender-heartedneſſe of the Pope for the decay of Religion, ſuppoſing themſelves ſufficiently magnified for conteſting with Kings, and ſleighting the Princes of the bloud.

In the reare, ſlily ſtealeth up the obſtinate Papiſt: To him urge honeſtie, reaſon, yea the Scriptures, and hee will diſcharge no other ſhot, but the *Ordinance of the Church*. Put him from that flanker, and you ſhall ſee him like an Adder lurking in the graſſe, to ſting the heele of the paſſenger; And that is with telling you, that in *France* the Church at *Amiens* hath delicate Pictures; the *noſtre Dame* at *Roan* and *Paris* maintaine brave proceſſions; Our Lady at *Sichem* works only miracles; yea, more than miracles: for they will tell you of a Virgin got with childe in a Nunnerie by one of her ſiſters: For (ſay they) ſhe proteſted before our Lady, that ſhe never knew what the company of man meant.

But leaving theſe men to themſelves, and the ſting of their owne conſciences, we will proceed to ſhew you with what affections other Nations doe at this day Court us.

What other Nations conceive of us.

France is ſo ſtrengthened and beautified at home, by the multitude of Princes and noble Gentlemen, that now (at this day enjoying the Kingdome intirely to themſelves) they are confident to defend it, not ſeeking ambitiouſly to offend others, though haply envying to ſee the contraction of both Nations unto unitie and obedience; fearing thereby leſt wee ſhould the rather be imboldned and incouraged to revive our old claimes, or elſe to erect our remembrances to ſearch the records of our former fortunes.

Spaine.

Spaine both knowes us, and hath of late had ſome feeling of us, retaining the opinion of our wealth and forces. By reaſon whereof, for that his dominions lie more open, by diſperſion into many numbers, he ſtandeth in doubt, that we may not only put him to the double charge of a Navie; (the one abroad, for convoy of his Treaſure; and the other

at

at home, for ſafetie of his Harbours:) but alſo that we may attempt the uncharitable viſitation of his chiefeſt Townes, and richeſt Ports. Therefore he will continue correſpondencie amongſt us, and corroborate his friendſhip whatſoever it coſt. Of which minde is alſo the *Arch-duke*, though covertly repining a little more againſt us; as knowing that our affection to the *Hollanders* hath ſomewhat croſſed his firſt reſolutions, and indeed abated his abſolute hopes of binding the ſeventeene Provinces together in one ſheafe.

The *Emperour* and *Germans*, or if you pleaſe the *Imperials*, have a reaſonable good opinion of us, as worthy Seamen and reſolute Souldiers, eſpecially upon hope of glory or purchaſe: Yet thinke they us factious, unconſtant, the Apes of the World, and wonder at our patience, eſpecially to ſee us endure the impoſturing deceits of the Catholike pretences. The Emperor.

The *Pole* and *Moſcovite* are ſo farre off, that they can give us ſmall occaſion of offence, and are both afraid of our intruſion amongſt them, or againſt them, as ſomewhat fearfull of our deſperate wanderers. And being well acquainted with our ſtate at home, cannot endure wee ſhould be ſharers abroad. The Pole and Moſcovite.

The *Grand-Seignior* never nameth us with dignifying titles, as being proud in himſelfe, and wee too remote from him. He ſuppoſeth us only fit for merchandize, and that our Iſland is a barren place, as ſequeſtred from the pleaſures and opulent commodities of the South and Eaſt Countries. Neither doth he ſtammer in his compariſon of twenty Baſhawes within his conqueſts, whoſe ſeverall commands and juriſdictions lift up ſuch Crownes of principalities, as ſurmount us in number of people, and expence of Treaſure. The Turke.

The States of *Italie*, (birds of a feather) moſt upon envy of Trade, and generally all, in deſpight of Religion, are thus induced. The *Duke* of *Savoy*, and *Gran-Prior* of *Malta*, (the firſt in midſt of troubleſome mountaines, the other of a turbulent Sea) are as careleſſe of us, as wee of them, yea, many times wreake their hatred where they may, *viz.* upon Italy.

our

our Merchants; whom they ſpare not, if they can overmaſter, either fraighted with Turkiſh goods, or ſupplying their wants with prohibited wares. To whom in ſuch buſineſſes the *Florentine* is not only preſidiarie, but picketh other quarrels upon collaterall imployments.

Millan. In the Duchie of *Millan*, the Governour is very politike and ſevere, in ſearching after bookes and uncuſtomed wares, though it tend but to a paire of ſtockings: from whence ariſe ſo many inconveniences, that the office of *Dacii* is growne odious, and ſubject to the abuſive conditions of very baſe companions. As for falling into the ſnare of the Inquiſition, it is a danger irrecoverable, as thoſe our Country-men can witneſſe, who of late yeares were in ſudden danger, both here, at *Rome*, and at *Florence*, for having Frier *Pauls* books about them (though printed at *Venice*) againſt the Popes temporall juriſdiction. The truſt of ſome friends, and the helpe of a darke night, were their beſt ſecurities.

Beſides, he entertained *Tyrone*, and all his attendants, though not with ſuch ſufficiencie as the expectation of ſuch a gueſt deſerved, yet with malice enough againſt us notwithſtanding: he is a dogged examiner of the Engliſh, not truſting our fugitives, though allowing their unnaturall defections; railing upon them (even the Kings Penſioners) as the Prince of *Parma* long ſince taught him, in the tumultuarie buſineſſe of the Low-Countries.

Mantua. The Duke of *Mantua* and *Modena* (as leſſe intereſſed in affaires of Sea, or paſſages by Land) and now allied with *Savoy*, thinke not of us, either as friends, or enemies; but queſtionleſſe willing to aſſiſt their owne allies, as occaſions may offer themſelves.

Venice. The *Venetians* ſeeme to hold good correſpondencie, if not outward: for in termes, they have not ſpared to exprobrate us with the nick-name of *Curſore Engleſe*, ſince *Ward* and other Engliſh Pyrats have ſo much indammaged them. In divers ſhipwracks about *Candie*, they have ſometimes dealt very unkindly with our Merchants.

And in the late buſineſſe at *Conſtantinople* (about precedencie

dencie betweene *England* and *France*) the Bayliffe was my L. Embaſſadors abſolute enemie: yea, and in their laſt peace with the Pope, although they would pretend to ſtand on our helpe, and to entertaine our Captaines, yet proves it a matter of difficultie and diſpute amongſt them.

The *Florentine*, or great Duke, is a meere hater of us, except it be to ſerve his owne turne, and hath ever beene forward to entertaine factious perſons amongſt us. The Florentine.

In the later end of her Majeſties reigne, you ſhall finde him a meere neglecter of us, nothing reſpecting how the Queene was diſtaſted, or the State diſturbed. Afterward he ſuccoured divers Rebels, and diſcontented Engliſh. When the *Merchant Royall* was ſunke in the harbour of *Ligorne*, he was ſo tranſported with paſſion, that he would have laid an impoſition upon the *Engliſh*, for the waying of her up. And preſently he imployed Sir *R. D.* about the new building of a Man of Warre, a ſhip of 600 Tunns: but diſappointed him in the command, making him an apparent ſubject of diſgrace and diſcontent; yea, although at firſt he had welcomed him with the offenſive title of Earle of *Warwick*. And many times, by pretext of confederacie with the Gallies of *Malta*, the *Popes*, and his owne imperious prerogative, he affronteth our Merchants, and impeacheth their trades, as farre forth as he may.

The Pope is our irreconcileable enemie both wayes; I meane in animating turbulent and traiterous Papiſts within our owne boſomes, teaching them, with the Viper to devoure their owne mother; And in exciting of forren Princes (as much as in him lieth) to violent courſes of open hoſtilitie againſt us, as againſt all others profeſſing the ſame Religion. As for entertaining of fugitives, inticing over of young wits, and unſtayed ſtudents, gracing of Ieſuites, advancing of Traitors, ſearching and impriſoning of Travellers, railing at our King, and traducing *Henry* the eighth, and Queene *Elizabeth*: theſe abſurdities are not onely frequent and familiar in all places amongſt his partiſans, but every day blundered out of Pulpits by the Fryers and Ieſuites. The Pope.

Naples

Naples, Sicil. *Naples* and *Sicil*, though under the King of *Spaines* protection and Viceroyes, yet are all conspiring against us, and runne one race with their neighbours. Witnesse the taking of our ships, and the ill usage of our Merchants, when Master *Wall* was Consull: with the reviling of our Religion, and their usuall imprecations: One day to see a smoke of thronging discontentments, turne to a flame of furious disconsolation amongst us.

Neither is this the full scope of their continued envies: Religion is the pretence, but malice and private respects procure these bad effects: *Savit post funera virus.* At *Venice* the English have no buriall allowed them, but the Sea: neither at *Zante* are they better used, but faine to be carried up into *Morea* amongst the *Turks*. At *Lygorne*, and other places of *Italy*, an Englishman dying without confession, is throwne into some ditch, to be devoured of beasts and birds: And in *Spaine* he is interred in the strond, the field, or a Garden. How farre more charitable was *Alexander* to *Darius*, *Hannibal* to *Marcellus*, *Cæsar* to *Pompey*, *Turks* to *Christians*, and Man to Man, if not a Romanist?

But now (leaving these premonitions to your better considerations) as I have made you acquainted with those blessings, which in truth doe make a Kingdome really happy; So again for the strength of situation, I hope to make you as perfect beholders of the two properties which *Aristotle* wished (above all projects what ever) to be regarded in the building of a Citie. The one is, that it be difficult to besiege; the other, that it be easie for conveying in, and transporting out of things necessary. These two commodities hath *England* by the Sea, which to the Inhabitants is a deep trench against all hostile invasions, & an easie passage to take in, and send out all commodities whatsoever, being situated in the bosome of the maine Ocean, which even by naturall courses fortificth the Iland, more than any Sea doth any other Kingdome. For, on the West lieth the *Irish* Ocean, a Sea so turbulent, and so full of rocks and flats,

The situation of England.

flats, that it is very dangerous for great Ships; and on the East, South, and North, the flowing and ebbing of the Brittish Ocean, is so accidentall, the removing of the sands and shelves so uncertaine, and the rising and falling of the water betweene twelve and fifteene fathome (a thing wonderfull to be spoken of) so ordinary every twelve houres, that without an *English* Pilot, no stranger shall bee able to bring in a vessell in safety: And he likewise must bring his Tide justly with him, or otherwise it is impossible to land without perill. The Sea coast on every side is cliffie and inaccessible, except in some certaine places which are strongly fortified, as *Barwicke, Dover, Dartmouth, Plimmouth, Portsmouth*, &c. so that the whole Iland may well be reputed for one impregnable fortresse.

To this strength of situation, sithence of late a worthy Gentleman (and that truly) hath not doubted to averre, that ten such Merchants ships well provided of munition and men, as in these dayes trade into the East-Indies, would not much feare the Navy royall of some Kings in Christendome; why should we feare to rejoyce in the flourishing estate of that Kingdome, in whose Havens (besides the Navie Royall) two thousand vessels are reported to traffike yearely? Forces.

And be it as it may, to prove what we speake, and to passe over the much famoused passages of *Edward* the third to *Callis*, and *Henry* the eighth to *Bulloigne*; we will flie no further for examples, than the fourth yeare of Queene *Elizabeth*, when in her journey to New-haven, the Navie lately neglected, was now againe so well furnished, as both the *Spaniard* and *Frenchman* envied her Abilities.

But 88. was the yeare which gave both terrour and admiration unto all our neighbours. A yeare by the *Germans* foretold, to be the worlds climacterticall, & by *Regiomontanus*, Admirable. And so indeed it proved; full of rumours, anxieties, and menaces. The King of *Spaine* having of late dayes added unto his Seigniories of *Spaine*, the kingdome of *Portugal*, and boyling in revenge against this

kingdome, ſuggeſting unto his imaginations, that if his deſtinies would vouchſafe as facile a victory againſt *England*, as elſewhere upon like ſuppoſitions they had beſtowed upon him at the *Terceras* and *Portugal*; then, even then at once had the life of the *Low-Countries* lien a bleeding, his navigation to the Indies warranted, and his hopes finiſhed. To the accompliſhment whereof he preſſeth, forceth, hireth, and borroweth from ſundry Nations, the ſtrongeſt veſſels, and therein imployeth his utmoſt meanes to have tamed the *Engliſh*, and confounded the *Netherlands*.

But that ever memorable Lady, wary and provident, ſummoneth her ſubjects, relieth on their loves, and to the Weſtward oppoſeth a Navie conſiſting of 100. ſaile, there to wait the approach of this *Invincible Armada*: And becauſe from *Flanders* the Duke of *Parma* threatned no leſſe danger, upon that coaſt alſo ſhe laid twenty other good ſhips to attend his attempts, beſides thoſe of the *Low-Countries*.

From the Weſt the enemy was diſcerned, and fight with preſent courage entertained, but preciſely ordered, that none of the Engliſh ſhips ſhould voluntarily (if otherwiſe it might be avoided) lay any *Spaniard* aboard, but alwayes fight at beſt advantage; endevouring by all meanes to keepe into the weather; whereby at all times ſoundly to have interrupted them, if they had offered to land; So to leave and take as occaſions preſented; they comming to invade, and the *Engliſh* ends being onely to keepe them from landing. The which directions were ſo punctually obſerved, as that this invincible fleet for all their force and appearance, without either gaining or ſinking one of our veſſels, was faine to flie away by the backe doore, I meane by the North Seas; wherein they found a miſerable and tedious flight, loſt an hundred and odde of their beſt ſhips, and in recompence, never got ſo much as one diſhfull of freſh water, nor ever landed one man (priſoners excepted) upon the Engliſh coaſt.

Whereat, neither let the Papiſt mutter, nor the ignorant detract

detract by saying, *That it was the onely stormy winds, and tempestuous Seas, that afflicted our enemies, and drave them from our coast.* These excuses argue bad spirits; for it could not be avoided, but that the English ships should also bee ingaged to like violent accidents of wind and waves, as were the Spaniards. The English had no determination to leave them, no, not to looke into any of their owne ports, or those of their friends for succour. And surely, foule weather, and high grounde Seas did more hinder us than them. For then could not we carry out our lower ports, being our best tyres; which the Spaniards might doe, their ordnance lying nothing so neere the water as the English did. Notwithstanding we alwayes affronted them, and galled them with our great ordnance, as our best opportunities served; our ships being more proper for these Seas, than their huge Lee-ward Carts. Alwayes in spight of their hearts we kept into the weather of them, to our great advantage; which in truth was no small meanes of victory, and of their disgrace, that made so great preparations to so small purpose.

If they longed to be fought withall, and were not; why did they never offer to dispatch the businesse, whereabout they made the world beleeve they came so resolutely determined? why did they not make a triall for landing, or adventure the surprisall of some famous port, for want whereof in former ages *Xerxes* suffered that terrible defeature at *Thermipola*? Before this was done, why ranne they away? of what were they so fearefull, who came like souldiers and resolute men, under the title of assurance, to conquer such a Nation? Did the terrour of a storme onely drive them from hence in such haste? were they not resolved to endure such weather (as should happen) in so great an enterprise? Did they thinke to winne *England* with bigge lookes, or to have tamed the people by tricks and dalliance, as they had done the surly *Portugues* and fine *Italians* their neighbours? Surely, it seemed the Southerne winds had only inflated their minds, as it is reported, it doth their mares in the *Asturies*.

Where, let us leave them, and wish that some of those Worthies who yet live, and were eye-witnesses of those great and fortunate expeditions, undertaken and effected, within the 44. yeares space of Her Royall government, would take the paines to commit the Relation thereof to everlasting record. Which done, I make no doubt, but that it would appeare beyond all objection; That although the English Nation had long breathed under the milde aspect of so gracious a Lady, yet was it no lesse exercised in militarie discipline abroad, than in peaceable pleasures at home. Yea, that the politike Regiment, and heroicall actions of a maiden Queen, have hardly since the conquest been exceeded by any her Majesties most famous progenitors. For be it either in the wise reformation, or wonderfull re-establishment of Christian Religion (wherein she shewed no lesse constancie, than true sincerity:) or otherwise, in continuall comfort, or liberall assistance of her distressed neighbours and allies, (whereof she had a royall and Christian-like regard) or else in resolute repelling, and fortunate invading her most mighty enemies, wherein she was alwayes blest from above with happy and victorious successe, her enterprises evermore were crowned with happinesse; and in regard thereof (throughout all nations) her Counsellors were reputed grave and prudent, the Realme flourishing and powerfull, and herselfe magnanimous and renowned; the fruits whereof, I doubt not, but we enjoy at this day.

At land. The force at land is nothing inferiour to that at Sea; for the kingdome is divided into 52. Shires, in one only whereof (commonly called *Yorkeshire*) it is thought seventy thousand foot-men may be levied. Every shire hath a Lieutenant, who seeth to the election and training of souldiers when necessity requireth. In chusing of souldiers, they take the names of all the inhabitants in the Country, from above sixteene yeares of age to sixtie; and out of these they chuse the likeliest and ablest for service. The taller and stronger are chosen for footmen, and these divided into foure kinds. The first are Archers, by whose dexterity they

conquered

conquered the greateſt part of *France*, tooke King *Iohn* captive, and held *Paris* ſixteene yeares in ſubjection. The Arrowes of the *Parthians* were never more dreadfull to the *Romans*, than the Bowes of the *Engliſh* to *Frenchmen*. The ſecond ſort uſed browne Bils, well headed with Iron, with which they would ſtrike, and alſo plucke a man from his horſe. This was the ancient weapon of the *Britons*. The other two, uſe and experience of latter times hath taught them; the one is the Harquebuze, the other the Pike, a fit weapon for their conſtitution, by reaſon of their tall, ſtrong, and man-like ſtature. For their ſervice on Horſeback, they chuſe men of ſmall ſtature, but well ſet, active, and nimble. Theſe horſemen are of two ſorts; ſome heavie armed, & thoſe for the moſt part are Gentlemen; other lighter armed, and ſome riding after the manner of the *Albanneſſes*; ſome after the faſhion of *Italie*, uſing a Scull, a Iacke, a Sword, and long light Speares. And although they are able to bring to the field 2000. men at Armes, and infinite troopes of light Horſemen; yet their Horſemen never carried reputation to their Footmen: For *Edward* the third, and *Henry* the fifth (which made ſo many journeyes into *France*, and obtained ſo many famous victories) to ſhew what confidence they repoſed in their Infantery, ever left their horſe, and put themſelves into the battell of their footmen: whereas the *French* Kings not daring to inure the Commons to warfare (leſt leaving their manuall occupations and trades, they ſhould grow inſolent in the warres, to which humour they are greatly addicted) alwayes put themſelves & their hopes upon the fortune of their Cavalry, being all almoſt Gentlemen. But, foraſmuch as the *French* maintaine no good races of horſe, and to purchaſe them from other places, is a matter of great charge, and good cannot alwayes be gotten for money; for theſe reaſons, and for that Horſemen are nothing ſo ſerviceable in the field as footmen, I thinke the *French* have often beene ſo defeated by the *Engliſh*.

To ſhew what force the Kings of *England* are able to

bring into the field, let these examples stand for many. *Henry* the eighth passed to *Bullogne*, with an Army divided into three Battalions: In the Vantguard passed twelve thousand footmen, and five hundred light-Horsemen, cloathed in blew Iackets with red guards. The middle ward (wherein the King was, and passed last over) consisted of twentie thousand footmen, and two thousand horse, cloathed with red Iackets and yellow guards. In the rereward was the Duke of *Norfolke*, & with him an Army like in number and apparell to the first; saving that therein served one thousand *Irishmen*, all naked save their mantles, and their thicke gathered skirts: Their Armes were three Darts, a Sword, and a Skeane. They drew after them one hundred great peeces, besides small: an Army by the censure of *Guicciardine*, not more notable by the multitudes of souldiers, and consideration of their valour, than most glorious by the presence and Majesty of their King, in whose person appeared at that instant, being in an age disposed and active, all those tokens of honour and magnanimity, which rising after to their full ripenesse and perfection, by degrees of time, study, & experience, made him the most renowned and mighty Prince that lived in his age, in all this part or circuit of the earth, which we call Christendome. Their carriages were so many, that therewith they intrenched their Campe like a wall. And for the conveyance of their Ordnance, their baggage, and their provision, they transported into the Continent, above five and twenty thousand horse, beside all other kinde of cattell.

In the aforesaid yeare of 88. after that Queene *Elizabeth* had provided fully and sufficiently to prevent her enemies at Sea, then ceased she not to be as carefull at Land, over her owne and her peoples safeties. And therfore to be ready against any sinister accident, which it might have pleased the Almighty to have given her at Sea: at land she appointed five and twenty thousand souldiers to attend the enemy all along the Southerne coast. At *Tilbury* lay the Earle of *Leicester*, with one thousand horse, and two and twenty

thousand

thousand foot, there to have entertained the enemie, if hee had kept his resolution; which was by the Thames mouth to have assailed *London* upon the sudden. For the guard of Her person (under the command of the Lord *Hunsdon*) she levied out of the Inland shires, foure and thirty thousand footmen, and two thousand horse, besides those goodly troops which the Nobility and Gentry presented unto her Majesties view, of their meere love and zeale to Prince and Country.

For neighbourhood in *France*, it may be supposed that the Princes of the reformed Religion will be alwayes glad to finde good correspondency from those, who are interessed in like disadvantages as themselves. What may be done by the perswasions of the pestiferous Iesuites, God onely knoweth. But this is certaine, that betweene nations ingaged in ancient quarrels, and both aspiring to one and the same greatnesse, Alliances may easily be made, friendship never. At worst, the Frenchman is a tolerable friend, though a doubtfull neighbour. *Francum amicum habe, sed non vicinum.* The like saith He, for us. Neighbourhood. France.

As for the *Spaniard*, it is a proverbe of his owne, *That the Lion is not so fierce, as is painted.* His forces in all parts of the world (except those in the *Low-countries*) are farre under fame. And if the late Queene would have beleeved her men of warre, as she did some others addicted to peacefull courses, she might perradventure have broken that great Empire in peeces, and made their Kings as in old times, Kings onely of home-bred commodities. Well was it for them, that her Majesty (alwayes inclinable to peace) did all by halfes, and petty invasions, which indeed was her onely errour; for future to teach the *Spaniard* how to defend himselfe, and to see his owne weaknesse; which till her attempts had taught him, was hardly knowne to himselfe; foure thousand men would have made a shrewd adventure to have taken his *Indies* from him; I meane, all the ports by which his treasure passeth: wherein he is more hated by the natives, than the English are by the Irish. And The Spanish.

then, what ſhall his *Low-countrie* Armies doe, if the *Indies* pay them not? nothing but mutinie, and ſpoile their owne territories, as they have often done, and that of late yeates, almoſt to the ruine of the Archduke.

So againe, in 88. if that Queene would have hearkned to hazard, yet not without reaſon, we had burnt all his ſhips and preparations in his owne ports, as we did afterwards upon the ſame grounds and intelligence in *Cadiz*. He that knowes him not feares him, but excepting his *Low-countrie* army (as aforeſaid) which hath continued in diſcipline ſince *Charles* the fifth his time, he is no where ſtrong, they are but follies that are ſpoken of him elſewhere: Hee knoweth that we are too ſtrong for him at Sea, and have the *Hollanders* to helpe, who are now by their induſtries in way to be ſtrongeſt of all. They are a wiſe people, and tooke it ſomewhat in ill part, that we made peace without them; which in truth forced them to conclude their long truce: They were the laſt that put downe armes, and though they compounded upon the greateſt diſadvantage, (*France* and *England* having firſt capitulated) yet they made a farre more noble peace than their aſſociates did. Since that time (we finde) the people to be more provident, and by degrees leſſe reſpective of their neighbors. All hiſtories will tell you, it is a point worth the looking unto. For unto whom they faſten themſelves, he that enjoyeth them will be the greateſt, and give law to the reſt. If any man doubt it, he knowes not much, all nations have their imperfections, and ſo have we; faults have at all times troubled the eye of underſtanding. For whereas in her Majeſties time, it is well knowne, that one of her ſhips hath commanded forty of theirs to ſtrike ſaile, they will now undertake us one to one, and, but for the jealouſies of time, ſcant vouchſafe us a good word. But Kings are not like private men, they forſake not one another in adverſity; though not alwayes for their ſakes who are oppreſſed, but for their owne ſecurities, becauſe they watch (and reaſon good) the ſurmounting power of confining neighbourhood.

The Netherlands.

Theſe

These are the greateſt States to bee looked after: As for the Archdukes, theſe united Provinces for their particular intereſts, will well enough attend him. The Archduke.

Let us no more therefore be frighted with the *Spaniards* greatneſſe, the *Venetians* wealth and Arſenall, the confederacie of *Florence*, *Malta*, *Genoa*, the *Pope*, *Naples*, and *Sicil*; yea, worſt of all, with report of the *Mahumetan* invincible fleet. Let none ſave fooles admire wonders without knowledge. Why, *Ward* and the reſt of the Pyrats, who at their firſt comming into the Seas, might eaſily have beene choked, from becomming a terrour to all the Levant, let wiſe men judge: for my part, I can give no other gheſſe, but the preſident of that admirable fight, which Captaine *Iohn King* (when he was Maſter of the Merchant Royall) made againſt three great ſhips and fifteene gallies, layed purpoſely in wait in the mouth of the Straits, to intercept all Engliſh paſſengers. And ſurely ſome Sea-men have beene of opinion, with twenty good men of warre, in contempt of the proudeſt Armada, or frie of Gallies (as they have termed them) that thoſe Seas can afford, to performe actions beyond credit.

Neither let fugitives flatter themſelves with conceits of forren greatneſſe. No people were more beholding to *Tyrone* and *Tyreonnel* than the *Spaniſh*, in their miſerable ſhipwracke upon the *Iriſh* coaſt. No men received larger promiſes; *The great King ſhould remember his humanity and noble reſpect: The Pope himſelfe ſhall gratifie him with a Phenix plume*, as he did King *Iohn* with a crowne of Peacocks feathers, yea, *they can complement with him, that he is more worthy of a Diadem, than a ſubjects proſtitution.* But is *Tyrone* in diſtreſſe, and after ſhipwracke of his loyalty, driven to make triall of his *Spaniſh* and *Romiſh* requitall? At *Millan* hee is like to lie without doores, if his ſtomacke cannot brooke the entertainment of a common Inne; and at *Rome* bee welcomed with the allowance of a *ſubject of charity.*

As for defamations breathed from the poyſon of malice,

I make no queſtion, but by the generous diſpoſition of noble Governours, they will returne to the diſgrace of the brochers. As it fell out to Captaine *R. Yorke*, by the worthineſſe of an honourable enemy Count *Mansfield*: who hearing this traiterous Captaine to tranſgreſſe the bounds of patience, in undeceent railing upon the government of *England*, and the life of the late Queene: *Sir Rowland* (quoth he) *in plaine termes I aſſure you, that the cuſtome of my table will allow of no ſuch irregular behaviour.*

Thus have I ſhewed you the love of ſome, and the malice of others abroad, with our owne happineſſe at home, if we can be thankfull for it. Amongſt the which, as laſt, but not leaſt, I account the continued tranquillitie of *England*, eſpecially to conſiſt in the moderate, yet honourable reſpect of our Nobilitie; wherein though they poſſeſſe few Caſtles or ſtrong places, invironed with rampiers and ditches; neither that the Titles of Dukes, Marqueſſes, or Earles, are more than titular, as beſtowed (upon deſert) at the pleaſure of the Prince; yet have they the government of Provinces, with ſubordinate authoritie over the people, to the great quiet of the State, and the proſperitie of the kingdome: where, on the contrary, the Nobilitie in *France*, poſſeſſing ſome abſolute, and ſome mixt juriſdiction, with hereditary titles, &c. being Lords not only of Townes, but of great and goodly Cities alſo, and receiving homage and fealtie of their tenants, doe (as wee have often ſeene) but badly and at pleaſure acknowledge the ſoveraigntie of the King, and the Arreſt of the Parliaments.

Scotland.

Scotland, another portion of *Brittaine*, in times paſt began at the Mountaine *Grampius*, and from thence to its utmoſt border was extended Northward: But in future times, by the extinguiſhment of the *Picts*, it reached alſo unto *Tweed*, and ſometimes alſo to *Twine*: the chance of warre ſo moderating in theſe counterchanges, as in all other worldly occurrences. Whereupon its longitude from *Tweed* unto the utmoſt limit, is thought to be foure hundred and foureſcore miles. But, as this Province is longer than *England*,

land, ſo is it narrow, for that it endeth like unto a wedge. For the unſhapeable and rough Mountaine *Grampius* (whereof even *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola* made mention) runneth thorow the very heart thereof, even from the *German* ſhore (that is, from the mouth of the River *Dee*) unto the Iriſh coaſt, and unto that Lake which the Inhabitants call *Lomund*, which lieth betweene that country and the ſaid mountaine.

The Kingdome hath every where ſafe harbours, creekes, lakes, mariſhes, rivers and fountaines repleniſhed with fiſh: As alſo mountaines, and in tops thereof large plaines, yeelding abundance of grazing to cattell, and woods wonderfully abounding with venerie. By the advantages of which place, the people being ſuſtained, could never be fully conquered; for every Province, Woods and Mariſhes, were ready refuges to their ſafeties; and wilde beaſts, and plentie of cattell, remedies againſt famine for their bodies.

Thoſe who inhabit the Southerne part, as by much the beſt, ſo are they the better qualified, the civilleſt, and ſpeake the Engliſh language. And ſithence that Nature hath denied them plentie of fewell, their firing is of a blacke ſtone, which they digge out of the earth. The people who dwell in the Northerne and Mountainous parts, are a very ſavage and uncivill kinde of men, and termed *Silveſtres, viz. Highland-men.* Theſe after the Iriſh faſhion were accuſtomed to be cloathed with a mantle, and a ſhirt coloured with Saffron, and to goe bare legged as high as their knees. Their weapons are Bow and Arrowes, with a very broad Sword & Dagger, ſharpe but on one edge. They all ſpeake *Iriſh*, and feed upon fiſh, milke, cheeſe, and fleſh, and have great ſtore of cattell. Pit coale, or Sea-coale.

They differ from the *Engliſh* both in Lawes & Cuſtomes; for the one retaineth the Civill Law, as almoſt doe all other Nations: but the *Engliſh* have their peculiar or Municipall Lawes. In other things they differ not much. Their Language (as aforeſaid) is one and the ſame, the ſame conſtitution of body, equall courage in battell, and ſemblable addi-

ction unto hunting, even from their Childhoods.

Their houſes in the Villages are very ſmall, and covered with ſtraw or reed; wherein as well their cattell as themſelves, in manner of ſtables, doe reſide. Their townes (except that of *S. Iohns*) are invironed with no walls; ſo that it ſhould ſeeme, that their couragious minds doe repoſe the ſafetie of their lives in the only vertue of their bodies. They are alſo ingenious, which their learning manifeſteth, ſo that unto what Art ſoever they doe addict their capacities, they eaſily profit therein. And thoſe alſo who meditate nothing but ſloth, eaſe, and lazineſſe, (though by refuſall to take any paines, they live moſt baſely and beggerly) yet will they not let to boaſt of their Gentrie, and that ſo preſumptuouſly, as if it were more commendable for a man well deſcended to beg, than to betake himſelfe to any ingenious profeſſion, for the ſuſtentation of his carkaſe. But withall they are accounted naturally to be very zealous in Religion.

About *Scotland*, in the *Iriſh* Ocean, are more than forty Iſlands, by *Pliny* termed *Britanie*, but by others *Meranie*, and *Hebrides*. The biggeſt of theſe in length exceeds not thirty miles; in bredth, not above twelve. Amongſt them is *Iona*, famous for the ancient ſepulture of the *Scottiſh* Kings. All the Inhabitants ſpeake the *Iriſh* tongue: a pregnant argument that they are deſcended from the *Iriſhry*.

Beyond *Scotland* Northwards lie the *Orcades*, in number (ſaith *Ptolomy*) thirty, being partly ſeated in the *Deucaledon* Ocean, and partly in the *German*. The chiefe whereof is called *Pamonia*, and therein is an Epiſcopall Sea, being ſubject unto the King of *Great Brittaine*. The Iſlanders ſpeake the *Gotiſh* tongue; a record, that they are deſcended from the *Germans*. Of ſtature they are tall, of a ſound conſtitution; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that for the greater part they are long-lived, although moſt commonly they live upon fiſh: The ſoile is in a manner alwayes covered with ſnow: in many places it will ſcarce beare graine, but of trees almoſt none.

Beyond the *Orcades* lieth *Thule*, from whence but one dayes ſaile (ſaith *Pliny*) is the Frozen Sea, and therein *Iſland*, whereunto

whereunto at this day, our Merchants doe make an annuall trading, to fiſh themſelves, or to buy fiſh of others. Which for that it is neereſt unto the Pole, ſome doe judge to bee *Thule*. And this is all that I have to ſay concerning the ſituation of *Scotland*: now will I turne my pen to the nature and faſhions of the Inhabitants.

Wales.

Wales is accounted the third portion of the Iſland; In regard of the heart of *England*, it lieth upon the left hand, and in manner of a *Peninſula* ſtretcheth into the Ocean, on all ſides incircled with the Sea, ſave towards the Eaſt, where it is bounded with the *Severne*, the ſeparatreſſe of *Wales* and *England*; although many late Writers, (as aboveſaid) make the City of *Hereford* the bounder thereof; and will have *Wales* to beginne at *Chepſtow*, where the River *Wy* being united with *Lugge*, and paſſing by *Hereford*, falleth into the Sea. This River (as *Severne*) ariſeth from an Inland part of *Wales*, from one and the ſelfe-ſame Mountaine, but whether from one and the ſelfe-ſame Fountaine, I am not able to ſhew; and it *Cornelius Tacitus* (as aforeſaid) termeth *Antona*. For even thither reacheth a huge arme of the Sea, which cutting in betweene the Land by the Weſt, watreth *Cornwall* on the right hand, and *Wales* on the left. This Topography we follow, as the Moderne, and therefore ſay, that *Wales* from *Chepſtow* (where it taketh beginning) is extended Northward a little above *Shrewſbury*, as farre as *Cheſter*. Hither it was (as *Memory* recordeth) that the reliques of thoſe *Britons*, who over-lived the generall ſlaughter after the loſſe of their Country, in their utmoſt extremities retired themſelves; and there, partly by the ſtrength of the Mountaines, and partly by the faſtneſſe of the Woods and Bogs, (wherewith that Province was for the moſt part repleniſhed,) they purchaſed unto themſelves places of ſafety, which unto this day they have made good, and retaine. Thence-forth the Engliſh ſtiled the Countrey *Wales*, and the Inhabitants *Welſhmen*, which denomination in the *German* language, ſignifieth a *Stranger*, an *Alien*, a *Gueſt*, or a *New-come perſon*, that is to ſay, one that ſpeaketh

a different language from that of the *German*; for in their underſtanding, *Walſh* ſignifieth a *Forrainer*, or *Stranger*, whether it be *Italian* or *Frenchman*, if he differ in language from the *German*; and *Man* is as *Homo*, in *Latine*. The *Angles* therefore being a people of *Germany*, becomming Lords of *Brittanie*, after their Country manner, termed thoſe *Brittons* who eſcaped the ruine of their Country, *Wallons*, or *Welſhmen*; for that they ſpake a language contrary to that of their owne; and alſo the *Soile*, whither they fled to inhabit, *Wallia*; which Name the Nation as well as the people, retaine unto this day. And ſo the *Brittons* loſt their name, together with their Empire.

The ſoile of the Country, eſpecially of that which adjoyneth unto the Sea, or conſiſteth of Champian, is moſt fertile, which both to Man and Beaſt ſupplieth great ſtore of proviſion: but contrariwiſe, for the Major part it is barren, and leſſe fruitfull, and (peradventure) for that good husbandrie is wanting, which is the cauſe that the Husbandmen live hardly, eat Oaten-bread, and drinke Milke, ſometime mingled with water. In it are many fine Townes, with fortified Caſtles, and foure Biſhopricks; if *Hereford* be accounted in *England* (as aforeſaid) according to the Moderne deſcription.

The people have alſo a different language from the *Engliſh*, which they (who boaſt to derive their pedegree from the *Trojan* Line) doe affirme to participate partly of the *Trojan* antiquity, and partly of the *Grecian*. Verily, however the caſe ſtandeth, their pronuntiation is not ſo ſweet and fluent, as is the pronuntiation of the *Engliſh*; for that the *Welſh* in my opinion, do ſpeak more neere the throat; whereas on the contrary, the *Engliſh* truly imitating the *Latines*, doe pronounce their words a little betweene their lips, which to the Auditor yeeldeth a pleaſing ſound. Thus much of *Wales*, the third portion of *Brittany*.

THe fourth and laſt part followeth, and that is *Cornewall*. This Province taketh its beginning upon that part of the Iland which looketh towards *Spaine*, and the ſetting

setting of the Sunne. To the Eastward it stretcheth ninetie miles, even a little beyond Saint *Germains*, a fine Village, and seated towards the right hand upon the Sea-shore; where its greatest breadth is but twenty miles over. For this portion of ground upon the right side is incircled with the Ocean; upon the left, with that inlet of Sea, which (as before we told you) pierceth into the Land as farre as *Chepstow*; where taking the similitude of a horne, it runneth along, first narrow, and afterwards broader, a little beyond the Towne of Saint *Germaines*. Eastward it bordereth upon *England*; upon the West, the South, and the North, the maine Ocean incompasseth it. The Soile is very barren, and yeeldeth profit rather by the toyle of the Husbandman, than its owne good nature. But for Tinne, it is admirable bountifull, in the Mines whereof consisteth the better part of the Inhabitants happinesse.

However the Language is greatly different from the *English*, but with the *Welsh* it participateth with no small affinitie: for either language hath the denomination of many things in common. The onely difference is, that a *Welshman* hearing a *Cornishman* speaking, rather understandeth some words, than his whole speech: A thing worthy admiration, that in one and the same Iland, there should be so different a confusion of Languages.

Cornewall pertaineth unto *Exeter* Dioceſſe, and in times past was thought worthy to be accounted for a fourth part of the Iland; partly for the dissimilitude of the language, and partly for that it received the first inhabitants (as aforesaid.) But afterwards the *Normans*, who constituted a new forme of a Common-wealth, admitted *Cornewall* amongst the number of the Counties.

Ilands belonging to the Crowne of Great Brittaine.

THe first are the *Sorlings*, & lie against the Cape of *Cornewall*. They are now termed *Silly*, and are few lesse than 145. covered with grasse, and inclosed with huge and massie rocks. They are fruitfull enough for Corne, but are used altogether to the feeding of Conies, Cranes, Swannes, and Sea-

Sea-Fowle. Some of them yeeld Tinne, and the faireſt thereof is called Saint *Maries*, being fortified with a Caſtle and Garriſon. The reſidue of leſſe fame, for brevitie we will willingly omit.

In the *Severne* Sea lie *Chaldey*, and *Londay*: *Londay* is two miles long, and as many broad; full of good paſture, and abounding with Conies and Doves, and thoſe Fowles which *Alexander Necham* termeth *Ganimed* his birds. And though it be wholly incircled with the Sea, yet it yeeldeth freſh water from the Mountaines, and openeth but one only paſſage, where thorow two men can hardly paſſe afront, the reſidue is incloſed with high and horrible overſhuts of Rocks.

Mona or *Angleſey* is a famous Iland ſeparated from *Wales* by a ſmall fret, the ancient dwelling place of the *Druides*. It is two and twenty miles long, and threeſcore broad. Although that in ancient times, this Iland ſeemed barren and unpleaſant, yet in theſe dayes it hath beene ſo well husbanded, and become ſo fertile, that it is ſtiled the *Mother of Wales*. It is ſufficiently ſtored with Cattell, it yeeldeth the Grind-ſtone, and the Minerall earth whereof Allom and Vitriall are confected. It once contained 363. Villages, and is at this day reaſonable populous. The Ilanders are wealthy and valiant, and altogether ſpeake the *Welſh* tongue.

Camden and Gyraldus.

Man lieth juſt betweene the Northerne parts of *Ireland* and *Brittaine*: In length it containeth little leſſe than thirty Italian miles, in bredth where it is broadeſt, not above fifteene, and in ſome places hardly eight. In *Bedas* time (ſaith *Camden*) it contained three hundred families, but now it can ſhew not above ſeventeene pariſh Churches. It yeeldeth plentifull ſtore of Flax and Hempe, Tillage and Paſture, Wheat and Barley, but eſpecially of Oats, whereof for the moſt part the inhabitants feed. There are alſo droves of Rother beaſts to be ſeene, & flocks of ſheep without

out number, but generally all ſorts of Cattell are leſſe of growth than in *England*. In ſtead of Wood they uſe a bituminous Cole, in digging whereof, ſometimes they light upon trees buried in the earth. The Inhabitants above all things hate theft and begging, being but weake by nature. Thoſe which inhabit the Southerne parts, ſpeake the *Iriſh* tongue, thoſe which dwell towards the North ſpeake the *Scottiſh*.

THe *Hebrides* are foure and forty in number, and lie upon the South of *Scotland*: the *Orcades* are thirty, and extend towards the North. The Inhabitants of the former ſpeake *Iriſh*: the people of the latter, *Gottiſh*.

Wight is ſeated in the *Brittiſh* Ocean: the Inhabitants (ſaith *Camden*) are warlike, the ſoile gratefull to the Ploughman, and well repleniſhed with paſtures. It hath in it ſix and thirty Villages, Hamlets, and Caſtles: in *Beda's* time twelve hundred families.

Iarſey, lying over againſt *Conſtans*, an ancient Citie of *Normandy*, containeth about thirty miles in circuit, and is environed with Rocks and dangerous Shallowes. It is very fruitfull in fruit and cattell, in plenty of fiſh, and by reaſon of their many Orchards, abounding with that kinde of wine which the *Engliſh* call *Sider*. In ſtead of wood, which the Iland wanteth, they make their fewell of Sea-weed dried in the Sunne, and growing ſo thicke upon the Rocks, that a farre off a Sea-man would judge them to be whole Acres of Copice. With the aſhes hereof they manure their grounds. It containeth twelve Pariſhes.

Garnſey is twenty miles diſtant from *Iarſey*, ſomewhat leſſe, and nothing ſo fruitfull. It nouriſheth no venomous creature, as doth the former. It is better fortified by nature: and from the tops of the broken Rocks (wherewith it is incircled) doe the Lapidaries and Glaſiers fetch that moſt hard ſtone, wherewith they cut their Iewels and Glaſſe. The Haven likewiſe is more ſecure and ſafe for ſhipping and Merchants, eſpecially at the harbour of *S. Peter*, where by anci-

ent privileges of the Kings of *England* (saith *Camden*) is continuall truce, be the warre never so open and furious betweene the *French* and the *English*. For in these times may the Merchants of either Nation resort without wrong or danger. They want wood likewise, and therefore either use the foresaid weed for fewell, or Sea-coles brought out of *England*.

France.

FRance hath beene much larger than now it is; as of old containing *Switzerland*, *Piedmont*, and *Lumbardy* beyond the *Alps*; and on this side extending to the banks of *Rhine*; yea, the *Wallon* Countries were then reckoned unto *France*, and some others, which later Geographers have laid unto *Germany*. *France* as now it is, is on the North bounded with *Low-Germany*, a strait imaginary line (in stead of a better bounder) being drawne from *Calais* all along beyond *Lorraigne* within a league of *Zaverne* in *Alsatia*, three or foure leagues short of *Strasburg*: on the left and North side of which line, lie *Flanders*, the *Wallons* of *Hannow* and *Luxemburg*: and on the right side, *Picardy*, part of *Champaigne* and *Lorraine*: on the North-west it is washed with the Britush Ocean; on the West with the Sea of *Aquitaine*: on the South it is thwarted by the *Pyrenean Mountaines*, which part it from *Spaine*; being toward the East lickt with the *Mediterranean Sea*. On the full East doe the *Alps* divide it from *Italie*; being on this side trenched upon by that part of *Germany* which lies betweene it and the *Rhine*, which was the old bounder of this kingdome: And this is the accuratest limitation. It lies under the Northerne temperate *Zone*, within the 13. and 19. *Parallels*: The latitude beginning about the middle of the fifth *Climate*, where the longest day is fifteene houres, and extending to the middle of the eighth, where the longest day is sixteene houres and an halfe.

In

In longitude it taketh up all those *Meridians* which are betwixt the fifteenth and the nineteenth. *There is no Country in the world better situate than that of France; for it participateth of the Climate, both hot and cold.* It is in length, from *Bologne* to *Marseilles*, two hundred leagues, after the rate of three English miles a league; and in breadth, from *Mount S. Bernard*, to *S. Iohn de Luze* as much: for it is holden by some Authors to be of figure quadrate; which notwithstanding *Bodin* denieth, avowing it to be in forme of a Lozenge, with whom *La Nove* consenteth, measuring it thus; From *Calais* to *Narbone*, North and South, it is two hundred leagues: from *Rochel* to *Lions*, West and East, it is 120. leagues: from *Mets* to *Bayon* North-East, and South-West, it is two hundred leagues; and from *Morley* in *Bretagny* to *Antibe* in *Province*, North-West, and South-East, it is as much. True it is, that many places within this compasse are not holden of the King, as *Avignon*, and what else the Pope hath. *Toul*, *Verdun*, and *Mets* are holden of the Empire: and *Cambray*, of the house of *Austrich*: in like case of protection, as *Constance* in *Swisserland*, *Vtrich* in the *Low-Countries*, and *Vienna* in *Austria*; and as *Lucca* and *Genoua* in *Italy*, are protected by the King of *Spaine*, so doe *Lorraine* also and *Savoy* hold of the Empire. As contrarily, there be places out of this circuit, which notwithstanding hold of this Crowne in right, and owe him fealty and homage; as the *Spaniard* for the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, which he hath ever since the time of *Francis* the first, denied to render.

The divers Provinces of the Country, are very many: the chiefe are these; *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Ile of France*, *Beauois*, *Bretaigne*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Poicton*, *Lymosin*, *Zantonge*, *Champaigne*, *Berry*, *Salogne*, *Auvergne*, *Nivernois*, *Lyonnois*, *Charrolois*, *Bourbonois*, *Dolphein*, *Provence*, *Languedocke*, *Tourraine*, and *Burgundy*. Provinces.

The thing of best note in each of these, is their singular Commodities and fruits, wherewith they are blessed for the sustenance of the Inhabiter. Insomuch, that as they say Commodities,

of *Lombardy*, that it is the Garden of *Italy*: so may we truly say of *France*, that it is the Garden of *Europe*. *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and *Languedocke*, are goodly Countries of Corne, as any in Christendome; All the Inland Countries are full of Wine, Fruits, and Graine: in some great store of Wood; in others of Flax; in others of Mines of Salt; in others of Iron: Insomuch as one saith; *All things necessary for mans life overflow there in such abundance, that in counterchange onely of the Corne, Wine, Salt, and Wood, transported into forren Countries, there is yearely brought into France, twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling.* And another no lesse approved, and as well practised in the state of *France*, saith; *The springs of Salt, Wine, and Corne, are not to be drawne drie.* In which place he complaineth, that the Kings of *France* were wont in times past to helpe their need with sales of wood, which are now of late yeares so spoiled, as *France* shall shortly be forced to have their Lard from other Countries, as also wood to build and burne: a complaint which I have often heard in *England*. Other Provinces have also their especiall commodities, wherin they excell their neighbours: as in *Lymosin*, the best Beeves; about *Orleans*, the best Wines; in *Auvergne*, the best Swine; in *Berry*, the best Muttons; where there is such store, as thereof they have a Proverbe, when they would tax a fellow for his notable lying, that tels of a greater number than the truth, they say; *Fie, there be not so many Sheepe in Berrie.* They partake also in Sea Commodities: as upon the coast of *Picardy*, where the shore is sandy, they have store of flat fish: upon the coast of *Normandy* and *Guyen*, where it is Rockie, Fish of the Rocke, (as the *French* call them) and upon the coast of *Bretaigne*, where it is muddy, store of round fish, as Lamprey, Conger, Haddocke; so likewise in divers seasons, divers other sorts, as Mackerels in the end of the Spring, and Herrings in the beginning of Autumne, as wee have in *England*, &c.

And this Countrey must needs be well stored with Fish; for besides the benefit of the Sea, the Lakes and Ponds belonging

longing only to the Clergie, which at the most have but one third of *France*, are reported to be one hundred fifty five thousand.

The Rivers also of *France* are so many, as *Boterus* reporteth of the Queene Mother, she should say, here were more than in all Christendome, but we hold her for no good Cosmographer. True it is, that the Rivers here are many, and very faire, and so fitly serving one the other, and all the whole, as it seemeth, Nature in the framing of our bodies, did not shew more wonderfull providence, in disposing Veines and Arteries throughout the bodie, for their apt conveyance of the bloud and spirit from the Liver and Heart, to each part therof, than she hath shewed in the placing of these waters, for the transporting of all her commodities, to all her severall Provinces. Of all those, these are the principall; the *Seine*, upon which standeth the Citie of *Paris*, *Roven*, and many other. It hath his head a little above *Chatillon* in the North-west of *Lingonois*, and receiveth nine Rivers of name; whereof the *Yonne*, the *Marn*, and the *Oyse* are navigable; that is, doe carry Boats with saile. Rivers.

The *Soane* whereupon standeth the City of *Amiens*, *Abbevile*, and many other. It hath his head above *S. Quintin*, divideth *Piccardy* from *Artois*, and receiveth eight lesser Rivers. The *Loire* hath standing upon it the Cities of *Orleans*, *Nantes*, and many other: his head is in *Auvergne*, it parteth the middle of *France*, his course is almost two hundred leagues, it receiveth seventy two Rivers, whereof the chiefe are *Allier*, *Cher*, *Maine*, *Creuse*, *Vienne*, all navigable. The *Garond*, upon which standeth *Bourdeaux*, *Thoulouse*, and other Cities; it hath his head in the *Pereney* Mountaines, it divideth *Languedocke* from *Gascoine*, it receiveth sixteene Rivers, whereof *Iarne*, *Lot*, *Bayze*, *Derdonne*, and *Liste* are chiefest.

And lastly, the *Rhosne*, upon which standeth the Citie of *Lions*, *Avignon*, and divers others: It hath his head in the Mountaines; the *Alpes* dividing *Dolpheny* from *Lyonnois*, and *Province* from *Languedocke*, it receiveth thir-

teene Rivers, whereof the *Soane*, the *Deve*, *Ledra*, and *Durance* are the chiefeſt.

All the other Rivers carry their ſtreames into the Ocean: *Some* at *S. Vallery*, *Seine* at *New-haven*, *Loyre* beneath *Nantes*, and *Garond* at *Blay*: only the River of *Rhoſne* payeth his tribute to the *Mediterraneum* at *Arles*.

The *Seine* is counted the richeſt, the *Rhoſne* the ſwifteſt; the *Garond* the greateſt, the *Loyre* the ſweeteſt; for the difference which *Boterus* makes of them, where he omits the *Garond*, and makes the *Soane* a principall River, is generally rejected.

Havens and Ports.

The Ports and Paſſages into *France*, where Cuſtome is paid to the King, were in times paſt more than they be now: the names of them at this preſent, are theſe: In *Picardie*; *Calais*, *Bologne*, *Saint Vallerie*. In *Normandie*; *Diepe*, *Le Haure de Grace*, *Honneſteux*, *Caen*, *Cherbrouge*. In *Bretaigne*; *S. Malo*, *S. Brieu*, *Breſt*, *Quimpercorentine*, *Vannes*, *Nants*. In *Poictow*; *Luſſon*, *les ſables d' Olonne*. In *Rochellois*; *Rochell*. In *Xantogne*; *Lonbiſſe*. In *Guyenne*; *Bourdeaux*, *Blay*, *Bayonne*. In *Languedocke*; *Narbonne*, *Agde*, *Bencaire*, *Manqueil*. In *Provence*; *Arles*, *Marſeilles*, *Frantts*. In *Lionnois*; *Lions*. In *Burgogne*; *Auſonne*, *Langers*. In *Campagne*; *Chaumont*, *Chalons*, *Trois*. In the Territory *Metzin*; *Metz*, *Toul*, *Verdun*. In all thirty ſeven. Of all theſe, *Lions* is reputed to be the moſt advantagious to the Kings Finances, as being the Key for all Silkes, cloaths of Gold and Silver, and other Merchandize whatſoever, which come or goe from *Italy*, *Swiſſerland*, and all thoſe South-eaſt Countries into *France*, which are brought to this Towne by the two faire Rivers of *Rhoſne* and *Saon*: the one comming from *Savoy*, the other from *Burgundie*, and here meeting.

For profit, next to *Lions*, are *Bourdeaux*, *Rochell*, *Marſeilles*, *Nants* and *Newhaven*: But for capabilitie of ſhipping, I have heard that *Breſt* excelleth; and for ſtrength, *Calais*, eſpecially as it is now lately fortified by the *Spaniard*, which was not let long ſince to be called, *The goodlieſt go-*

vernment

vernment in the world, at leaſt, in Chriſtendome.

There are requiſite in all Ports, to make them perfect, theſe foure things: 1. *Roome to receive many and great Ships:* 2. *Safe Riding:* 3. *Facilitie of repelling forren force:* 4. *Concourſe of Merchants.* The moſt of the *French* Ports have all foure properties, except only the laſt, which in the time of theſe civill broiles, have diſcontinued: and except that wee will alſo grant, that *Calais* failes in the firſt.

The Cities in *France* (if you will count none Cities, but where is a Biſhops See) are onely one hundred and foure; there be ſo many Arch-biſhops and Biſhops in all, as ſhall in more fit place be ſhewed: But after the *French* reckoning, calling every *Ville*, a Citie, which is not either a *Burgade*, or a Village, we ſhall finde that their number is infinite, and indeed uncertaine, as is alſo the number of the Townes in generall. Some ſay, there be one Million and ſeven hundred thouſand: but they are of all wiſe men reproved. Others ſay, ſix hundred thouſand; but this is alſo too great to be true. The *Cabinet* rateth them at one hundred thirtie two thouſand of Pariſh Churches, Hamlets, and Villages of all ſorts: *Bodin* ſaith, there be twentie ſeven thouſand and foure hundred, counting only every Citie for a Pariſh: which will very neere agree with that of the *Cabinet*; and therefore I embrace it as the trueſt.

By the reckoning before ſet downe, of two hundred leagues ſquare (which *France* almoſt yeeldeth) wee muſt compute, that here is in all fortie thouſand leagues in ſquare, and in every league, five thouſand Arpens of ground, which in all amounteth to two hundred millions of Arpens: which ſumme being divided by the numbers of the Pariſhes, ſheweth, that one with another, each Village hath one thouſand five hundred and fifteene Arpens, which meaſure is bigger than our Acre.

We may, if we will, abſtract a third, becauſe *Bodin* will not admit *France* to be ſquare, but as a Lozenge: For in matter of ſuch generalitie as this, men doe alwayes ſet downe ſuppoſitions, not certainties.

If a man will looke thorowout all France, *I thinke that (some Caſtles excepted) he ſhall not finde any Towne halfe perfectly fortified, according to the rules of Enginers.*

Paris. The Citie of *Paris*, ſeated in a very fruitfull and pleaſant part of the Ile of *France*, upon the River of *Sein*, is by the ſame divided into three parts: that on the North, towards Saint *Denis*, is called the *Burge*: that on the South, towards the *Fauxburges* of *S. Germaines*, is called the *Vniverſitie*, and that in the little Ile, which the River there makes, by dividing it ſelfe, is called the *Vile*.

This part no doubt, is the moſt ancient; for ſaith my Author: *Lutetia is a City of the Pariſians, ſeated in an Ile of the Seine*: We may diſtinguiſh it thus: into *Tranſequana*, *Ciſequana*, and *Interamnis*: The part beyond the *Seine*, that on this ſide the *Seine*, and that in the Ile incompaſt with the River. It is reputed not onely the Capitall Citie of *France*, but alſo the greateſt in all *Europe*. It is about the wals ſome ten *Engliſh* miles: theſe are not very thicke; the want whereof, is recompenced with the depth of the ditch, and goodneſſe of the Rampart, which is thicke and defenſible, ſave on the South ſide, which no doubt, is the weakeſt part of the Towne, on which ſide it is reported, that the Lord *Willoughby* offered the King in foure dayes to enter, at ſuch time as he beſieged it. Whereunto the King condeſcended, not by the counſell of the old Marſhall *Biron*, who told him, it was no policie to take the bird naked, when hee may have her feathers and all. On the other ſide, eſpecially towards the Eaſt, it is very well fortified with Bulwarke and Ditch, faire and moderne. *The Ramparts of the gates S. Anthony, S. Michel. and S. Iames, and elſewhere, were made* 1544.

This Baſtile of *Saint Anthonie* was built (ſome ſay) by the *Engliſh*; and indeed it is ſomewhat like thoſe peeces which they have built elſewhere in *France*; as namely, that at *Roven*: howbeit, I read in *Vigner* his Chronicle, that it was builded by a Provoſt of *Paris*, in the time of *Edward* the third of *England*; at what time our Kings began their firſt claime, and had as yet nothing to doe in this Citie.

So

So in this Towne, the *Chaſtelet* was built by *Iulian* the Apoſtata: the *Vniverſitie* was founded by *Charlemaigne*, *Anno* 800. who alſo erected thoſe of *Bologna* and *Padoa*.

The Church of *Noſtre Dame*, was founded *Anno Dom.* 1257. If you would know the greatneſſe of the great Church of our *Lady*, the roofe thereof is ſeventeene fadome high, it is foure and twenty fadome broad, threeſcore and five fadome long: the two Steeples are foure and thirty fadome high above the Church, and all founded upon piles.

The Towne-houſe was finiſhed by *Francis* the firſt, *Anno* 1533. with this inſcription over the Gate, *S.P.E.P.* that is, For his well-deſerving Senate, People and Burghers of *Paris*: *Francis* the firſt, moſt puiſſant King of *France*, commanded this Houſe to be built from the foundation, and finiſhed it, and dedicated it to the calling of the Common Councell, and governing the Citie; in the yeare aforeſaid.

This is as you would ſay, the Guild-Hall of the Towne. The *Hoſtel Dieu* in *Paris*, was augmented and finiſhed in 1535. by *Antoine de Prat*, Chancellour in this Citie, his pourtraict with *Francis* the firſt, is upon the doore as yee enter. This is (as we call it at *London*) the Hoſpitall. The *Palace de Paris*, was built by *Philip le Bel*, 1283. purpoſing it ſhould have beene his Manſion-houſe; but ſince it hath beene diſpoſed into divers Courts, for the execution of Iuſtice, juſt like *Weſtminſter Hall*, which likewiſe at firſt, was purpoſed for the Kings Palace.

Here you have ſuch a ſhew of Wares in faſhion, but not in worth, as yee have at the *Exchange*. Here is a Chappell of the Saint *Eſprit*, built by Saint *Lewis*, 1242. Here are all the ſeven Chambers of the Court of Parliament (which was firſt inſtituted by *Charles Martel*, father to King *Pepin*, *Anno* 720.) but of them all, the great Chamber of *Paris* is moſt magnificently beautified and adorned by *Lewis* the twelfth. At the entry, is a Lion couchant, with his taile betweene his legs, to ſignifie, that all perſons how high ſoever, are ſubject to that Court.

The Chamber alſo of Compts, built by this *Lewis*, is a very

very faire roome; at the entry whereof are five pourtraicts with their Mots. The first is *Temperance*, with a Diall and Spectacle: her word, *Mihi spreta voluptas*; I despise pleasure. Secondly, *Prudence*, with a Looking-Glasse and a Sive: her word, *Consiliis rerum speculor*; I prie into the counsell of things. *Iustice*, with a Ballance and a Sword: her Mot, *Sua cuique ministro*; I give to every man his owne. *Fortitude*, with a Tower in one arme, and a Serpent in the other: her word, *Me dolor atque metus fugiunt*; Both paine and feare avoid mee. And lastly, *Lewis* the King, with a Scepter in one hand, and holding *Iustice* by the other, and this written for his word;

My happy Scepter in calme peace doth flourish,
While I these Heaven-bred Sisters foure doe nourish.

The buildings of this Citie are of stone, very faire, high, and uniforme, thorowout the Towne; only upon the port *N. Dame*, our *Ladies Bridge*, which is, as it were, their *Cheapside*: Their building is of brick-bat, all alike, notwithstanding the faireſt Fabrick in the Towne (and worthily) is the Kings Castle or Palace of the *Louvre* at the West: It is in forme quadrangular, the South and West quarters are new and Prince-like, the other two very antique and prison-like. They were pulled downe by *Francis* the first, and begun to be re-built, but finished by *Henry* the second, with this inscription: *The most Christian King Henry the second began to repaire this time-ruined Edifice.*

Vniversitie. The Vniversitie in times past was wont to have (by report) above thirty thousand Schollers of all sorts, but many of these, children, such as our petty Schooles in the Countries are furnished withall. The streets both in the Citie, Vniversitie, and suburbs, are very faire, strait, and long very many of them; the shops thicke, but nothing so full of wares, nor so rich, as they of *London*; in comparison whereof, these seeme rather Pedlars than otherwise: But for number, I suppose, there be three for two of those.

The Faulxbourges are round about the Citie, ruined and utterly desolate, except those of *Saint Germaines*, which was

was very fairely builded, and was very neere as great as the faire Towne of *Cambridge*.

The benefit of this Towne is very great, which it hath by the River; as by which all the commodities of the Country are conveyed: whereupon *Monsieur de Argenton* reports of it;

Of all the Townes that ever I saw, it is environed with the best and fertilest Country.

And he there reports, that for twenty moneths that hee was prisoner, he saw such an infinite company of boats passe and repasse, but that he was an eye-witnesse, he would have thought it incredible: which he also after proves, by the maintenance of the three Armies, of the three Dukes of *Burgundie*, *Guienne*, and *Bretaigne*, which consisted of an hundred thousand men, against the Citie of *Paris*, wherein they had besieged *Lewis* the eleventh, and yet neither the Campe nor Towne had any want of victuals.

Some say, this Towne was builded in the time of *Amazias* King of *Iuda*, by some Reliques of the *Trojan* warre, and that it was called *Lutece* (*à Luto*) because the soile in this place is very fat, which is of such nature, as ye cannot well get it out, it doth so staine: whereof they have a By-word; *It stayneth like the durt of Paris*. Others say, it was called *Paris* of (*Parresia*) a Greeke word, which signifieth (saith this Author) *hardnesse or ferocitie*, alleaging this verse:

Et se Parrisios dixerunt nomine Franci,
Quod sonat audaces, &c.

And the *Franks* called themselves *Parrisians*, which signifieth *Valiant*. And by this Etymologie would inferre, that the *French* is a warlike Nation. But he is much mistaken in the word; for it signifieth only a boldnesse or libertie of speech: which whether they better deserve, or to be accounted valiant, you shall see when I come to speake of the *Frenchmans* humour and nature in generall. As for the nature of the people of this Towne, their Histories tax it of infinite mutinies and seditions, matchable to the two most rebellious Townes of *Europe*, *Liege*, and *Gant*; and yet this last

laſt is praiſed in one thing, *That they never harme their Princes perſon:* whereof the *Baricades*, as alſo the late aſſaſinations of *Henry* the third, and *Henry* the fourth, make *Paris* moſt unworthy. And *du Haillan* ſaith of them, when they ſtood faſt to *Lewis* the eleventh, againſt the three Dukes above named; *That the Parriſians never held good ſide, nor never ſhewed any honeſtie but then only.* But I can read no ſuch matter in *Commines*; for I well remember, that even then divers of the chiefe of the Towne had practiſed ſecretly with the enemie, and were upon termes of concluding, when by the Kings wiſdome they were prevented.

The Armes in this Citie were given them, *Anno* 1190, by *Philip le Bel*, who creating them a Provoſt and Eſchevins, (like Office as our Maior and Aldermen) *Gave them for Armes, Gules, a Ship Argent, and a Cheefe ſeeded with Flower de Lyce Or.* Yee ſhall heare the French bragge, that their Citie hath beene beſieged an hundred times by the enemie, and yet was never taken ſince *Cæſars* time. The reaſon whereof, one of their beſt Writers gives; becauſe (ſaith he) it is very weake, and therefore alwayes compoundeth.

London compared with *Paris.*

I compare *Paris* with *London*, thus: Theirs is the greater, the uniformer built, and ſtronglier ſituate: ours is the richer, the more ancient: for I hold antiquitie to be a great honour, as well to great Cities, as to great Families.

Yea, if to ſome compariſons would not ſeeme diſtaſtfull, I dare maintaine, that if *London* and the places neere adjoyning were circum-munited in ſuch an orbicular manner as *Paris* is, it would ſurely exceed it, notwithſtanding all its attributes of a *Winding river*, and the *five Bridges*, ſotting forſooth to uniformitie of ſtreets, as indeed we now behold it. And more than that, I am nothing doubtfull in opinion, that the Croſſe of *London* is every way longer, than any you make in *Paris*, or in any other Citie of *Europe*. By this word *Croſſe*, I meane, from *Saint Georges* in *Southwarke*, to *Shoreditch*, South and North; and from *Weſtminſter* to *Whitechapell*, Weſt and Eaſt, meeting at *Leaden-hall*: All

the

the way ſhe environed with broader ſtreets, comelier monuments, and handſomer buildings, than any you can make in *Paris*; or ever ſaw, either in *Millan*, at this houre being the greateſt Citie in *Italie*; in *Noremberg*, or *Ausburg*, for *Germanie*; in *Madril*, or *Lisbone*, for *Spaine*; or finally, in *Conſtantinople* it ſelfe.

Concerning populouſneſſe, if you pleaſe to take *London* meerely as a place compoſed of Merchants, Citizens and Tradeſmen, (and ſo unite the Suburbs adjoyning) it farre exceedeth *Paris*: But taking all together, and at all times, it muſt be confeſſed, that there be more people of all ſorts, two for one, if not more, in *Paris* than in *London*. Or if you will behold it in a Terme-time, (according to our cuſtome of ſpeciall reſort) I doubt not but you may be encountred with equall numbers of callings and profeſſions. As for *Paris*, the better halfe are Gentlemen, Schollers, Lawyers, or Clergie-men: The Merchant liveth obſcurely, the Tradeſman penuriouſly, and the Craftſman in drudgerie: yet all inſolent, and tumultuouſly affected upon the leaſt unaccuſtomed impoſition, or ſuppoſall of alteration of their ridiculous ceremonies. For populouſneſſe.

Inſtead of a beaſtly Towne and durtie ſtreets, you have in *London* thoſe that be faire, beautifull, and cleanly kept. For neat and cleane ſtreets.

Inſtead of clouds, ill aire, and a mirie ſituation, *London* (for the greateſt part of the yeere) affordeth a Sun-ſhining and ſerene element, a wholſome dwelling, a ſtately aſcenſion, and a delicate proſpect. For Aire.

Inſtead of a ſhallow River, bringing only Barks and Boats, with wood, cole, turfe, and ſuch Country proviſion, you have in *London* a River flowing twenty foot high, adorned with ſtately Ships, that flie to us with merchandize from all the parts of the world. And to deſcend to inferiour obſervations, I ſay, that the River only Weſtward matcheth that of *Paris* every way, ſupplying the Citie with all the fore-mentioned commodities at eaſier rates. For River.

Inſtead of ill-favoured woodden bridges, many times indangered by tempeſts and froſts, we have at *London* ſuch a For Bridges.

bridge,

bridge, that without exception, it may worthily be accounted the admirableſt Monument, and firmeſt erected Colloſſeum (in that kinde) of all the Vniverſe; whether you reſpect the foundation, with the continuall and ſubſtantiall reparation of the Arches; or behold the impoſed buildings, being ſo many, and ſo beautifull.

For a Caſtle.

In ſtead of an old Baſtile and ill appearing Arſenall (thruſt as it were into an out-caſt corner of the City) wee have in *London* a Fabrike of greateſt antiquity, for forme majeſticall, and ſerving to moſt uſes of any Citadell, or Magazine, that ever you ſaw. It containeth a Kings Palace, a Kings Priſon, a Kings Armory, a Kings Mint, and a Kings Wardrobe, beſides many other worthy Offices; ſo that the reſidents within the wals have a Church, and are a ſufficient Pariſh of themſelves.

For places of Retreit.

In ſtead of an obſcure Louvre, lately graced with an extraordinary and immatchable gallery, the onely Palace of the King; In *London* his Majeſty hath many houſes, Parks, and places of repoſe; and in the ſhires confining, ſuch a number, for ſtate, receit and commodiouſneſſe, that I proteſt amazement, knowing the defects of other places.

Nor doe I here ſtretch my diſcourſe on the tenter-hookes of partiality, but plainly denotate what many my country-men can averre; that to the crowne of *England* are annexed more Caſtles, Honours, Forreſts, Parks, Palaces, Houſes of ſtate, and conveniencie to reſort unto, from the incumbrances of the Citie, than any Emperour or King in *Europe* can at this day challenge *proprio jure*.

For ſeats of Iuſtice, and concourſe of Merchants.

In ſtead of an old ruinous Palace (as they terme their Houſe of Parliament, Hall of Iuſtice, concourſe of Lawyers, and meeting of certaine Tradeſmen, or Milleners, like an exchange) *London* hath ſuch a Cirque for Merchants, with an upper quadrant of ſhops, as may make us envied for delicacy of building, and ſtatelineſſe in contriving. For a ſtate-houſe, we have in *London* the Guild-hall, and for Courts of Iuſtice, Weſtminſter hall, two ſuch fabriks, that without further diſpute, they make ſtrangers aske unanſwerable queſtions:

ſtions: when being brought to the light of underſtanding by particulars, they lift up their hands and ſay; *Oh happy England! Oh happy people!* Beſides theſe publike Receptacles, we have private and goodly Colleges for Lawyers, fitted for their private and publike uſes, receit of their Clients, conveniently appropriated to their Offices. All workes rather of oſtentation amongſt our ſelves, than of imitation in others.

For Colleges for ſtudents of the Lawes.

In ſtead of obſcure Churches, we have firſt the goodlieſt heape of ſtones, namely *Pauls*, next the moſt curious, *viz. Weſtminſter Abby*, in the world: and generally, all our Churches exceed for beauty and handſomneſſe.

For Churches.

In ſtead of Gentlemen riding on durty foot-cloaths, and women footing it in the mierie ſtreets, the one with an idle Lackey, the other with no company at all; we have faſhionable attendance, handſome comely paſſage either in Caroſſe, Coach, or on horſebacke; and our Ladies and Gentlewomen are never ſeene abroad, without an honourable retinue.

For decent riding.

In ſtead of confuſed intermixtures of all ſorts; as Citizens, Lawyers, Schollers, Gentlemen, Tradeſmen, and Religious perſons, (ſo that you can ſcarcely know the one from the other, nor the maſter from the man) in *London* the Citizen lives in the beſt order, with very few houſes of Gentlemen interpoſed; But in our ſuburbs the Nobility and Gentry have ſo many, and ſuch ſtately buildings, that one ſide of the River may compare with the gran Canale at *Venice*: but if you examine their receit and capacity, *Venice*, and all the Cities of *Europe* muſt ſubmit to truth: for in *London*, and the places adjoyning, five hundred ſeverall houſes may beare the attribute of Palaces, wherein five thouſand perſons may conveniently be lodged.

For unconfuſed intermixtures.

In ſtead of a poore Provoſt, and a diſorderly company of Merchants and Tradeſmen, we have a Podeſta, or Maior, that keepeth a Prince-like houſe, accompanied and attended with grave and reſpective Senators, and comely Citizens, having ſeverall Hals; where every craft and myſtery is governed

For a Maior.

verned by ancient persons of the same society and profession: At time of yeare producing such solemne and rich triumphs, that strangers have admired the brave spirits of Mechanicall men.

To conclude, if you looke on, and in our *London* truly, as it is composed of men following trades and occupations; there is not such a Citie, such a Government, such a method of conversation, such an unity of society and good neighbourhood, such a glasse to see lovelinesse and beauty in, such a chamber of wealth, and such a store-house of terrestriall blessings under the Sunne againe.

Or, if you please to view it without at all times, and yet consider the keeping of our Country houses, you may boldly say; There are not so many Gentlemen to be seene in any place, nor to so good purpose generally: for speaking somewhat liberally, like an Orator of Contentation, I aske, if the pleasures of *Paris* can bring you into walkes of such variety, with so little charge and expence, as *London* can: Surely no. And with us, our riding of horses, musicke, learning of all Arts and Sciences, dancing, fencing, seeing of comedies or enterludes, banquets, maskes, mummeries, lotteries, feasts, ordinary meetings, and all the singularities of mans inventions to satisfie delight, are easie expences: and a little judgement with experience will manage a very meane estate, to wade through the current of pleasure, yea, although it should runne unto voluptuousnesse.

For the Court.

But shall I dare to speake of our Court, the map of Majesty, in respect whereof, *Biron* compared *all others* to confusion? If I doe, for stately attendance, dutifull service, plentifull fare, orderly tables, resort of Nobles, beauty of Ladies, bravery of Gentry, concourse of civill people, princely pastimes, and all things befitting the Majesty of a King, or glory of a Nation; I may say for *England*, as the King of *France* once answered the Emperours tedious Title; *France, France, France,* and nothing but *France:* So *England, England, England,* and nothing but *England,* to their proudest comparisons. Affirming, that if ever Countrey, Kingdome,

Kingdome, or Prince, came neere *Salomons* royalty, plenty, peace, and beatitude; *England*, and in *England London* hath the preheminence.

Beſides the Cities and Ports of *France* well fortified, there be alſo infinite numbers of Caſtles & Cittadels (which the people call *The neſts of Tyrants*, and the Prince *Chaſtivillains.*) Of the Caſtles, the number is therefore moſt great, and as uncertaine, by reaſon that every Noblemans houſe of any age, is built in defenſible manner. An example of one for many hundreds, you may take that of *Roch-fort*, belonging to the *Seigneur de la Tremouville*, which in the civill warres endured a ſiege, and five thouſand Cannon ſhot, and yet was not taken. It is judged by the wiſeſt, that in great Kingdomes, ſuch as *France*, no places ſhould bee fortified but the frontiers: after the example of Nature, who armeth the heads and heeles of beaſts, but never the bowels nor middle part: as in *England*, where except frontier places, none but his Majeſtie have fortified places. Caſtles.

You muſt underſtand, that here in *France*, all Inhabitants of Cities are liable to the common charges of the fortification of their Cities, reparations of Bridges, Fountaines, High-waies, & ſuch like. And becauſe the richer ſort ſhould not levie the money, and then keepe it to themſelves, or imploy it as they liſt; they muſt give information to the Chancellor of the neceſſity of the Levie, and procure Letters Patents for the ſame, by authority whereof they gather the money, and uſe it, yeelding after to the Kings Procurer their account. Charges.

And for their Watch and Ward, it goes by courſe, as in the City of *Embden*, and divers other in thoſe low countries. As for Caſtles, the *Seigneur* or Captaine, may not force Vaſſall, (*faire le guet*, to watch and ward) except in frontier places, upon forfeiting of their eſtates.

After this generall Survey of the Country it ſelfe, wee muſt obſerve ſomething of the government, wherein I will not trouble you with fetching their firſt Pedigree from beyond the Moone, as many of their Hiſtories labour, nor by Governments.

disputing the matter, whether it bee true or no, that they came from *Troy*, into the mariſhes of *Meotis*, whence, after ſome ſmall abode, they were chaſed by the *Roman* Emperour into *Bavaria*, and after into *Frankeland* in *Germany*.

It ſhall ſuffice, that from hence this people came into *France*, wherein all Writers agree. For after the declination of the *Roman* Empire, when the *Oſtrogothes* conquered *Italy*, the *Viſigothes Spaine*, and the *Vandals Affrike*: then did the *Burgundians* and *Franconians* divide this Country betweene them, conquering it upon the old *Inquilines* (the *Gaules*) who from *Cæſars* time till then, had not taſted the force of a forren power.

The Government was under Dukes till the yeare 420. when as *Pharamond* cauſed himſelfe to bee intituled King. In this race it remained till 751. when *Pepin* ſuppreſſed his M. *Chilpericke*, and uſurped. His line laſted till 988. when *Hugh Capet* gave the checke to the ſucceſſion of *Charlemaignes* line (who was *Pepins* ſonne) and inveſted himſelfe with the Diadem. From him it hath lineally deſcended by heires males to the houſe of *Valois*, and for want of iſſue male in them, is now come to the houſe of *Burbon*. In this ſpace of time, you muſt obſerve the three ages of *France*: her child-hood, till *Pepin*; her man-hood, till *Capet*; her old age, till now. For, in the firſt age the Kings were like children, content to be taught by others in matters of Religion, (as then ye may note, that *Clovis* received the Faith, and was Baptized) as alſo in matter of policie, they were content that others ſhould beare the whole ſway, and rule them alſo, ſuch were the *Maieurs de Palais*, whereof *Pepin* was one that uſurped.

In their man-hood they did like men, conquer Kingdomes, releeve diſtreſſed Chriſtians, overcome *Saracens* and *Infidels*, defend the Church againſt all aſſailes, as yee may perceive by the Hiſtory of *Charles* the great, and his ſucceſſors.

And laſtly, now in her old age ſhe grew wiſe, erected Courts

Courts for Iuſtice, made Lawes and Ordinances to governe her Inhabitants, wherein no Countrey in *Europe* hath excelled her: for ſo ſaith my Author; There is no Countrey in the world, where Iuſtice is better eſtabliſhed, than in ours: which is true (but with this addition of a later Writer,) if the Officers thereof were not too too many, and if their places were rightly executed.

To force this Relation, with many notes of things here hapning in former ages, were both impertinent, and tedious; only I would wiſh you note, that in 482. the Chriſtian Faith was here received, and in the yeare 800. the *Roman* Empire hither tranſlated.

Concerning the Counttie of *France*, the State is a Monarchie, and the government mixt: for the authoritie of *Maieurs, Eſchevins, Conſuls, Iureurs, &c.* is Democraticall: the *Paires*, the *Councels*, the *Parliaments*, the *Chambers* of *Counts*, the *Generalities*, &c. are Ariſtocraticall. The calling of Aſſemblies, giving of Offices, ſending Embaſſages, concluding of Treaties, pardoning of offences, ennobling of Families, legitimation of Baſtards, coyning of moneys, and divers other, to the number of foure and twentie, are meerely Regall, called of the *French*, *Droicts Royaux*.

And ſure it is, that no Prince in *Europe* is a more perfect Monarch than he: for beſides all theſe Privileges named, as we ſay of the Parliament of *Paris*, that it hath the prerogative to be appealed unto, from all other Courts, which they call (*the laſt appeale*,) ſo is it likewiſe true, that the King himſelfe hath the meere and abſolute authoritie over this. For though no Edict or Proclamation, no Warre or Peace which he makes, be good, without the conſent and *Arreſt* (as they call it) of this Court: Yet true it is, that when he, ſending to them for their confirmation and ratifying thereof, if at firſt they refuſe, and ſend Deputies to his Majeſty to informe him of their reaſons, with humble ſuit to revoke the ſame, he returnes them upon paine of his diſpleaſure and deprivation of their Offices, to confirme it. *Sic volo, ſic jubeo.*

As touching the Lawes, we muſt know, that moſt of them Lawes.

are grounded on the Civill Law of the Emperour: but ſo, as this State ever proteſteth againſt them: inſomuch as in former times it was ordained, that he which alleaged any Law of *Iuſtinian*, ſhould loſe his head. Of the Lawes in force, ſome are fundamentall, as they call them, and immortall: Such as nor King, nor aſſembly can abrogate: others are Temporall.

Of the firſt ſort, I will only remember you of two examples: the Law *Salique*, and that of *Appennages*. As for the firſt, they would needs make the world beleeve, that it is of great antiquitie, wherewith they very wrongfully tromped the heires of *Edward* the third, from the enjoying of this Crowne, which to them is rightly deſcended by the Mother; and whoſe claime is ſtill good, were the *Engliſh* ſword well whetted to cut the Labels of this Law. Of which *Haillan* himſelfe confeſſeth, that before the time of *Philip le Long*, 1321. That the Law *Salique* was never heard tell of, before this Kings time, who cauſed it to be ratified by all the Nobles of his Kingdome, ſome by faire promiſes, and others by force and threats. Whereupon, they have ſince this proverbe, *The Kingdome of* France *cannot fall from the Launce to the Diſtaffe*; which another would needs as ſoundly prove out of Scripture, for that it is ſaid, *The Lillies ſpinne not*: that is, the Lillies or Flowerdelyces, being the Armes of *France*, cannot deſcend to a *Spinſter*, or woman.

Touching the *Appennages*, it is alſo a Law of great conſequent for the Crowne: for by this, the Domaine cannot be aliened, and by the other, the Crowne cannot fall into the hands of ſtrangers. You muſt note, that this Law imports, that the younger ſonnes of the King cannot have Partage with the Elder; which till the time of *Charlemaigne* (when this was made) they might; they muſt onely have *Appennage ſans propriete*. By which Charter of *Appennage* is given all profits ariſing of the ſaid *Apannes*; as Domaine, the Hundreth, Rents, rights of Seigneurie, *parties Caſuelles*, Lots, Sales, Homages, rights of Vaſſalage, Forreſts, Ponds, Rivers, Iuriſdictions, Patronages of Churches, Proviſions, and

and Nomination of Chappels, Goods of *Mayn-mort*, Fists of Lands sold, and all other profits and commodities whatsoever, to returne to the Crowne, for want of heires male: But the levying of Taxes and aids, the minting of money, and all other things of Regalitie are reserved.

Concerning the other sort of Lawes in this Realme, they are infinite, which argueth *(à consequente)* that they be ill kept: for *Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas:* and *(ab antecedente)* that the people of this Countrey have beene ill inclined: for *Evill manners cause good Lawes.*

These *French* Lawes are too full of Preambles, Processes, Interims, and Provisoes, as by all their Ordinances and Edicts appeareth: There is nothing (me thinkes) colder, than *a Law with a Prologue:* Let a Law command, and not perswade. Of all these Lawes I will only name you this one: *That the minority of the King, shall be assisted with a Councell, chosen by the States of* France, *wherein the Princes of the bloud ought to hold the first place, and strangers to bee excluded:* Which was enacted at *Toures*, by *Charles* the eighth, *Anno* 1484. I tell you of this, as of the true source and spring of all the late civill warres, because the Cadets of *Lorraine* by insinuation with the young Kings, *Francis* the second, and *Charles* the ninth, under the favour of the Queene Mother, took upon them to manage all publike matters at their own pleasure, and thrust out the first Princes of the bloud of the house of *Burbon.* Whereupon *Navarre* and *Condie*, the Princes of this Family, assisted by many of the *French* Nobles, embarqued themselves in the action of reforming such an abuse, and displacing the *Guysard* out of this authoritie, tooke it upon themselves, to whom it rightly belonged.

Howbeit, out of that which I there saw, which I have heard of others, and read in Authors; I will adventure to relate, concerning the Officers of this Court; for as for other great Offices, as of *Constable, Admirall, Marshall, Grand Master of the Eaues* and *Forests, Grand Master* of the *Artillerie*, and others, I shall speake of them, when I come to relate

Officers of Court.

relate of the Kings Forces in generall, to which place theſe Offices eſpecially appertaine.

Great Maſter. The firſt Office then of Court, is that of the great Maſter, which in elder times was called Earle of the Palace, and after changed into the name of *Grand Seneſchall*, and now laſtly into *Grand Maiſtre*. It is his Office, to judge of matters of difference, betweene other Officers of Court. He had alſo the charge to give the word to the Guard, to keepe the Keyes of the Kings private Lodging, and to determine in diſputes among Princes that followed the Court, for their Lodgings. In aſſemblies, he ſitteth right before the King, a ſtaire lower, as you reade in the *Dern. Trobl.* Great Butler or Taſter, was in former times a great Office in the Kings Houſe, they had place in the Courts of Iuſtice, as Peeres. This Office was long in the *Counts* of *Senlis*: It is now vaniſhed, and only there remaines that of the *Grand Panetier*. This Office is ancient: he hath beſides the Kings Houſe ſuper-intendence over all Bakers in the Citie and Suburbs of *Paris*. They which were wont to be called Pantlers, Taſters and Carvers, are now called Gentlemen Wayters of the Court.

The Office of great Chamberlaine was long in the Houſe of *Tankervile*: he lay at the Kings feet, when the Queene was not there. His Privileges are now nothing ſo many as in times paſt. Thoſe which were then called Chamberlaines, are now Gentlemen of the Chamber. The Office of great Eſquire, is not very ancient, though now it be very honourable, and is the ſame that Maſter of the Horſe is in the Court of *England*: for it is taken out of the Conſtables Office, to whom it properly appertained. It was firſt inſtituted in the time of *Charles* the ſeventh. In the Kings entrance into the Citie, he carries the Sword ſheathed before him; The Cloth of Eſtate carried over the King, by the Maior and Sheriffes, belongs to his Fee. No man may bee the Kings Spur-maker, *Mareſchall*, and ſuch like Officer, but he muſt have it of him, as alſo other inferiour Offices belonging to the Stables. He had in times paſt, the command over Stages

Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber.

Great Eſquire, or Maſter of the Horſe.

of Post-horses: but now the Controller generall of the said Posts, hath it. The Office of *Master or Steward of the Kings House*, hath charge over the expence of the Kings House: For a marke of his authoritie, he carries a truncheon tipt at both ends with silver and gilt, and marcheth before the Sewer, when the Kings dinner comes to the Table.

Master or Steward of the Kings House.

No Sergeant can arrest any of the Kings House without their leave. They serve quarterly: they were wont to be but foure, but now I have heard it credibly said, they be eightie in name, but all of these doe not execute the Office. The *Great Provost* of *France*, and of the Kings House, was so called since *Charles* the ninth: for before, he was called *Roy des rebauds*, King of the Rascals. His Office is to stickle amongst the Servants, Pages, Lacquies, and *Filles de joye* (Punkes or pleasant sinners) which follow the Court, and to punish all offences in these people.

Great Provost of *France*.

I should have named before these last, as a place more honourable, the Office of *Great Faulconer*, and *Common Hunt*, who have authoritie over all Officers of Chase. They of the Kings Chamber, are either Gentlemen of the Chamber, of whom I spake before, or Groomes of the Chamber, which are but base *Groomes* and *Yeomen*.

Great Faulconer, and Common Hunt.

The hundred Gentlemen of his Guard (though there be two hundred of them) they hold and use a weapon, called *Le bec de corbin:* They march two and two before him: they are part *French*, and part *Scots*. The *Scot* carries a white Cassocke, powdered with silver plates, and the Kings device upon it: The *French* weare the Kings Colours. There is also a Guard of *Swisse*, attired in partie-coloured-Cloth, drawne out with silke, after their Countrey fashion: these follow the Court alwayes on foot, the other on horse.

Gentlemen of the Kings Guard.

There belong to the Court also, the *Marshals* of *Lodgings*, and *Harbingers:* they have like Offices as the Harbingers in the *English* Court: there bee also divers others which are here needlesse to be spoken of.

It followeth I speake of his Forces, aswell horse as foot, of which this Country is very well furnished, and indeed vaun-

His Forces.

teth (and I thinke worthily) to be the beſt and greateſt *Gens d'armerie* of any Realme in Chriſtendome: but on the other ſide, their foot have no reputation; Inſomuch, as at the Siege of *Amyens*, we ſhould heare the *Spaniard* within the Towne, ſpeake over the wals to our *Engliſh* Souldier in their Trenches, after we had ſaved the Kings Cannon, from which the *French* were ſhamfully beaten by them within, ſallying out upon them:

"You are tall Souldiers (ſay they) and we honour you "much, not thinking any foot to come neere us in reputati- "on, but you; and therefore, when you of the *Engliſh* "come downe to the Trenches, we double our Guard, and "looke for blowes: but as for theſe baſe and unworthy "*French*, when they come, we make account we have no- "thing to doe that day, but play at Cards, or ſleepe upon "our Rampart. Of both theſe Forces of horſe and foot of *France*, you are to note this which followeth.

It is reported of the great *Turke*, that when he conquereth any Province or Country, he divideth the Lands upon his horſemen, and to each his portion, with an exemption of paying either Rent, Tax, or Tallage whatſoever; only they are bound to ſerve the *Grand Seignior*, with a proportion of horſe at their owne charge, and in their owne perſon in his warres, except either age or ſickneſſe hinder, which are the two only excuſes admitted. Theſe are called his *Timariots:* of like Nature were the *Calaſyres*, or *Mamalucks* of *Ægypt*.

So did the Kings of *France* in former times beſtow upon Gentlemen divers lands and poſſeſſions, freeing them likewiſe from taxes and aids, upon condition to have their perſonall ſervice in time of need. Theſe Lands were called *Feifs*, inſtituted before *Charlemaigne* his time, but till then they were given onely for life (as at this day are thoſe of the *Turks:*) but ſince, they bee hereditary. The word *Feif*, hath his Etymology of (*Foy*) Faith: ſignifying Lands given by the King to his Nobility or men of deſert, with *Haulte et baſſe juſtice*, with an acknowledgment of fealty and

and homage, and ſervice of the King in his warres at their owne charge. Some *Feif* was bound to finde a man at Armes ; ſome an Archer, ſome the third, and ſome the fourth of a man at Armes, according to the quantity of Land he held. He that had Land from the value of five to ſix hundred *Livres* rent, (that is, from fifty to ſixty pound ſterling) was bound to finde a man on Horſe-backe, furniſhed for a man at Armes: and from three to foure hundred a good light Horſe-man ; who, if it pleaſe the Prince, and upon occaſion of ſervice, ſhall quit his Horſe, and ſerve on foot, provided that he have with him a vallet Harquebuſier. But they that had leſſe than three or foure hundred, had a leſſe proportion of charge. There be foure exceptions where a man is not bound to ſerve in perſon ; If he be ſicke, if aged, if he beare ſome Office, if he keepe ſome frontier place or other Caſtle of the Kings ; for in this caſe hee may ſend another.

They are bound upon forfeiture of their *Feif*, to ſerve three moneths within the Land, and forty dayes without; not counting the dayes of marching. You muſt obſerve, that as the *Seigneurs* hold their *Feif* of the King in *Haute juſtice*, ſo other Gentlemen hold of them in *Baſſe juſtice*, upon charge to follow theſe *Seigneurs* at all times to the wars. For the *Feif* is the thing, by the acceptation whereof, they that hold it, are bound in oath and fidelity to their Lords ; and therefore are called their Vaſſals, of *Weſſos* the old *Gaule* word, which ſignifieth Valiant : for to ſuch were the *Feifs* given. As for *Serfes*, Slaves or Villaines, they are domeſticke, and ſerve upon baſer condition, for wages and victuals. There is alſo the ſubject, that is, the poore peaſant that laboureth and tilleth the *Feifs*, and therefore yee ſhall heare *Monſieur le* Gentleman ſpeake of *ſes terres, ſes hommes, & ſes ſubjects* : His lands, his men, and his ſubjects : and yet himſelfe is Vaſſall to the *Seigneur*, that holds in *haute juſtice*. But you may note, that no word of ſervice whatſoever in this diſcourſe, doth prejudice the liberty naturall of the Vaſſall. Neither the ſubject nor the

Serf

Serf are bound to goe to the wars, but only the Vaſſall. The muſtering and gathering together of theſe forces, obliged by theſe *Feifs*, is called the *Ban*, and *Arrier-Ban*, of the *Almaine* words *Here, exercitus*, an Army; and *Ban, convocatio*, a calling together. This *Ban* and *Arrier-ban*, conſiſted anciently of twelve, and ſometimes fifteene thouſand *Gens d' armes*: But after the corruption thereof, when the *Feifs* came to be in the hands of unable and unworthy men, the Kings of *France* were forced of later times, to erect the *Gens d' armes des Ordonnances*, the men at Armes of his Ordinances, in *Charles* the ſeventh his time. For ye muſt conſider, that there have beene foure principall cauſes of the overthrow of this *Ban* and *Arrier-ban*. The firſt, were the gifts to the Clergy, who, as is reported, have the ſixth part of theſe *Feifs* in their hands, and contribute nothing to the warres: for as one ſaith, they will loſe nothing, pay nothing, contribute nothing toward their guarding, and yet notwithſtanding they will be guarded. The next, was the voyages to the *Holy-land*; for when one had made a vow to goe thither, to ſerve againſt the *Saracens* and *Infidels*, he ſold his *Feif*, to furniſh him to that purpoſe. The third, was the warres with the *Engliſh*, wherein by force they loſt them. The laſt cauſe is, the ſales of them to all ſorts of people, without exception; as the Lawyer, the Yeoman, or any other unable perſon whatſoever that will buy them; which till *Charles* the ſeventh they might not doe. Ye ſee then how neceſſary it was (this old inſtitution being corrupted and quite decayed) to erect a new; which they called, *Les Gens d' armes des ordonnances*: becauſe at their firſt erection, there were divers Lawes and ordinances made for them to obſerve, which who ſo brake, was ſeverely puniſhed. They were at firſt only 1500. But after, they were increaſed to an hundred cornets, and given to divers Princes of the bloud, and Nobles of *France* to conduct and command, with an honourable penſion. In theſe troops ſhould bee 6000. for in ſome there are an hundred, in others but fifty. Howbeit it is thought, in each troope

troope there are ſome dead payes, for the benefit of the Officers, and that in truth there be not above foure thouſand in all. For the maintenance of this *Gens d' armerie*, there is a tax yearely levied upon the people throughout all *France*, called the *Taille*.

Concerning both the number of the *Gens d' armes*, and their proportion of allowance, by the *Taille*, it is thus, as *La Nove* judgeth: The horſemen in the time of *Henry* the ſecond, exceeded the number of 6000. launces, but they are now but 4000. and in mine opinion, it were fit to entertaine in time of peace, foure Regiments of Infantery, of ſix hundred men apeece.

His Infantery.

As touching the Infantery, *Francis* the firſt was the firſt that inſtituted the Legionaries, which were in all eight, and every Legion to containe ſix thouſand, according to the rate of the ancient *Romans*. The firſt Legion was of *Normandy*: The next of *Bretaigne*. One in *Picardie*. One in *Burgundie*. In *Champaigne* and *Nivernois* one. In *Dolphenie* and *Provence* one. In *Lyonnois* & *Auvergne* one. And one in *Languedocke*. Theſe companies were ſhortly after caſſed, and againe within eighteene yeares erected; and are now againe of late yeares diſſolved, and in their place the Regiments now entertained, are five in number: The Regiment of the *Guard*, the Regiment of *Picardie*, the Regiment of *Champaigne*, the Regiment of *Piemont*, and laſtly, the Regiment of *Gaſcoyne*, commonly called the Regiment of *Navarre*: In each of theſe is twelve hundred.

Theſe are all now in time of peace beſtowed in garriſon-townes, and frontier places, except thoſe of his guard. *Bodins* opinion is, that foure Legions of 5000. apeece, would ſuffice to be maintained in this land: for (ſaith he) the *Roman* Empire, which was twenty times as great, had never but eleven Legions in pay: but this is to be underſtood of them which were in pay ordinary in *Italy*, beſides thoſe Legions which they had in other their Countries, as *England*, *Spaine*, *Low-Countries*, &c. For otherwiſe, we read of thoſe Emperours that had thirtie one Legions; and *Bodin* himſelfe

himſelfe confeſſeth, that *Auguſtus* had at one time entertained in pay forty Legions, at eleven millions charge the yeare. But this Writer though he be approved, as he well deſerves, yet I thinke if he failed in any of his diſcourſe, it was in matter of warre, the profeſſion whereof did ill agree with his long robe: yee ſhall therefore take the judgement of a diſcreeter ſouldier of *France* for your direction, what force the *French* can make, or entertaine of others, which is this. If our King perceived that any neighbour of his meant to invade his Frontiers, I thinke he might eaſily compoſe an Army of ſixty companies of men at Armes, twenty Cornets of light horſe, and five troops of Harquebuſiers on horſe-backe, amounting all to ten thouſand horſe. To which he might adde three or foure thouſand *German* Rutters, and one hundred Enſignes of *French* foot, and forty Enſignes of his good Confederates, the *Swiſſers*, and yet maintaine his other Frontiers ſufficiently manned.

So that ye may conclude, that foure thouſand men at Armes, well complete, and with a proportion of light-horſe and foot anſwerable, ſheweth the whole flower, beauty, and force of *France*. Howſoever the Author of the Cabinet confidently avoweth, that there may eaſily be muſtred and maintained foureſcore and odde thouſand horſe of one ſort or other; that is, launce, and light-horſe. But I feare me we may ſay of them, as *Plutarch* ſaith of the Nobles of *Athens*, having uſurped upon the Democracie of that Citie: *They were indeed but foure hundred, and yet cauſed themſelves to be ſtiled, the five thouſand.* So I feare me, hee reckoneth after the *Athenian* rate, ten for one.

The Cabinets reaſon is this: There be in *France* 50000. Gentlemen that are able to beare Armes: for (ſaith he) rate this proportion at a Gentleman in each league, by the meaſure of *France*, (which are forty thouſand in ſquare) and it wanteth but a fifth. Howbeit, ſaith he, in ſome Countries, yee ſhall have thirty or forty within the compaſſe of one league, beſides their children. Out of theſe, if the King would, he might compoſe a *Gens d'armerie* of 8000. men

at

at Armes, and 16000. Archers: which body of 24000. Gentlemen, would repreſent in the field 60000. horſe. Hee might alſo have a *cavallerie Legiere*, of foure or five thouſand Gentlemen. He might alſo furniſh the *Ban* and *Arrier-ban*, according to the old faſhion, with twelve or fifteene thouſand Gentlemen. And yet might he have beſides all this, foure or five thouſand for the ſtate of his Court, and government of his Provinces. This is his computation: But you ſhall ſee it proved, when we come to ſpeake of the Nobility of *France*, that it is exceedingly ſhortned in number, and decayed in eſtate, and therefore nothing able to come neere this number. As good a conſequent it were to ſay, that becauſe ye have two or three millions of men in *England* able to fight, that therefore our State can bring ſo many into the field, without conſidering the proviſion of Armes, and all other things neceſſarie. But this Cabinet was made by one of the Religion, that was tranſported out of himſelfe, by the heat of his zeale, and hate to the temporall livings of the Church: Whoſe projects and drifts are much like thoſe of the *Supplication of Beggers* (a booke made in King *Henry* the eighths dayes) where he frameth in his fancie an *Vtopia* and felicity, not to be hoped in *France*, building Caſtles in the Aire; and concluding, that if it would pleaſe the King to alien the Church temporall livings, and unite them to the Domaine, (*nihil eſt dictu facilius*, a thing eaſily ſaid, but not eaſily done) that over and beſides the forces of foureſcore thouſand horſe aboveſaid, he might alſo maintaine an Infantery of the *French* Gentlemen of twelve thouſand: *Item*, another of the popular, of forty eight thouſand: and laſtly, yet another Infantery legionarie of forty eight thouſand.

The *Supplication* was anſwered by Sir *Thomas Moore* his booke, called, The *Pitifull complaint of the puling ſoules in Purgatory*: How well I know not, but of this I am ſure, that if ſuch a number of horſe and foot ſhould either bee maintained upon the Church living, or upon the poore people, (upon whom all theſe charges of the *Gens d'armes* lieth)

lieth) here would be many more pulling soules, and pitifull complaints in *France*, than are in Sir *Thomas Moores* Purgatory.

It then remaines, that wee hold our selves to the judgement of *La Nove*, afore set downe, who also confesseth, that in *Charles* the sixth his time, there were in the field twenty two thousand Launces; but since the *Gens d'armerie* was instituted, were never, but once at *Valenciennes* above ten thousand. For as for that great number, whereof yee reade in *M. d' Argenton*, that besieged *Lewis* the eleventh in *Paris*, they were the forces of three great Princes, and the better part *Burgognions*.

The *French* reckon above an hundred and twenty strong Townes, some very strong already, all the rest easie to be made defensible. Their Ordnance and Field-peeces they have reduced to a proportion of boare and length, that so the gartridges and bullet of the same weight may be serviceable for most of their peeces; and if a carriage breakes, the peece may be readily mounted upon another. The usuall length of their Field-peeces is almost ten foot, & the length of the carriage fourteene foot; so that both together take up nineteene foot being mounted upon the Batterie. Of all Nations, the *French* confesse that they feare none but the *Switzers*, and them they doe, for that being so neere neighbours, they may fall upon them at unawares. To prevent which, they have fortified the Frontiers next to them; knowing well, that the nature of the *Switzer* is, rather to hazzard a field, than to sit downe about a lingring siege. But these *Frenchmen* have forgot that *England* is farre too hard for them at Sea, and that *Spaine* and the Empereur together have in a manner besieged them round about by Land.

Officers of warre.

I must now remember you of the Officers for the warre in *France*: and because warre is made both by sea and by land, I must also reckon the sea Officers: but as for the French Kings forces at sea, I have not yet learned that he hath any, and therefore can say little thereof.

Constable.

The first and principall, and which commandeth all in the

the Kings abſence, even the Peeres and Princes of the bloud whatſoever, is the *Conſtable*; who, as hath before beene remembred, hath his name of *Comes ſtabuli*: for in former times the Kings chiefe Officers were called Counts, with an addition of their Office, as *Comes Palatii*, *Comes Præſidii*, *Comes rerum privatarum*, *Comes ſacrarum largitionum*, *Comes caſtrorum*, *Comes navium*; Count of the Palace, Count of the Guard, &c. And though he hath not now the command of the Kings horſe, yet keepeth he ſtill the name. This Office was erected in *Lewis le Gros* his time: it was beſtowed upon the houſe of *Memorencie*, in *Francis* the firſt his time, and remaineth ſtill in the ſame.

The ancient device of the houſe of *Memorencie* is this; *God aid the prime Chriſtian, and anciente ſt Baron of France.* He hath the keeping of the Sword Royall. And as the great Eſquire hath the Sword in the Scabberd, *Azure ſeeded with Flowers de Lyce, Or*, added to his Armes; ſo beareth the Conſtable for an honour, the naked Sword. The *Marſhals* beare the Battell-axe; and the *Admirals*, the Anchor. The *Conſtable* and *Marſhals* give the oath to the King: He ſitteth chiefe Iudge at the Table of Marble, upon all perſons, ſuits, actions, and complaints whatſoever touching the warres. When the King entreth a Citie in his greateſt pompe, or upon a deliverie, he goeth before with the Sword naked: and when the King ſitteth in Aſſembly of the three States, he is placed at his right hand. He that killeth the *Conſtable*, is guiltie of high Treaſon. The *Marſhals* are named, as ſome ſay, of *Marc. Cheval*, a Horſe, and *Schal*, Maſter, or *Commander of the Horſe*. Others of *Marcha*, that is, *March* or *Frontier*, *quaſi Præfectus limitum*, as it were, *Governour of the Marches*. Till *Francis* the firſt, there were but two in all *France*; afterward foure; and now ten: for as is ſaid before, when any that held either ſome ſtrong Towne or place of importance, came into the King, he did alwayes capitulate, to have ſome one of theſe Offices, beſides ſummes of money and governments alſo: ſuch was the neceſſities of the times, ſaith *Haillan*. Theſe, under the Conſtable, The Marſhall.

ſtable, have the command over all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Captaines, and *Gens d'armes*; but may neither give battell, make proclamation, or muſter men, without his commandement. They have under them Lieutenants, whom they call *Prevoſts-Marſhals*, who have the puniſhing of mutinous ſouldiers, ſuch as quit their colours, Rogues, and ſuch like. There is the office of Admirall: Looke what the Marſhals are in a Land-Armie, the ſame is the Admirall in a Sea-Armie: and theſe two offices are ſeverall, becauſe the ſubject of their imployment is differing and unlike.

Admirall.

This office is the moſt ancient of all *France*: for *Caſar* ſpeaketh thereof; *The Admirals of Provence, Bretaigne, and Narbon, are much commended for their practice and skill in Sea-ſervice.*

I marvell therefore, why *du Haillan* reporteth, that they were firſt made in *Charlemaignes* dayes, and that one *Monſieur Ritland* was the firſt that was made. There are now foure Admiralties, *France*, *Bretaigne*, *Guyenne*, and *Provence*: This laſt is alwayes annexed to the governourſhip of that Countrey: So, that of *Guyenne* likewiſe, till the King that now is came to the Crowne, who before was Governour and Admirall of *Guyenne*: but ſince he hath divided the commands. Yee may obſerve in Hiſtories, that all the while the French voyages were upon the Levant Seas, either to the *Holy-Land*, *Sicilie*, or *Naples*, or whitherſoever, the French alwayes had their Veſſels and Commanders out of *Italie*. *France borrowed their Admirals from Genoa, Piſa, Venice, and Luca.* Theſe have the tenth of all wrack, prize, or priſoners, that are taken at Sea.

Before the invention of ſhot, there was an Officer in *France* called, *Great Maſter of the Croſſe-bowes and Engines:* which office is now called, the *Great Maſter of the Artillerie*; who at firſt alſo, immediatly after the invention of ſhot, was called *Captaine Generall of the Artillerie.*

You have alſo *Treaſurers for the warres*, which are either ordinary, or extraordinary: Thoſe pay the *Gens d'armes*; and theſe, the Regiments of the Infanterie. Treaſurers ordinary

nary are ſo many, as there be places where they muſter: of extraordinary there be alwayes foure.

The *Heraults* of *France* are ſix; *Normandie*, *Guyenne*, *Valois*, *Bretaigne*, *Burgogne*, ſo called of the Countries, (as with us in *England*) and *Mont-joy*, who is the chiefe of the reſt. Their ancient office was, to be preſent at all Iuſts and Tournaments, to denounce warre or peace, to ſummon places, to defie enemy-Princes, to give Armes to men new enobled. But now they be only uſed at Feaſts, Coronations, Solemnities, Funerals, and ſuch like; for they are no more uſed in the Treatie and negotiation with forren Princes: I thinke the reaſon is, becauſe the office hath of late yeares beene beſtowed upon unworthy and inſufficient perſons. It ſhall here be needleſſe to name all other his Officers of the Wars, which are all one with thoſe of other Countries, as Colonel, Captaine, Sergeant, Lieutenant, Enſigne, Corporall, &c. I will only remember in a word the French manner of Muſtering, March, Charge, and ſervice in generall, and then proceed to the next branch of this Relation. Wee muſt obſerve, that (excepting the *Gens d'armes*, and the Regiments above named) when any ſouldiers are taken up for the warres, they are not preſſed, as with us, but the Captaine having his Commiſſion gathereth them up by ſound of Drumme, entertaining only ſuch as will; (which may be ſome cauſe of the badneſſe and baſeneſſe of the French foot) for being commonly the Raſcall ſort, and ſuch as have no other meanes, there cannot ſettle in their abject minds, that true and honourable reſolution requiſite in a ſouldier. This Commiſſion muſt firſt be ſhewed to the Governour, Lieutenant generall, Bailiffe, or Seneſchall of the Province, upon paine of death. Neither is it good, except it be ſigned by the King, and one of the Secretaries of Eſtate, and ſealed with the great Seale. The ſouldiers levied, are at the charge of the Province where they be taken up, untill they depart the ſame. Their March (it ſhould ſeeme) is ſomewhat more ſharpe than ours: for I remember I have heard ſay, that upon a time the old Marſhall *Biron* ſhould bid Sir *Roger Williams*,

ams bring up his Companies faſter, taxing the ſlow March of the Engliſh. *Sir* (ſaith he) *with this March our fore-fathers conquered your Country of* France, *and I meane not to alter it:* A memorable anſwer of an honourable Souldier. For the *French* charge, ye ſhall heare the *Spaniards* opinion out of *La Nove*; The *French* Infantery skirmiſheth bravely afarre off, and the Cavallery gives a furious on-ſet at the firſt charge; but after the firſt heat, they will take Egges for their money. And indeed, this is that which all Writers give them, and which beſt agrees with their Nature: for we may ſay of them, as is ſaid of *Themiſtocles*; *He was ſo hot at the on-ſet, that he loſt his wind in the midſt of the carriere.* Or ſay of them, as *Fabius* of *Hannibal*; his valour is like a fire of ſtraw, and a flame kindled in matter of ſmall continuance.

Diſcipline. Concerning the *French* diſcipline, *Caſar* himſelfe ſaith, They had it firſt from us. It is ſaid, the diſcipline of the *Gauls* was firſt invented in *Brittanie*, and from thence tranſlated into *Gallia*; and now ſuch as deſire to attaine the perfection thereof, commonly travell thither to learne it. But they have long ſince degenerated from their old diſcipline of war, and they themſelves confeſſe, that ſince the beginning of the civill warres, where ſouldiers in all diſordered and diſſolute manner have beene given to pillage and theevery, that it is very much abaſtardized; whereof *La Nove* complaineth in his diſcourſes. As for the Military diſcipline, we muſt confeſſe, that ſhe keepes her bed, ſicke of a very deadly diſeaſe. The Nobleſſe fight alwayes on horſe-backe, and thinke it a diſhonour to ſerve on foot. But *Commines* ſaith of the Nobilitie of *Burgundie*, in the warres with *Lewis* the eleventh, that they all quit their horſes: for they were then moſt honoured that lighted on foot, to the end the people might be the more encouraged, and fight more valiantly: and this they learned of the *Engliſh*. And it is no queſtion, but if ſome of the *French* Nobilitie would doe ſo, it would much confirme their foot, by the example of their valour and abiding, and recover that reputation which now their foot have loſt in the world.

world. Neither doe I thinke this the leaſt reaſon, why our Anceſtors have wonne ſo many battels upon them; namely, for that ever we have had men of Noble Houſes, to lead and ſerve on foot with our forces. A notable cauſe to confirme and aſſure the unſteadie headineſſe of a multitude.

And for the opinion that the world hath of our foot, yee ſhall obſerve what the ſame Writer elſewhere ſaith; They be good foot, and better than their neighbours, as we may ſay nowadayes, of the *Engliſh* and *Swiſſers*.

And in another place, where he opineth of the manner of ſervice, he ſaith: My opinion is, that in battels, Archers are the weight that turnes the balance; And of Archers, the *Engliſh* are the flower: where he likewiſe diſcourſeth, how dangerous a thing it is to abide a battell, except your foot be much the better: which in my opinion was no little cauſe, why the *French* King fought not with the Cardinall in the yeare 97, before *Amiens*, becauſe the enemies foot were holden in number eighteene thouſand (though I hardly thinke they were ſo many.) A number full as great as the *French*, and the ſouldier farre better, they being all *French*, except ſome three thouſand *Engliſh* and *Swiſſers*; and theirs, the choice men of all his Garriſons, and experienced ſouldiers in thoſe Low-Countries. For true it is, that the Kings *Gens d'armes* were two for one, and holden alſo much the better men, aſwell becauſe there was in a manner all the Nobilitie and flower of *France*, as alſo that they had the advantage in the manner of weapon; for that the *French* ſerveth with the Piſtoll, and the *Spaniard* ſtill holds him to his Launce. But I make no queſtion, that the conſideration of the oddes on foot was not the chiefe cauſe, why there was no battell that day: for wee had a goodly faire field, and plaine as might bee poſſible, as alſo large; a ſingular advantage for him which is ſtrongeſt in Horſe: So had wee the wind and Sunne in our backes, which are holden no ſmall helpes.

But this was the reaſon: the King thought it no policie to play all his Reſt at once, where hee might have loſt more at

one Game, than he had got in eight yeares; he had no reason, but to make the Card that was now going, a Bridge of Gold, (as the Proverbe is) considering, that by this meanes he should gaine the Towne of *Amiens*, re-assure other Cities that then stood wavering, and recover his reputation in the world, which by the losse of that Towne was much disputed.

His Expence. It now remaineth I speake of his Expence, which chiefly consisteth in these two things before spoken of, namely, his Court and his Forces: wherein it is very hard to relate an exact proportion, considering not only the variety and difference of Writers, but also the uncertaintie of the number of Pensionaries, or provisioned: And lastly, the change and alteration of their allowance, not continuing alwaies the same. Howbeit, that which is most commonly reported, and seemeth neerest the truth, is this: The maintenance of five Regiments of foot, at six crowns the moneth, commeth to foure hundred sixty eight thousand crownes the yeare, besides the pension of five Collonels, at two thousand crownes apeece; thirtie Captaines at one thousand pension a man; as many Lieutenants at five hundred, and Ensigns at three hundred apeece; which is in all, seventie foure thousand: which added to the first summe, makes the whole charge of these Regiments, yearely to amount to the summe of five hundred fortie two thousand crownes. This proportion differeth not much from that of *Bodin*, where he saith: The King might maintaine in ordinary twentie thousand foot, at the rate of three million, and five hundred thousand *Livres*, which if you reduce to crownes, and to one number of six thousand foot, commeth to a lesse rate than that other, namely, to foure hundred eight thousand three hundred thirty three crownes: but I thinke, that former is neerer the truth. For the allowance of his *Gens d'armes*, which are reckoning at six thousand, as is before said (though in truth there bee but foure) for he payeth thus many, I follow the proportion of them that say, that 51750. crownes is the ordinary allowance for one company of an hundred yearely: for where are

six

ſix thouſand men at Armes in the field, are eighteene thouſand Horſe in all. After this rate then of the hundred before ſet down, the whole *Gens d'armery* amounteth to 3105000. crownes.

For the expence of his Court, you ſhall heare it to be thus rated: The Table of the King, and thoſe of the Gentlemen of the Chamber, at 112000. crownes: for his pettie pleaſures, a thouſand crownes a day: in all 165000. (But this was a proportion for the laſt King, who was a great giver.) For the great and little Stable, 190000. For the Conſtable, 24000. For the *Gran Maiſtre*, great Maſter, 20000. For the Marſhals of *France*, 18000. apeece, when they were but foure; for now it is a Title only, without either penſion or command, ſave only in the foure chiefe. For the Admirall, 15000. For the *Grand Veneur*, great Hunt, 16000. For the Governours of his Provinces in all, 188000. For the Gentlemen of his Chamber, their penſion 1200. crowns apeece; in all, ſix hundred thouſand. For the Captains of his Guards on Horſe, two thouſand apeece. For their Lieutenants, eight hundred. For two thouſand *Swiſſes* of his Guard, ten crowns a moneth, 24840. For all other domeſticall Officers, one hundred thouſand. For Heraults, ſix thouſand. For Marſhals of lodgings and Fourriers, 4600. For Prevoſt Marſhals of Provinces, a thouſand apeece, in all twentie foure thouſand. For twenty foure hundred Archers, to attend theſe Prevoſts in the execution of their Office, ſeven hundred and twenty thouſand crownes. For his Ambaſſadours in divers Countries, two hundred and fiftie thouſand. For his Officers of Finances, Treaſurers, Receivers, Controllers, and ſuch other like Offices thorow *France*, an infinite and incredible ſumme: As alſo for ſuch numbers of horſe and foot, as the Cabinet ſetteth downe, beſides theſe *Gens d'armes* and Regiments, which ye heare provided for, and in the Kings pay.

But yee muſt obſerve, that of all theſe Court-charges and others here before mentioned (exeept thoſe of his forces) yee are not to make any ground as of a truth: they being only the ſuppoſed charges, ſet downe by the ſaid Author,

who for his errours in other matters, hath alſo loſt his credit in this.

To ſpeake either particularly of the Court-expences, or generally what they be certaine, I cannot, not having heard any thing thereof, but only that it is ſuppoſed, the charge of the Kings Houſe, is five hundred crownes a day.

His Revenue. It now remaineth to ſpeake of his Entrade, or Revenue: for a Prince cannot have peace without warre, nor warre without men, nor men without money, nor money without meanes: nor are there any meanes but theſe: *Domaine, Conqueſts, Gifts of his friends, Penſion of his Confederates, Traffick, Impoſitions upon Merchandize*, brought in, or carried out; *Impoſitions upon Subjects*. And yet one other, which the Kings of *France* have lately invented, to helpe when all other failed; which is *Sales of Offices*, more dangerous and prejudiciall to the State, than any other.

Of theſe eight meanes, I will give you particular obſervations, and then conclude, what is generally holden to bee the whole Revenue of the Crowne of *France*, by all theſe meanes.

The *Domaine*. Firſt, the *Domaine*, is as it were the Dowre which the State brings to the King her Husband, for her tuition, defence, and maintenance: And therefore one ſaith: It belongs not to the King, but to the Crowne.

There are two ſorts of *Domaines*; firſt, the Rent which the King holds in his hands, of the *Feifs* given for ſervice: Secondly, that which is united and incorporate to the Crowne. The rights of the *Domaine* are theſe: *Rents, Feifs, Payments at alienations, Tributes, Penages, Toll* of whatſoever enters or comes out of Cities, Woods, Foreſts, and divers other.

That is *Domaine*, which belongeth to the Crowne: Firſt, either by *Poſſeſſion*, time out of minde: Or ſecondly, by *Reunion*, for want of heires males, as the *Apennages* when they returne: or by *Confuſion*, for want of ſuch as can make juſt claime, much like our concealed Lands in *England*: Or laſtly, by *Confiſcation* of offenders inheritances.

Of

Of this laſt ſort we reade, that in the time of Saint *Lewis*, there were confisked to the *Domaine*, the Countries of *Dreux*, *Bray*, *Fortyonne*, and *Monſtrevil*, *Languedocke*, *Guyenne*, *Anjow*, *Maine*, *Turraine*, *Auvergne*: And after in the time of *Philip*, the *Dutchy* of *Alencon*, the Countries of *Perche*, *Perigort*, *Poutieu*, *La Marche*, *Angouleſme*, and the *Marquiſat* of *Saluzzes*. But *Bodin* ſaith, moſt of this came to the Crowne by force: *La ſiur de la Serre* ſaith, it came by way of Exchange or purchaſe. But the Author of the Commentaries of the eſtate of the Religion, and policie of *France*, is of the firſt opinion. Thus great was the *Domaine* in former times, that of it ſelfe, without oppreſſing the people with impoſitions, it was ſufficient to maintaine the State and greatneſſe of the Kings of *France*, but it is now utterly waſted. It is well knowne, that the *Domaine*, which alone maintained heretofore the beautie and luſtre of the Royall Eſtate, is not now ſuch as it was in the reignes of King *Lewis* the eleventh, *Charles* the eighth, and *Lewis* the twelfth. The continuance of our warres hath cauſed it to be engaged in many hands, in ſuch ſort, that there is need of more than 15. or 16. thouſand pounds ſterling, to redeeme that which is worth above five millions of pounds. And *Bodin* ſaith, that almoſt all the Countries, Baronies and Seigneuries of the *Domaine*, are aliened for the ninth or tenth part of that they be worth. Yee muſt obſerve, that the lands of the *Domaine* are not alienable, but in two caſes. 1. *For the Apennage of the Kings brother.* 2. *For the warres.* And theſe muſt be confirmed by the Arreſt of the Parliament. For all other caſes, all Lawyers and Hiſtorians of *France* agree, That it is inalienable, and many Arreſts have beene made of late yeares to confirme it. I have read, that the *Charta Magna* of *England* ſaith, the Kings when they are crowned, take an oath, not to alien it: ſo doe they here in *France*. And there is no preſcription of time, to make ſuch ſales or alienations good, but that they may be recovered and repurchaſed, whenſoever the Crowne is able.

To this purpoſe *Plutarch* ſaith well, *Men cannot pre-*

ſcribe againſt God, nor particulars againſt the Reſpublique.

Conqueſt. 2 Concerning the ſecond meanes of raiſing Money by conqueſts, the preſent State of *France* can yeeld no example, it hath beene long but on the ſaving hand.

3 For the third meanes, it is now out of ſeaſon; it was uſed in that good old world, when men wiped their noſe on their ſleeve, (as the *French* man ſayes:) for now Princes are ſo farre from giving, as they hardly pay that they owe.

Penſion. 4 The fourth meanes alſo of Penſion, which Princes have upon ſome conſideration of their Allies, helpeth the *French* Kings coffers nothing at all, for they rather give than take: As for example, to divers Cantons of the *Swiſſes*, to whom at firſt they payed not above one hundred and twentie thouſand *Livres* yearely: but for theſe ſixtie yeares, they never pay leſſe the yeare than two Millions. For ſaith *Comminet*, *Lewis* the eleventh entered league with the *Swiſſes*, and they into his Penſion: to whom he yearely gave forty thouſand Florins, whereof 20. went to the Cities, and 20. to particular men, upon condition to have a certaine proportion of their forces to ſerve in his warres upon all occaſions. An advantagious alliance for the *Swiſſe* in my opinion, who by this meanes enrich themſelves, cleare their Countrey of many idle and bad members; and laſtly, breed good ſouldiers, to ſerve themſelves upon need at another mans coſt. The *Turke* hath alſo a Penſion of the Emperour of *Germany*, for certaine Lands hee holdeth in *Hungary*: which hee notwithſtanding vaunteth to be a Tribute. Many examples might bee alleaged of this kinde, as of *Philip* of *Macedon*, that by Penſions got all *Greece* partiall on his ſide: and the Kings of *Perſia* by Penſion, got ever the forces of *Aſia* diverted.

Trafficke. 5 The fifth, which is of Trafficke, availeth nothing the *French* Kings: for they hold it here a baſe and ſordid kinde of profeſſion for a Gentleman, much more for a King, to trade by Merchandize. And by the Lawes of *England*, *France* and *Germanie*, he loſeth the quality of a Nobleman, that doth Trafficke.

Not-

Notwithstanding these Lawes, and the disparagement that it brings to Nobility, yet so sweet is the savour of gaine, that many have used this, as no small meanes to increase their Finances. The great Duke of *Tuscane* present, gaines infinitely this way, and the more by his most unlawfull and tyrannous Monopolies: for he commonly buyeth up all the Graine of his owne Countrey, at his owne price: yea, and that which commeth from other places also, and then sendeth out a *Bando* or Proclamation, that no man shall sell any corne thorowout his State, till his owne be sold, forcing also all Bakers, and other people to buy thereof. This manner of ingrossing *Alphonsus* of *Arragon* also used, by the testimony of *Bodin*. The Kings of *Portugal* also, and the *Seignory* of *Venice*, have beene great Traders by Merchandize, but it hath beene in an honester fashion, at sea, and not to the grinding of their poore subjects. The Nobilitie also of *Italy*, in all Cities (except *Naples*) hold it no dishonour to Trafficke in grosse.

6 The sixth meanes of raising money upon all Wares and Merchandize, that come in and goe out of the Countrey, is the most ancient and best agreeing with reason, and used by all Princes in the World. The particulars comprised under this branch, are these: *Customes inward, and outward.* By these the Prince is to have Impost, *five in the hundred:* So much just had the *Romans*, as *Cicero* witnesseth in his Prætorship of *Sicilia*. The *Turke* takes *Ten in the hundred of the stranger, and five of the subject:* the *French* quite contrarie. You must observe, that which here I call the *Domaine forraine*, is generally called, the *Aides*; first, granted by the Estates to *Charles* Duke of *Normandie*, when *Iohn* his father was prisoner in *England:* which was the payment of twelve *Deniers*, upon all Merchandizes and Wares which should bee sold in this Kingdome, except upon Wine, Corne, Salt, and all manner of drinke: but since, it hath beene made perpetuall, and augmented by the imposition upon Wine sold every where, and in *Normandie* by retaile.

This

This is like the ſlaviſh Gabell upon all manner of food, which the Princes take of their ſubjects through *Italy*, or the Aſſize upon Bread and Beare, which the States have in the *Low-Countries*: a grievance, whereof we ſmart not in *England*, as alſo we are free from many other burthens, which the people of this Country are forced to beare.

Touching the Gabell of Salt (which is alſo compriſed under this head;) Some ſay it was firſt erected by *Philip le Long*: Others by *Philip de Valois*, 1328. True it is, that the Ordinance of *Francis* the firſt, 1541. ſets downe an Impoſt of 24. *Livres* upon every *Muy*: and in the yeare 1543. an ordinance was made, for Gabell to be taken upon all ſea-fiſh ſalted. And in 1544. it was ordained, that all Salt ſhould be ſold and diſtributed into the *Magazines*, or Storehouſes of every ſeverall generality. The benefit of this one commodity hath beene very commodious to the crown, till the yeare 81. when the king was forced for want of money, to let it out to others; whereby he loſt, as is in my Authour proved, eight hundred thirty ſix thouſand crowns yearely. Here is alſo a kinde of tax, called the *Equivallent*, that is, an impoſition laid upon ſome perſons and places (but not generally) to have liberty to buy and ſell ſalt, and to be exempt from the *Magazines*.

The Impoſt of Wine is laid upon all, without exception or exemption whatſoever, it is the twentieth part to the King; beſides all other rights, as of Billots entring into Cities, paſſages by Land, River, and ſuch like: Beſides a later impoſition of five *Sols* upon every *Muy*, levied by *Charles* the ninth, 1516.

Concerning the (*Traitte forraine*) it is of like nature with the *Aids*, ſave that it is leviable upon more particular ſorts of merchandize: Beſides, the *Aids* is an Impoſt upon things ſpent in the Land; and the *traitte forraine* is of ſuch commodities as are tranſported out: as of wheat, rye, barley, oats, wine, vineger, verjuce, cider, beeves, muttons, veales, lambes, ſwine, horſes, lard, bacon, tallow, oyle, cheeſe, fiſh of all ſorts, ſilks and cloaths of all ſorts, leather of all ſorts;

and,

and finally, all other merchandize, as fruits, parchment, paper, glaſſe, wood, ropes, &c.

7 The ſeventh ground or foundation of Finances, is the *Impoſition* upon the ſubject: that is, not upon the wares or commodities, but upon the perſons themſelves, according to their abilitie; and it is much like the levying of the tax and ſubſidy in *England*, where every one payeth ratably to the lands and goods he poſſeſſeth. And therefore *Haillan* judgeth well, to ſay, they be neither perſonall, nor reall, but mixt: Aſſeſſed in the place of their dwelling, according to all the goods of the partie aſſeſſed, in what part ſoever they lie or abide.

Theſe *Tailles* were firſt raiſed by Saint *Lewis*, but by way of extraordinary ſubſidie. *Charles* the ſeventh made them ordinary for the maintenance of his *Gens d'armerie*. And whereas at firſt they were never levied but by conſent of the three States, and to endure but while the warre laſted, he made them perpetuall. Therefore ſaith one, that which was at firſt yeelded of favour, is ſince exacted as patrimoniall and hereditary to our Kings. Yet is it to bee obſerved, that theſe *Tailles* are only liable upon the *Flat Pais*, all Cities are exempt; as alſo all Officers of the Kings houſe; all Counſellors, Lawyers, and Officers of Courts of Parliament; all the Nobility, the *Gens d'armes*, the Officers of warre, the Graduates of Vniverſities, &c.

The *Taillon* is another impoſition, raiſed by *Henry* the ſecond, *Anno* 1549. which was to amend the Wages of *Gens d'armes*, who by reaſon of the ſmallneſſe of their pay, lay upon the poore Villages, and eat them up; for the eaſe whereof, this impoſition was deviſed: which alſo lieth upon the poore Country-man; whereby at firſt he was ſomewhat eaſed, but now all is perverted; the poore is ſtill oppreſſed, and yet he payeth ſtill both *Taille* and *Taillon*.

Laſtly, there is the *Sold*, or pay of 50000. foot, which were erected by *Lewis* the eleventh, into eight Legions; ſix thouſand to a Legion, which with their Officers came to about this number. To maintaine theſe Legions, there

was

was a tax levied upon all sorts of persons privileged in the *Taille*, but only the Nobles.

There are also of the *Decymes* (Tenths) levied upon the Church. For the levying of the *Taille*, *Taillon*, and wages of 50000. foot, you must note, that the King sends his Letters Patents by Commissioners, to the Treasurers of each generality. These according to the summe, rate each election (this is, as ye would say, every hundred in a Shire, or Bailywicke) and then send to these elections, to have the said summe gathered in their severall Townes and Hamlets, according as they be rated.

So doe they to the *Maieures*, *Consuls*, *Eschevins* and chiefe Officers of every City, that are liable to any of these payments; who rating every man according to his ability, give these Rolles to certaine Collectors to gather it up; these are bound to bring it quarterly to the Receivers. These carry it to the Receivers generall, in the same *species* that they received it; and from them to have an acquittance, after the accounts have beene perused by the Controler generall.

And these are all the meanes by which Princes raise their Finances, whereof ye see some nothing to pertaine to the *French* King, but to others: and some to him only, not to others.

Sale of Offices

There yet remaineth one other meanes (though extraordinary) to a Prince to get money, which the necessities of the times, and the want of other meanes, have forced the *French* Kings of late yeares to use. This is the vent or sales of Offices, a very dangerous and hurtfull merchandize, both for the Prince and subject. This Lesson (saith *Bodin*) the *French* Kings first learned of the Popes, with whom it is still as familiar as old, to sell Bishopricks livings, and Ecclesiasticall promotions. This the Popes first beganne at *Avignon* in *France*, where their means was scant, and they in many necessities: which still continues both in the Courts of *Rome* and *France*, when there is no such necessity. Better is a bad President, than none at all. A course, saith one, *of great*

great and dangerous consequence, but clothed with necessity. It is indeed thrice dangerous, because sales of Offices cause sales of Iustice: for what these Purchasers pay in grosse, they must needs get in retaile, forgetting what was said to *Sophocles* the Governour of *Athens*: *A Governour must not onely have his hands cleane, but his eyes also.* They cannot say as *Pericles* did on his death bed, *Hee had never made any Athenian weare mourning Robe.* For these by selling Iustice, and robbing the poore of their right, give the Fatherlesse and oppressed Widow just cause to complaine, and of wearing that mourning robe whereof *Plutarch* speaketh.

It is a strange thing to consider, and incredible to beleeve, what infinite masses of money have beene made here in *France* by these sales, where there is not that Collector, Controller, Treasurer, Sergeant, or subalterne Officer whatsoever, but he hath bought it of the Prince, and at no small rate: for I have heard it credibly reported, and yee shall read also in late Writers, that these Offices are bought in *France* at a dearer rate, than our Lands in *England* of twentie yeares purchase. Yee must observe, they have them for terme of life, and after to returne to the King who is againe to sell them. A man in his sicknesse, or in danger of death, or upon any need whatsoever, may sell this his office, or resigne it to his sonne or friend whatsoever: which sale is good, if the partie live forty dayes after the sale or resignation is confirmed, otherwise not.

Now we are to consider, what Entrade or Revenue the *French* King yearely maketh by any, or all of the meanes aboveſaid.

The Estate of the Finances, Domaine, and all in *Charles* the sixth time, *Anno* 1445. was but 1400000. *Livres*. *Henry* the second, *Raised upon his people, by way of ordinarie Revenue, fifteene hundred thousand pound sterling a yeare*: whereof some part hath since beene aliened for the debts of the Crowne, which notwithstanding the King raiseth as much now. Riches.

But

But we may obſerve, that this ſumme is of late yeares growne much greater (by two thirds) as is generally beleeved: For whereas in thoſe dayes, ſome three or foureſcore yeares ſince, the ordinary ſumme was fifteene millions of *francs* and *Livres*, it is now ſo many of Crownes. And *Monſieur Rivault*, Treaſurer to the Duke of *Mayen*, ſhamed not (ſome twenty yeares ſince) to ſay, that his Maſter had improved the Realme of *France*, to a better rent than any Prince had done before times: For, ſaith he, *Whereas it was worth but two millions of pounds, it is now worth five millions ſterling.*

And another ſaith, that only by the ſales of Offices in twenty yeares ſpace, *The King hath raiſed ore hundred thirty and nine millions*, which is after the rate of ſeven millions the yeare. So that it is probably to be inferred, that the Revenues are at leaſt fifteene millions of Crownes; wherein all late Writers agree. Neither muſt wee thinke that men are miſtaken, by counting Crownes for *Livres*, conſidering that *Bodin* and *La Nove*, and moſt elder Writers ſpeake only of *Livres*, not of Crownes. For the manner of account in *France*, is by eſpeciall ordinance commanded to be made by Crownes, and that of *Livres* to ceaſe: So that whenſoever ye read in the ſtories of *France*, of any ſumme of thouſands, millions, or ſuch like, without naming either *Frances* or Crownes, you are to reſpect the times when it was written: for if it was above thirty years paſt, they mean *Livres* or *Frances*: If of later yeares than thirty, it is alwayes to be underſtood they ſpake of Crownes; this rule will not faile them.

A good note.

Officers of his Finances.

Having ſufficiently ſpoken of theſe, it remaineth I keepe the ſame courſe I have done hitherto; that is, after the *Relation of the Court*, to reckon up the Officers of Court, and after the diſcourſe of *his forces*, to ſpeake of his *Officers of Warre*. So here likewiſe, after mention made of his *Finances* and Revenues, to remember his *Financers and Officers* uſed for the collection, keeping, and diſpoſing of the ſame. Of which Officers wee may ſay, as the Philoſopher ſaith of Wives;

Wives; that they be *Necessarie evils*. And as hee saith of them; *The lesse of evils is the best*: so say we of these, *The fewer the better*. But when we reade, that the old *Romans* had of these but one in a Province, you shall observe here in some Province, not so few as one thousand.

The chiefe of these is *Treasurer of the Exchequer*, instituted in *Francis* the first his time, in place of the Receiver generall. There is also another Treasurer of *Casualties*. The third sort are the Treasurers *generaux des Finances*, whom they also call Treasurers of *France*. For, as for the Treasurers ordinary and extraordinary of the Warres, we have already spoken of them in the relation of his forces, and of the Treasurer of *his petty pleasures*, when wee spake of his Court. The number of these Treasurers generall, as also of all other Officers of Finances, yee may partly conceive by the number of generalities which are in *France*, and the severall offices of each one of these. The Treasurer

Of these Generalities are twenty and one in all *France*; *Paris*, *Roven*, *Caen*, *Nants*, *Toures*, *Burges*, *Poictiers*, *Agen*, *Tholouse*, *Montpellier*, *Aix*, *Grenoble*, *Lion*, *Ryon*, *Dyon*, *Chalons*, *Amiens*, *Orleans*, *Soissons*, *Lymoges*, *Maulin*. Generalities.

In each of these Generalities are divers Elections; that is, divers places for the receit of Finances: as in that of *Orleans*, are eleven Elections; in the rest some more, and some lesse, to the number of 170. in all. Elections.

In every generality are ten Treasurers[x]; three Receivers generall of the Finances[y]; three Receivers generall of the *Taillon*; one Receiver generall of the *Dismes*; two Receivers generall of the *Woods*: and for every Receiver, so many *Controllers generall*; two Treasurers generall extraordinarie of the Warre, for the payment of Garrisons and souldiers in time of Warre. Receivers.

Besides all these generall officers, there are also in each particular Election, three Receivers of the *Taille*, three of the *Aids*, two of the *Taillon*, and as many Controllers, besides all other inferiour Officers. If then there bee thus many in one Election onely, ye may judge the infinite number. Controlle s.

ber in all *France*, upon which they lie, as thicke as the Grashoppers in *Aegypt*.

I must here also remember the chamber of Accounts, the chiefe Court of the Finances: wherein are foure Presidents, twelve Masters, eighteene Auditors, foure Correctors, one Procuror generall, one Advocate, one Grestier, six Huissiers or Sergeants, and other inferiour Officers, to the number (as *Bodin* saith) of two hundred, besides servants; and it is likely the number is not lessened since his time.

In conclusion, the Officers here, and of other places, are so exceeding many, as a President of this Court shewed the Estates of *France*, in the assembly at *Blois*, that of the *Escu* (six shillings) which was payed by the Subject, there came but a *Teston* (one shilling six pence) to the Kings coffers.

The Court of *Aides* also is as full of Officers, as that other. These Finances (saith one) *haue beene so shuffled, altered, changed, and reduced into so obscure an Art, that very few either doe, or can understand it, except they have beene brought up in their Cabale that have obscured it.* No marvell therfore, though there be much difference among men about the certainty thereof, either for the truth of the summe, or number of the Officers.

His Coine. The Coines of *France* are either gold, silver, or brasse. In those of gold I must be better instructed my selfe, for I know none but the Crowne (which is of three or foure sorts, whereof that of the Sunne is the best) and the halfe Crowne. Those of silver are the *Livres* or *Franc*, which is two shillings sterling: The *quart d'escu*, which is one shilling six pence. The *Teston* which is halfe a *sous* lesse: The peece of ten *sous*, which is one shilling sterling: the halfe *quart d'escu*, the halfe *Teston*, and the peece of five *sous*, that is six pence sterling. Those of Brasse is the price of six *Blanks*, which is three pence: that of three *blanks*, three halfe pence. The *sous* of twelve *deniers*: the *liard* of foure *deniers*, the double of two: and lastly, the *denier* it selfe, whereof ten make one penny sterling. This baser and smaller

ler kind of money, hath not beene used in *France*, but since the beginning of the civill warres. The *Teston* is the best silver.

It remaineth I speake of the *Administration and Execution of Iustice*, and of those places and persons where and by whom it is done: I will therefore beginne with their assemblies, as the highest and greatest Court of all, which well resembleth the *Parliament* of *England*, the *Dyet* of the *Empire*, or the *Councell* of the *Amphytrions* in *Greece*.

There are three especiall causes of calling these Assemblies. The first, when the succession of the Crowne was doubtfull, and in controversie, or when it was to take order for the Regency, during the Kings Captivity or Minority, or when they had not the right use of their wits. Hereof yee have examples, *Anno* 1327. Saint *Lewis* an Infant: and *Charles* the sixth, *An. Dom.* 1380. a Lunaticke: and 1484. *Iohn* a prisoner. For all which occasions Assemblies were called, to determine who should have the Regency of the Realme in the meane while.

The second cause is, when there is question of reforming the Kingdome, correcting the abuses of Officers and Magistrates, or appeasing troubles and seditions.

The third cause is, the want and necessitie of the King or Kingdome, in which case the Estates are exhorted to give subsidies, subventions, aids, and gratuities. For in former times, the Kings contenting themselves with their Domaine, and impost of such wares as came in, or went out of the land, (the two most ancient and most just grounds of Finances) were not accustomed to levie and impose upon their Subjects any tax whatsoever, without the consent of the three States thus assembled.

The next Soveraigne Court (for so the *French* call it) is the Court of Parliament; *The true Temple of French Iustice: Seat of the King and his Peeres: And as* Haillan *calls it, the Buttresse of Equity.* This Court very much resembleth the Star-Chamber of *England*, the *Areopage* of *Athens*, the Senate of *Rome*, the *Consiglio de' dieci of Venice*.

There are no Lawes (saith *Haillan*) by which this Court is directed: it judgeth, *according to equity and conscience*, and mitigateth the rigour of the Law.

Of these Courts of Parliament, ye have eight in *France*. That of *Paris*, the most ancient and highest in preheminence, which at first was ambulatory, (as they call it) and ever followed the Kings Court whithersoever it went: but since *Philip le Bel*, it hath beene sedentary in this Citie. That of *Grenoble* was erected, *Anno* 1453. That of *Thoulouse*. *Anno* 1302. That of *Bourdeaux*, *Anno* 1443. That of *Dijon*, in the yeare 1476. That of *Roven*, in the yeare 1501. That of *Aix*, the same yeare. And lastly, that of *Bretaigne* in the yeare 1553. Anciently all Arch-Bishops and Bishops, might sit and give voices in this Parliament of *Paris*; but in *Anno* 1463. it was decreed, that none but the Bishop of *Paris*, and Abbot of Saint *Denis* might sit there, except he be of the Bloud; for all these are privileged.

The Presidents and Counsellors of the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, may not depart the Towne without leave of the Court, by the ordinance of *Lewis* the twelfth, in the yeare 1499. *The Senators ought alwayes to bee present, because things are carried with more Majesty when the Court is full.*

To this Parliament they appeale from all other subalterne Courts throughout the Realme, as they doe in *Venice* to the *Consiglio grande*. Neither can the King conclude any warre, or peace, without the advice and consent hereof: or at least (as *Haillan* saith) he demandeth it for fashion sake, sometime when the matters are already concluded.

The Parliament of *Paris* consisteth of seven Chambers: the *Grande chambre*, and five others of Enquests; and the *Tournelles*, which is the chamber for the criminall causes, as the other six bee for the civill. It is called the *Tournelles*, because the Iudges of the other Chambers sit there by turnes, every three moneths: the reason whereof *Bodin* giveth, that it might not alter the naturall inclination of the Iudges, and make them more cruell, by being alwayes exercised

erciſed in matter of condemnations and executions. There be of this Court, of Preſidents, Counſellors, Chevalliers of honour, Procureurs, Advocates, Clerks, Sergeants, and other Officers of all ſorts, not ſo few as two hundred.

Beſides this Court, there are alſo other Courts for the adminiſtration of Iuſtice in this Citie, as the *Chatellet* of *Paris*, with a Lieutenant civill, and another criminall; and the *Hoſtel de Paris*, with a Prevoſt, and other inferiour Officers; which is, as ye would ſay, the Guild-Hall of the Citie. So have ye throughout the Realme certaine places, (as all Cities in generall) where there be *Chatellets* (like our places of Aſſiſe) and in them a Lieutenant, civill and criminall, to judge and determine all cauſes reall and perſonall; and here many Lawyers and Procurers (as our Counſellors at Law, and Attornies) who plead before theſe Lieutenants and Prevoſts, and certaine Counſellors, which are the Iudges in theſe Courts, whereof the number is incredible in *France*. Inſomuch, as you may well ſay of them, as is ſaid of *Sienna*; *There be more Readers, than Auditors: ſo here be more Pleaders, than Clients.* This *Chiquanery* (Petti-fogging) & multiplicitie of Pleaders, came firſt from the Popes Court, when his ſeat was at *Avignon*, (as my Author ſaith) who in the ſame place cals theſe Advocates, *The Mice of the Palace.*

The proceſſes and ſuits in theſe Courts throughout *France* are innumerable, wherein wee come nothing neere them; and yet there is no want of theſe in *England*. For I have heard of 340. *Niſi prius* between parties tried at one Aſſize in *Norfolke*: as many I thinke, as in halfe *England* beſides. But theſe are onely twice in the yeare, that cauſes are tried at Aſſiſes in our Country, whereas here they are tried every day in the yeare, that is not feſtivall. So that it is not much unlikely, that here are as many Proceſſes in ſeven yeares, as have beene in *England* ſince the conqueſt.

There are beſides theſe Courts of *Chatellets* in Cities, the Courts alſo of Baily wicks, and Sheriffalties, who as *Haillan* ſaith, keepe Courts in each Province, and judge in all matters civill and criminall.

Here is also the Privie Councell, or Councell of affaires: of the Counsellors (among which are his foure Secretaries) he calleth certaine every morning at his rising, to whom he communicates apart, his principall and most importing affaires, where are read all letters which come from other Princes, and such like publike businesse, and after a conclusion what is to be done, the dispatch thereof is committed to the Secretaries.

The other, is the Great Councell, or Councell of Estate; which at first, was, as it were, a member of the Parliament, and consisted of the Princes of the Bloud and Nobility, having only to deale in the matters of the policy generall of *France*, or of warres; or of the enacting and publishing of Edicts. But the faction of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, caused it to bee changed to a choice number of Counsellors, provisioned of 1000. crownes pension apeece yearely. Of this Councell the Chancellor is chiefe, for neither the King himselfe, nor any Prince of the Bloud comes there. This is the Court of which the *Frenchman* saith, every time it is holden, it costs the King a thousand crownes a day. And now, (saith *Haillan*) he cannot keepe them so cheape, so infinite is the number of them growne. Where he also complaines, that this *Conseil d' Estat*, which was wont only to determine publike affaires, as the establishment of justice, the Reglement of Finances, and redressing of common grievances, is now so charged with private contentions, as the glory thereof is much diminished.

The Chancellor anciently served as a Secretarie, and so was called in the old Charters of *France*, where hee is likewise called the *Grand Referendaire*. The Secretary doth signe, and the Chancellor doth seale.

The Secretary is next in office, who at first were called Clerks. They are either of the Finances (which have their place among the Officers of the Finances, before remembred) or of *Affaires* which we heare speake of. Of these are foure, which are called principalls.

Governours and Lieutenants generall of Cities and Provinces,

vinces, are as it were, Vice-royes and Regents of those places committed to them: and indeed the persons sustaining these charges, are much more Noble than those of the Secre aries, as being for the most part conferred upon the Princes of the Bloud, and Peeres of *France.*

The Governours of Cities were in old time called *Dukes*, and they of Provinces, *Counts.* They were at first only in Frontier Provinces, but now since the troubles of *France*, they have had the command over Cities and Countries, even in the midst and bowels of the Land: So that now, saith *Haillan*, *France* is become a Frontier to it selfe on every side.

There are but few Cities, whereof anciently there were Governours, as *Rochel*, *Calais*, *Paronne*, *Bologne*, *Mondidier*, *Narbonne*, *Bayonne*, and two or three others: Others, that had keeping of some small Castle or Fort, was onely called the Keeper, or Captaine at most. But now, saith *Haillan*, *lib.*4. every paltry fellow that hath the keeping of a *Pigeon-house*, must forsooth be called, *My Lord the Governour*; and my Mistresse his Wife, *My Lady the Governesse.*

The Governour of *Daulphenie* hath greatest privileges; for hee giveth all Offices in his Province: in other places they can give none, except they have it by expresse words in their Patent. The Governour may not be absent above six moneths in a yeare; but the Lieutenant must never be absent, without leave of the Prince, except teh Governour be present.

There is yet an Office, whereof I must remember you, which is one of the chiefest in *France*, either for honour or profit, called *grand Maistre des Eaues & Forests.* All matters concerning the Kings Chases, Forests, Woods and Waters whatsoever, are determined by him, by the *Grand M. Enquesteur*, and by their *Reformateur*, at the Table of Marble: under him are infinite sorts of Officers, and divers others: *As the particular Master of each Forest, their Lieutenants, Overseers of the sale of woods, and the other Officers here specified.*

But I will not load this short Relation, with reckoning

up all the divers and infinite ſorts of Officers, wherewith *France* herſelfe ſeemeth to be over-loaden, as partly ye have heard already: and yee ſhall reade in *Bodin*, how hee complaines, not only of the multiplicitie of Offices in generall; but alſo, that even the Councell of Eſtate is ſurcharged with number: where you may likewiſe obſerve, how he approves the Privie Councell of *England* erected ſome foure hundred and odde yeares ſince, where are never, ſaith he, above twentie, *by whoſe ſage direction, the Land hath long flouriſhed in Armes and Lawes.* And for the execution of Lawes, and adminiſtration of Iuſtice, yee may remember what hath beene ſaid before, that the Lawes are good and juſt, but not juſtly executed. Where *Haillan* comparing the time, ſaith: *Then great ones were puniſhed*, but ſince, *only pettie fellowes; and great ones goe Scot-free.*

Th'enſnaring Lawes let Crowes goe free,
While ſimple Doves entangled bee.

HAving thus related of the *Topography* and *Policie* of *France*, it remaineth I ſpeake ſomewhat of the *Oeconomie*; that is, of the people of *France*, compriſed under the three Eſtates, of the *Clergie*, the *Nobilitie*, and *Comminaltie*: of the ſeverall humour, profeſſion, and faſhion of each of them, which is the third and laſt branch of this Relation.

The Clergie. The Church *Gallicane*, is holden the beſt privilege of all thoſe of Chriſtendome, that have not yet quit their ſubjection to the *Pope*. It hath alwayes proteſted againſt the Inquiſition; It is more free from payments to the *Pope*, than the Church of *Spaine*, as alſo to the King: For here in *France* they only pay the *Diſme*: but in *Spaine*, the King hath his *Tertias*, *Subſidio*, *Pila*, and *Eſtuſado*: in all, a moitie of the Church living. Indeed it is reported of this Catholike King, that he hath founded many Abbeyes and Religious Houſes: but what ſaith his Subject? *He ſteales the ſheepe, and gives the Trotters for Gods ſake.*

In this Church of *France* are twelve Archbiſhopricks, one hundred and foure Biſhoprickes, five hundred and fortie Arch-

Archpriories, one thouſand foure hundred and fifty Abbeys, twelve thouſand three hundred and twenty Priories, five hundred ſixtie ſeven Numeries, one hundred and thirtie thouſand Pariſh Prieſts, ſeven hundred Convents of Friers, and two hundred fiftie nine Commendums of the Order of the Knights of *Malta*. There are, ſaith the *Cabinet du Roy*, three millions of people, that live upon the Church of *France*: where he particularly ſetteth downe in each Dioceſſe, the number of all ſorts of Religious people, as alſo the number of their Whores, Bawds, Baſtards, and Servants of all ſorts: And why not? (ſaith he) as well as the *Magitians* undertake in their Inventory of the Diabolike Monarchie, to ſet downe the names and ſurnames of 76. Princes, and ſeven millions, foure hundred and five thouſand, nine hundred, twentie and ſix Devils.

The Temporall livings of the Church.

The Church hath, for all this rabble to live upon, theſe two things: Firſt, her Temporall Revenues, and ſecondly, her Spirituall, which they call the *Baiſe-mani*. Of her Temporall Revenues, divers men judge diverſly.

The groſſe errors of the Cabinet of *France*.

The *Cabinet*, who in all his computations makes of a Mouſe an Elephant, ſaith, that they are foureſcore millions of crownes the yeare, beſides the *Baiſe-mani*, which is as much more, and beſides an infinite proviſion, which they reſerve, and is paid them over and except their Rents, by their Farmers and Tenants; as of Wheat, foure millions, five hundred thouſand quarters: of Rye, two millions, three hundred thouſand quarters: of Oats, nine hundred thouſand: of Barley, eight hundred thouſand: of Peaſe and Beanes, eight hundred ſixtie thouſand: Capons, one hundred ſixty thouſand: Hens, five hundred ſixtie thouſand: Partridge 50000. Beeves, 12000. Muttons, one million two hundred thouſand: Wine, one million two hundred thouſand *Cuues*: Egges, ſeven millions: Butter, 230000. *Quintaux*: Cheeſe, five hundred thouſand: Hogs, one hundred thirty ſix thouſand: Pigges, three hundred forty thouſand: Tallow, ſixty thouſand *Quintaux*: Hey, ſix hundred thouſand loads: Straw, eight hundred thouſand: Wood, two

millions: with an infinite proportion of other neceſſaries, imaginary only, and incredible. And yet he there avoweth all things, with as great confidence, as if himſelfe had had the true abſtract from all the Bookes of Accounts in each Monaſtery and Benefice in this Land. For how is it poſſible, the Church ſhould have 200. millions of crownes yearely Rent, when as by the compu.ation, here are but juſt ſo many Arpens of Land in all *France*, which to rate one with another, at a crowne an Arpen, comes to this account, which he allowes the Clergie, and then is there nothing left for the other two States, of the Nobilitie and people.

But inaſmuch as the better halfe of their Revenue is by the *Baiſe-mani*, there remaineth the better halfe of the Land to the other two States; which notwithſtanding is a proportion ſmall enough.

Neere unto this reckoning commeth that which we reade in *Bodin*, of *Alemant*, a preſident of accounts in *Paris*, whoſe judgement muſt carry good authority in this caſe, as a thing belonging to his profeſſion, and wherein he was beſt experienced: "The Church Revenues in Land are reckoned "orderly, at twelve millions and three hundred thouſand "*Livres*: but I dare juſtifie (ſaith he) that of twelve parts of "the Revenues of *France*, the Church poſſeſſe ſeven.

This opinion *Bodin* ſeemes to allow: But it is rather thought to be true, that the *Comment de l'eſtat* ſaith, who of the two hundred millions of Arpens, allowes the Church forty ſeven millions, which by particulars of their Vineyards, Medowes, arable-Paſtures, and Heaths, with their Woods, is there ſet downe: which here to follow in particular were too tedious. Beſides this Temporall, they have their *Baiſe-mani* (as is ſaid) that conſiſteth in Churchings, Chriſtnings, Marriages, Burials, Holy-bread, Indulgences, Vowes, Pilgrimages, Feaſts, Proceſſions, Prayers for cattle, for ſeaſonable weather, for Children, againſt all manner of diſeaſes, and infinite ſuch purpoſes; for which the ſuperſtitious people will have a Maſſe ſaid, which they pay the Prieſt for particularly: over and beſides all this, there is

ſcarce

ſcarce that Arpen in all *France*, upon which there is not ſome *Dirige*, or *de profundis*; ſome *libera me Domine*, or ſome reckoning or other liable.

Concerning them of the Reformed Religion, whom here in contempt they call *Hugunonets*; yee may note, that the number is not ſmall, conſidering that after the conference of *Poiſſie*, above forty yeares ſince, here were found 2150. Churches of them; whereof not one hath eſcaped without ſome murthers or maſſacres: and we may imagine, that ſince that time this number is much increaſed.

But as for Religion, it hath onely beene the cloake and ſhadow of their ambitious pretences, without the which, they could never have inſinuated themſelves ſo farre into the hearts of the people, who are alwayes the *gros de la bataille*, the maine Battell: and without whom, the Nobilitie may well quarrell, but they cannot fight.

And therefore yee ſhall reade in ſome of the ſame Religion reformed, *That there were Hugunonets, as well of Eſtate, as of Religion.*

Theſe have now free permiſſion to profeſſe, and places allotted for exerciſe, with all libertie of conſcience poſſible, ſave that in the chiefe Cities of *France* they have no Churches allowed, neither can be buried in Chriſtian buriall (as they call it) if any of them die among the Catholikes, with whom notwithſtanding they now live peaceably, thorowout the Countrey. But me thinkes, they have here ſmall reaſon to let them live together in a houſe, and not ſuffer them to lie together in a Church-yard.

And as for warring any longer for Religion, the *Frenchman* utterly diſclaimes it; he is at laſt growne wiſe, marry he hath bought it ſomewhat deare; *The Italian is wiſe before hand: the Almaine, in the doing; and the French, after the thing is done*, ſaith one of their own writers. *Ille ante, iſte cum, hic poſt ſapit.*

Concerning the Nobilitie of *France* (ſaith *La Nove*;) They are exceeding valorous and courteous; and there is no State in Chriſtendome, where they are in ſo great number. The Nobleſſe.

It hath beene argued before in this Relation, that there be

at

at leaſt 50000. able to beare Armes, but that is thought with the moſt. *Monſieur du Fay* thinks them about thirty thouſand: in which number, ye muſt conclude all degrees of Gentlemen, from the higheſt to the loweſt that beare Armes: for ſo the *French* call their *Nobleſſe*, whereas we in *England* make two diſtinct orders of the Nobility & Gentry (as they call it:) *Thoſe are Noble, which can prove a long tract of time, wherein a Fee and Knights ſervice thereto belonging, hath reſided in their family.* And another Writer ſaith, *In* France *men are eſteemed Noble by bloud and profeſſion of Armes.*

And ſure, if there be difference in Nobility, as there muſt needs bee, becauſe the cauſes be different; for ſome are ennobled by their valour and Martiall knowledge, and others by their Offices and prudence in the manage of matters of Eſtate: I ſee no reaſon, but that theſe laſt ſhould be holden the more Noble Nobility, (if I may ſo ſay) alwayes giving the firſt place to them that are of Noble Houſes by Race.

For of all theſe three ſorts the *French* Writers ſpeake, when they ſay; *There is a difference of Nobles: The firſt by Race: The ſecond by Ennobling: and of Ennobling there are two ſorts: One by Patent, duly proved in the Court of Parliament: The other, by meanes of Offices to which they are advanced.*

And howſoever *Turquet* hereof inferreth, that it is *la vertu que fait la Nobleſſe, car il y a de nobles vilains, et de vilains nobles: Vertue that maketh Nobility, for there are Noble Peaſants, and peaſantly Nobles:* yet ſure it is, that the degenerating of one from the Vertue of his Anceſtors, cannot prejudice the Nobility, nor Eclipſe the glory of his Succeeder, who, as Hiſtories ſhew, many times excell all the former of their houſe.

Peeres of *France.*

The higheſt degree of honour in *France*, is the *Pairrie*, in which order have beene ſometimes ſeven, ſometimes eleven, never above ſeventeene, and moſt commonly twelve. Whereupon they are called the *Twelve Peeres of France.* Theſe have the precedence before all the reſt of the Nobility,

lity, and of theſe, they of the Bloud, although they were lateſt called into the *Pairrie*. Of theſe Peeres, there be ſix of the Clergie. 1. Arch-Biſhop and Duke of *Rhemes*. 2. Biſhop and Duke of *Laon*. 3. Biſhop and Duke of *Langres*. 4. Biſhop and Comte of *Beauvais*. 5. Biſhop and Comte of *Noyon*. 6. Biſhop and Comte of *Chalons*.

Of Temporall. 1. Duke of *Burgundy*. 2. Duke of *Normandie*. 3. Duke of *Guyenne*. 4. Count of *Tholouſe*. 5. Count of *Champaigne*. 6. Count of *Flanders*. Since theſe were firſt inſtituted, many other houſes have beene admitted into the *Pairrie*, by the Kings of *France*, and the old worne out: As to them of *Burgundie* and *Flanders*, were added the Dukes of *Bretaigne*, *Burbon*, *Anjow*, *Berrie*, *Orleans*, the Counts of *Arthois*, *Ereux*, *Alenſon*, *Eſtampes*, all of the Bloud in *Charles* the fifths time.

Since alſo, in the times of *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third, have new *Pairries* beene erected, as *Nevers*, *Vandoſme*, *Guiſe*, *Monpenſier*, *Beaumont*, *Albret*, *Aumal*, *Memorencie*, *Vzes*, *Pentheur*, *Mercoeur*, *Ioieuſe*, *Eſpernon*, *Rets*, *Monbeſon*, *Vantadoure*, and others.

Ye muſt obſerve, that the five ancienteſt *Pairries* of the Temporality, are returned to the Crowne, the ſixth which is of *Flanders*, doth recognize it no longer, as now being *Spaniſh*.

Some ſay, theſe *Pairres* (*quaſi patres inter ſe*) were firſt erected by *Charlemaigne*, others by *Hugh Capet*, and others (which is holden for the trueſt) by *Lewis le jeune*, 1179. to aid and aſſiſt the King in his Councell (ſaith *Bodin.*) And therefore the Seſſion of the King with his *Pairres*, was called *The Parliament without addition*: as the Kings Brothers and Siſters are called *Monſieur*, and *Madame ſans queve*: whereas all other Soveraigne Courts are named with an addition, as *Le Parlement de Paris*: *le Parl. de Roven*, *&c.*

Yee may alſo obſerve, that they of the Laity have the right hand of the King, and the Clergie the left, in all aſſemblies or ſolemne Seſſions whatſoever.

I.

I thinke this diuision of the *Pairrie*, into these two sorts, was derived from that ancient order of the *Gaules*, of whom *Cæsar* speaketh: *Of the Nobility of Gallia, are two sorts; the Druides, and Gentlemen:* where he likewise discourseth of their divers Offices.

This Honour of *Pairre* of *France*, was at first given for life onely, afterwards for them and their Heires Males; and lastly, to the women also for default of Males: who likewise are called to sit in Councell and Assemblies (as are the Queenes of *France*;) as at the Assembly at *Blois*, and at the the Arrest of *Counte de Clermont*, in the time of Saint *Lewis*, where the Countesse of *Flanders* is named present among the other Peeres.

Ye must note, that Peeres and Princes of the Bloud bee privileged from being subject to any Writ or Processe, but in case of high Treason: and then also no Processe can bee commenced against them, before any other Iudges whatsoever, but before the King, sitting in his Court of Parliament, sufficiently assisted by the Peeres of *France*. All other Iudges are incompetent.

But to leave the discourse of this highest honour in *France*, and speake of the *Noblesse* in generall, ye shall read in history, that at the end of the second Race of Kings, they beganne to take their surnames, of their principall *Feifs:* Since when, of later yeares, some have contrarily put their surnames upon their *Feifs*, which hath so confounded the *Noblesse* (saith *Haillan*) as it is now hard to finde out the ancient and true Nobility.

These are they among whom the Proverbe is still currant, *A man of Warre should have no more learning, but to be able to write his owne name:* And therefore their profession is onely Armes and good Horsemanship, wherein if they have attained any perfection, they little esteeme other vertues, not caring what the Philosopher saith: One only Anchor is not sufficient to hold a great ship. Nor considering that the old Gallants of the World, were wont to joyne the one with the other: and ancient Painters were accustomed

med to paint the Muſes all together in a troope; to ſignifie, that in a Nobleman they ſhould not be parted.

Hereof it commeth, that the *French* Nobleſſe glorying in their Armes, call themſelves, *The Arme of their Country, the Guardians of Armes, and Terrour of their Enemies*; but they never ſtile themſelves the *Profeſſors of vertue.*

This Eſtate of the Nobility, ſaith one, of all the three Eſtates is ſmalleſt in number of men, and pooreſt in living; which no queſtion muſt needs be true, after ſo long a civill warre: and herewith accordeth he that wrote the late troubles. The *French* Nobleſſe is fallen from their ancient wealth, wherwith they were adorned in the times of *Lewis* the twelfth, and *Francis* the firſt. And I durſt affirme, that if all they that bear this Title were divided into ten parts, eight of them are impaired by ſales, morgages, or other debts.

The ſame Author yeeldeth five reaſons of the poverty of the Nobleſſe of *France*. Firſt, the *Civill Warres*. Secondly, *Superfluous expences in apparell*. Thirdly, *Houſhold-ſtuffe*. Fourthly, *Building*. Fifthly, *Diet and Followers*. And in another place, taxing the extreme prodigality & ſuperfluity of the *French* in their Apparell, Building, and Diet, he ſaith, If the Warre hath brought us foure ounces of poverty, our owne follies have gotten us twelve. I will not herein bee mine owne judge, (ſaith hee) but let us doe as Players at Tennis, be judged by all the lookers on, and they will confeſſe, that by theſe exceſſive expences a great number of the Nobleſſe goe a foot pace, others trot, and many runne poſt to the downfals of poverty.

I ſhould in this relation of the *French* Nobility, doe them great wrong, to beleeve and report for truth, what the *Cabinet du Roy*, one of their owne Country, ſaith of them; who according to the ſeverall Provinces, giveth them ſeverall Epithites.

"The Nobleſſe of *Berry* (ſaith he) are *Paillards*; Lea-
"chers: they of *Tourraine*, are *Voleurs*, Theeves: they of
"*Guyenne*, Coyners: they of *Tholouſe*, Traitors: they of
Narbonne Covetous: they of *Province*, Atheiſts: they of

Lyonnois,

" *Lyonnois*, Treacherous: they of *Rhoones*, Superstitious: " they of *Normandie*, Insolent: they of *Picardie*, Proud; " and so forth of all the rest.

But I will doe them more right, and conclude of them, that for privilege and nobleneſſe of Race, they may compare with any Nobility of Christendome. For proofe of the first; The King hath nothing of his Nobleſſe, but Sword-ſervice. And for the second, saith another; The *French* Nobleſſe is compoſed of so famous houſes, that there are a dozen of them deſcended by right line from Kings, that have peaceably poſſeſſed Kingdomes.

Having briefly ſpoken of the two first Eſtates of *France*, the Clergy and Nobility: It laſtly remaineth, I ſpeake of the people in generall, and namely, of their freeneſſe of Speech; manner of Diet; kinds of Buildings; ſorts of Exercises; faſhion of Apparell; diverſitie of Language; ſuddenneſſe of apprehending; raſhneſſe in executing; impatience in deliberation, and divers other natures and humours proper to the *Frenchmen*; wherein ye ſhall not looke for a methodicall and large diſcourſe, but a briefe and compendious remembrance of ſuch things, as I have read and obſerved in this Nation.

It is incredible to beleeve, and odious to heare, how the *Frenchman* will talke, & impudently utter what he fooliſhly conceiveth, not onely of all forren States and Princes of the World, but even of their owne State and King himſelfe; of whom he will not ſpare to ſpeake whatſoever hee heareth, and ſometimes alſo more than the truth; which inſufferable vice of theirs, I here put in the first place, becauſe I hold it of all others the moſt diſloyall and unlawfull. Hereof the wiſeſt ſort of them much complaine, and wiſh reformation: but it is a thing ſo naturall with them, as

——— *Expellas furca licet, uſque recurret.*

He hath beſides this liberty of ſpeaking, a propertie incident to ſuch like natures: namely, an inquiſitive liſtning and hearkning after newes, which is an old faſhion of theirs, and hath continued with them many hundred yeares. It is

uſuall

uſuall with all the *Gaules*, both to conſtraine Travellers (though unwilling) to ſtay, and to inquire of each of them, what hee hath heard or underſtood of every matter: and with the popular in Townes, to flocke about Merchants, and compell them to tell from what parts they come, and what newes they heard there: And led by theſe rumours and heare-ſayes, they determine many times of moſt weightie affaires, of which determinations they muſt needs eft-ſoones repent them.

Concerning the diet, it is, to keepe no diet: for they feed at all times, there being among them very few which (beſides their ordinary of dinner and ſupper) doe not *Gouſter*, as they call it, and make collations, three or foure times the day, a thing as uſuall with the women as men, whom yee ſhall ſee in open ſtreets before their doores, eat and drinke together. No marvell therefore though the *Italian* cals them the only Gourmands.

The *French* faſhion is to lard all meats; whoſe proviſion ordinary is not ſo plentifull as ours, nor his Table ſo well furniſhed: howbeit, in Banquets they farre exceed us; for he is as *friand* (licouriſh) as the Trencher-men of *Media*, or *Æſope* the Tragedian, who ſpent fifteene thouſand crownes at one feaſt, in the tongues of Birds only. He liveth not like the *Italian*, with Roots chiefly and Herbs: nor like the *Lacedemonian*, that weares his haire ſhaven cloſe to his skinne, bathes himſelfe in cold water, eats browne bread, and ſips blacke broth. Nor like the *Scythian*, who ſaith, hunger is my beſt cheere, the ground my bed, Beaſts skins my clothing; but rather like *Alcibiades*, of whom *Plutarch* reporteth, that hee was over-delicate in his dyet, diſſolute in love of wanton women, exceſſive in banquets, and over-ſuperfluous and effeminate in apparell.

As for the poore *Paiſant*, hee fareth very hardly, and feedeth moſt upon bread and fruits, but yet hee may comfort himſelfe with this; that though his fare be nothing ſo good as the Plough-mans and poore Artificers in *England*, yet is it much better than that of the *Villano* in *Italy*.

Of

Of the *French* Buildings I have ſpoken before in the Relation of *Paris*, both that it is lately growne to be more magnificent, than it was in former times, and that many thereby have much weakened their eſtate.

You may therefore obſerve, that as I there ſaid, the Citie of *Paris* was better built than that of *London*: ſo are in generall, all the Cities and Villages in *France*, fairer than ours in *England*, comparing the one with the other.

As for the manner of Building here, how beautifull ſoever it be to the eye, the Offices and roomes, me thinkes, are not ſo well contrived as ours, to the uſe. One thing there is, by which they are much beautified; namely, the blewiſh kinde of Tyle, which here they have in great quantitie, the which is very hard, and therefore durable; and very thinne and light, and therefore not ſo burthenſome to a houſe, as is our Tyle in *England*.

Their Apparel. Concerning their Apparell, if yee well obſerve that of the Citizen, both men and women, it is very ſeemely and decent: that of the *Paiſant*, very poore, all whoſe apparell for the moſt part, is of Linnen: As for that of the Nobleſſe, yee ſhall heare what *La Nove* ſaith; *The Nobleſſe in their expence in apparell, are exceſſive and very rich.* And yet mee thinkes, nothing ſo rich and coſtly as ours; the onely exceſſe whereof, is the greateſt prejudice and hinderance to the Common-wealth.

This Author reproveth two things in the *French* Apparell. Firſt, that every Gallant, forſooth, muſt have many ſutes at once, and change often in the yeare: and therefore (ſaith he) if in the Court they ſpie one in a ſute of the laſt yeares making, they ſcoffingly ſay: *We know him well enough, he will not hurt us, hee's an Apple of the laſt yeare.*

The ſecond thing he diſlikes, is this; that every two yeare the faſhion changeth. And hereof it commeth, that when yee ſee all other Nations painted in the proper habit of their Countrey, the *Frenchman* is alwayes pictured with a paire of Sheeres in his hand; to ſignifie, that he hath no peculiar habit of his owne, nor contenteth himſelfe long with the habit

habit of any other, but according to his capricious humour, deviseth daily new fashions.

This varietie of fashions, a man may well note in the Fripperies of *Paris*, whereof saith *La Nove*, if one would make a pourtraict in a Table, it would be the most sportfull thing that may be.

I am now by order to speake of his *Exercises*: wherein, me thinkes the *Frenchman* is very immoderate, especially in those which are somewhat violent; for yee shall see them play Sets at Tennis in the heat of Summer, and height of the day, when others were scarce able to stirre out of doores. This immoderate play, in this unseasonable time, together with their intemperate drinking and feeding, is the only cause, that here yee see them generally itchie and scabbed; some of them in so foule a sort, as they are unfit for any honest Table. Their Exercises.

Among all the other exercises of *France*, I preferre none before the *Palle-maille*, both because it is a Gentleman-like Sport, not violent, and yeelds good occasion and opportunitie of discourse, as they walke from the one marke to the other: I marvell, among many more apish and foolish toyes, which wee have brought out of *France*, that wee have not brought this sport also into *England*.

Concerning their shooting with the Crosse-bow, it is used, but not very commonly. Once in a yeare, there is in each City a shooting with the Peece at a Popingay of wood, set upon some high Steeple (as also they doe in many places of *Germanie*.) He that hitteth it downe, is called the king for that yeare, and is free from all Tax: besides, he is allowed twentie crownes towards the making of a Collation for the rest of the shooters. And if it happen, that three yeares together he carry the Prize, he is free from all tax and imposition whatsoever, all his life after. Shooting.

This custome, no question, is very laudable, whose end tendeth much to a publike benefit: for by this practice and emulation, he groweth more ready and perfect in the use of his Peece, and so more able and fit to doe his Country service.

And I ſuppoſe, if in times paſt we had had like Prizes for the long Bow (the ancient glory of our *Engliſh* ſervice) we had not ſo ſoone quit the exerciſe thereof, nor degenerated ſo far from ancient cuſtome. So doe I thinke, that in theſe dayes, wherein the Peece is only prized, if we have this faſhion of *France* and *Germanie*, in *England*, to reward him in every place that ſhould beſt deſerve therein; that our Countryman would grow more perfect and expert in the uſe thereof: at whoſe unaptneſſe and aukwardneſſe in their firſt training, before they come to have ſerved ſome time, I have often marvelled.

He hath alſo his ſports of Bowling, Carding, Dicing, and other unlawfull, and unuſefull games; whereof I will omit to ſpeake, being too common both with them and us.

Tennis-play. As for the exerciſe of Tennis-play, which I above remembred, it is more here uſed, than in all Chriſtendome beſides; whereof may witneſſe the infinite number of Tennis-courts thorowout the Land, inſomuch as yee cannot finde that little *Burgade*, or Towne in *France*, that hath not one or moe of them. Here are, as you ſee, threeſcore in *Orleans*, and I know not how many hundred there be in *Paris*: but of this I am ſure, that if there were in other places the like proportion, yee ſhould have two Tennis-courts, for every one Church thorow *France*. Mee thinkes it is alſo ſtrange, how apt they be here to play well, that yee would thinke they were borne with Rackets in their hands, even the children themſelves manage them ſo well, and ſome of their women alſo, as we obſerved at *Blois*.

There is this one great abuſe in their exerciſe, that the Magiſtrates doe ſuffer every poore Citizen and Artificer to play thereat, who ſpendeth that on the Holy-day at Tennis, which hee got the whole weeke, for the keeping of his poore family. A thing more hurtfull than our Ale-houſes in *England*, though the one and the other be bad enough. And of this I dare aſſure you, that of this ſort of poore people, there be more Tennis-players in *France*, than Ale-drinkers, or Malt-wormes (as they call them) with us.

Neither

Neither would I ſpeake of Dancing, ſave only, that I preſume, yee will give me leave, for Methods ſake, having undertaken to ſpeake of the *French* exerciſes, not to omit that of Dancing, wherein they moſt delight, and is moſt generally uſed of all others. And I am perſwaded, were it not for this; That they of the Reformed Religion may not dance, (being an exerciſe, againſt which their ſtrait-laced Miniſters much inveigh) that there had long ſince many of the Catholikes turned to their ſide: ſo much are they all in generall addicted hereunto. For yee ſhall not onely ſee the Gentlewomen and them of the better ſort, but every poore draggle-taile, even to the Cobblers daughter, that can dance with good meaſure and Art, all your *Quarantes*, *Levalties*, *Branſles*, and other dances whatſoever: not ſo much but the Chamber-maid, and poore Citizens wife, dance uſually in the City-ſtreets, in a round, like our Country Laſſes on their Towne-greene, about the May-pole, making muſick of their owne voices, without any Inſtrument. And rather than faile, the old women themſelves, both Gentle and baſe, who have moe toes than teeth, and thoſe that are left, leaping in their heads, like Iacks in Virginals, will beare their part. This argueth (I will not ſay a lightneſſe and immodeſtie in behaviour, but) a ſtirring ſpirit, and livelineſſe in the *French* nature: whereof alſo the muſicke and ſongs they have, is no ſmall argument: for there is not almoſt a Tune in all *France*, which is not *Ionicke*, or *Lydian*, of five or ſeven tunes: a note forbidden youth by *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, becauſe, ſaith *Bodin*, it hath *great force and power to ſoften and effeminate mens mindes*. The tune *Doricke*, which is more grave muſick, and was commanded for the ſinging of Pſalmes in the Primitive Church, their inconſtant and ſtirring humour cannot brooke by any meanes.

Dancing.

Muſicke.

It remaineth, I ſpeake of their Language, of whom the *Italian* hath a Proverbe: The *French* neither pronounce as they write, nor ſing as they pricke, nor thinke as they ſpeake. In which firſt point, they differ from the *Latine*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *Greek*, who fully pronounce every letter in the word:

Their Language.

whereas the *French* to make his ſpeech more ſmooth, and *eculante*, (as he termes it) leaves out very many of his conſonants, whereby it now is growne almoſt as ſweet a tongue to the eare, as the *Italian* or *Greeke*: which two, by reaſon of the many vowels, are queſtionleſſe the moſt delicate languages of the World.

It now remaineth I ſpeake of the *French* nature and humour; which by the change of his ſpeech, apparell, and building, by his credulity to any tale which is told, and by his impatience and haſte in matter of deliberation, whereof I ſhall not omit preſently to ſpeake, ye may judge to be very idle, wavering, and inconſtant. Saith one, *As the Frenchmens pronuntiation is very faſt, ſo are their wits very wavering.* And ye ſhall reade in *Cæſars* Commentaries very often, how he taxeth them of this lightnesse and ſuddennesse: Cæſar *being informed of theſe matters, and fearing the unſtablenesse of the Gaules, (as being ſudden and wavering in their reſolutions, and generally deſirous of innovation) he thought fit not to truſt them*: And in another place, Cæſar *underſtanding that almoſt all the Gaules were naturally hungrie of change, and unconſtantly and ſuddenly ſtirred to war, &c.* And againe, *Ut ſunt Gallorum ſubita & repentina conſilia*: As the reſolutions of the *Gaules* are ſudden and unlooked for, &c.

1. In deliberation.

To conclude, if yee will rightly know the Nature and Humor of the ancient *Gauls*, ye muſt reade the ſixth of theſe Commentaries, and you ſhall obſerve how ſtrange it is, that though all other things in the world are ſubject to change, yet the ſame *naturall* of lightneſſe and inconſtancie ſtill remaines in the *French*. This is aptly ſhewed by *Haillan*, in his deſcription of *Lewis* the eleventh: *If he had one thing, he ſtraight caſts his affection to another, being violent, buſie-headed, and impatient.*

2. In matter of Warre.

To this accordeth another of their owne Writers; *Such is the condition of* France, *that if ſhe have no Wars abroad againſt powerfull Neighbours, ſhee muſt have broiles at home among her owne Subjects, and her working ſpirits can never remaine long quiet.* And therefore *Tacitus* cals them, *Leviſſima homi-*

num

rum genera: The moſt fickle kinde of Men; ſudden to beginne, and more ſudden to end, apter to apprehend the action, than comprehend the cauſe, ready to lay hold, not able to hold faſt: as by the making and revoking of ſo many Edicts, againſt the *Reformed Religion* in ſo ſhort a time, and by many other their actions appeareth.

For ye muſt obſerve of the *French*, that he entreth a Countrey like thunder, and vaniſheth out againe like ſmoke: He reſembleth the Waſpe, who after the firſt ſtroke, loſeth her ſting, and can hurt no more.

He ſheweth this his lightneſſe and inconſtancie, not only in matters of ſervice and warre, but alſo even in other his actions and carriages: But in nothing more than in his familiarity, with whom a ſtranger cannot ſo ſoone be off his horſe, but he will be acquainted; nor ſo ſoone in his chamber, but the other like an Ape will be on his ſhoulder: and, as ſuddenly, and without cauſe ye ſhall loſe him alſo. A childiſh humour, to be won with as little as an Apple, & loſt with leſſe than a Nut: Quite contrary to the nature of the *Italian*, of whom ye ſhall in your travell obſerve, that he is of too ſullen and retired a faſhion, and a *loupgarou* (as the *Frenchman* cals him) wherein I would wiſh you to obſerve the vertue of the *Engliſhman*, (for vertue is a mediocrity betweene two extremes) who is neither ſo childiſhly and apiſhly familiar as the *French*, nor ſo ſcornfully and Cynically ſolitary as the other. 3. Entertaining of friendſhip.

So are we in matter of Duell and private quarrell, in a meane, me thinks, betwene theſe two Nations: for we are neither ſo devilliſhly mindfull of revenge, as to tarry ſeven or ten yeares for an opportunity upon our enemy, as doth the *Italian*; nor ſo inconſiderately haſty, as we muſt needs either fight to day, or be friends to morrow, as doth the *French*. 4 In managing a quarrell

Of the *French* carriage, and manage of a quarrell, how childiſh and ridiculous it is, I have ſeene two or three examples; wherein the parties have neither ſhewed judgement to know their owne right, nor valour to revenge their wrong: whereas the *Engliſh* Gentleman, with mature de-

liberation, disputeth how farre his honour is ingaged, by the injury offered, and judiciously determineth his manner of satisfaction, according to the quality of the offence: which done, he presently imbarketh himselfe into the action, according to the prescription of the old rule, *Postquam consulueris, maturè opus est facto:* wise resolutions should be speedily executed.

I will here remember you of one other instance more, wherein our Country-men keepe the golden meane, betweene the two extremes of defect and excesse, and wherein these two Nations of *Italy* and *France* are culpable, and here worthily to be taxed.

5. In governing his wife.

Wee may say of the *Italian*, who maketh his house his wives prison, as *Plutarch* saith of the *Persians*: *They are by nature strangely and cruelly jealous of their Women, not onely of their Wives, but also of their Slaves and Concubines, whom they guard so straitly, that they are never seene abroad, but remaine alwayes locked up in their houses*: Whereas the *French* liberty on the other side is too much: for here a man hath many occasions offered upon any small entrance to come acquainted; and upon every least acquaintance to enter, where he may come to her house, accompany her arme in arme in the streets, court her in all places, and at all seasons, without imputation. Wherein me thinks, the *French* married man doth as *Plutarch* reports of *Pericles*, *take away the Wals and fences of his Orchards and Gardens, to the end every man might freely enter and gather fruit at his pleasure.*

No marvell then, the bridle being left in their owne hands, though sometimes they be saddled, and their Husbands know not. You may observe therefore, that in this matter of Wedlocke also, the *English* use is better than either the *Italian* or *French*.

6. In aptnesse to scoffe.

It is also naturall to the *French*, to be a great scoffer; for men of light and unsteady braines, have commonly sudden and sharpe conceits. Hereto also their language well agreeth, as being currant and full of proverbs; to which purpose I will remember

remember you of two answers, not long since made by two *Frenchmen*, wherein you may observe how little esteeme they hold of the *Roman* Religion in heart, though they make profession thereof in shew.

The one of these being very sicke, and, as was thought, in danger of death, his ghostly Father comes to him with his *Corpus Domini*, and tels him, that hearing of the extremity wherein hee was, hee had brought him his Saviour to comfort him before his departure. The sicke Gentleman with-drawing the curtaine, and seeing there the fat lubberly Fryer with the *Host* in his hand, answereth; I know it is our Saviour, he comes to me as he went to *Ierusalem*, *C'est, vn asne qui le porte:* He is carried by an Asse.

The other Gentleman upon like danger of sicknesse, having the Frier come to him to instruct him in the Faith, and after to give him the *Host*, and the extreme unction (it was on a Friday) told him that he must beleeve, that this *Corpus Domini* which he brought, was the very reall flesh, bloud, and bone of our Saviour. Which after the sicke man had freely confessed, the Frier offered it him to receive for his comfort. Nay, quoth the other, *You shall excuse me, for Ij eat no flesh on Fridayes.* So that yee see the *French* will rather lose his God, than his good jest.

The *French* humour also (saith one) *Cannot away with patience and modesty.* And therefore another saith of him, that he is as shamefast and modest, *As a Page of the Court.* Or as *Hiperbolus*, who, *Plutarch* saith, for his boldnesse and saucie impudency, was the onely subject in his time, for all Satyricks and Comedians to worke upon.

He is also such a one, as *Theophrastus* cals *immundus*, uncleanly; *Who being leprous and scabby, and wearing long unpared nailes, thrusts himselfe into company, and sayes, those diseases come to him by kinde; for both his Father, and his Grand-father were subject unto them.*

He is *loquax*, Talkative, *who had rather seeme more chatting than a Swallow, than hold his peace:* so willing is he to make himselfe ridiculous. With which people (it is strange)

yee ſhall talke all day, and yet at night not remember whereof he hath talked; ſuch multiplicity of words he hath, and ſo idle is the matter whereof he treateth.

Hee is alſo *Intempeſtivus*, unſeaſonably troubleſome: *Who comming to his friend full of buſineſſe, will give him counſell, before hee have imparted the matter unto him*: Of which kinde of people, *Theophraſtus* bids us beware, where he ſaith: *If you will not bee troubled with a fit of an Ague, you muſt runne as faſt as your legs can carry you from ſuch kinde of men, for it is very troubleſome living with fellowes, that cannot diſtinguiſh the ſeaſons of leaſure and affaires.*

He is *Microphilotimos*, that is, proud of trifles: Who, if he have ſacrificed an Oxe, uſeth to naile up the head and hornes at his gate, that all that come to him, may take notice that he hath kild an Oxe. And if hee bee to pay forty ſhillings, will be ſure to pay it in new-coined money. This is he that comes to the Tennis-Court, throwes his purſe full of coine at the line, which giveth a ſound as if there were no leſſe than thirty or forty crounes, whenas ſometimes by miſchance we have diſcovered that it was nothing but Paper, and a few Sols, and doubleſſe of Braſſe that made it ſo ſwell, in all ſcarce eighteene pence ſterling.

Hee is *Oſtentator*, a Craker: who comming to ſuch as have great horſes to ſell, makes them beleeve he will buy ſome: And at great Faires, drawing to their ſhops that ſell apparell, cals to ſee a ſute of an hundred pounds; and when they are agreed of the price, fals out with his boy, for following him without his purſe. Such a one was the Gallant, who in the middeſt of his diſcourſe with many Gentlemen, ſuddenly turned backe to his Lackie, and ſaith, Fetch me my Clocke, it lies in my lodging in ſuch (or ſuch) a place, neere ſuch (or ſuch) a Iewell. The *Lalero* returnes with a *noneſt inventus*. My *French* Gallant ſtraight bethinks himſelfe that it is in his pocket: (which hee knew well enough before) preſently he puls it out, not ſo much to ſhew how the time paſſeth (whereof he takes little care)

as the curiousnesse of worke, and the beauty of the case, whereof hee is not a little bragge and enamoured. To speake thus particularly of all his severall humours and customes, would be very prolix, and not much necessary: I will onely referre you to the fourth of *Tullies Rhetoricke*, where he speaketh of a bragging Rhodomonte, and to the first Booke of *Horace Satyres*, speaking of an endlesse and needlesse Prater, a fastidious & irksome companion. Where you shall see the *French naturall*, very lively, and admirably well described.

I will only speake of his impatience and precipitation in deliberations of Warre or Peace, and such other affaires of greatest importance, and so end. To this effect *Bodin* saith of him: The *French* is of so sudden and busie disposition, that he quickly yeelds to that a man demands, being soone tired with messages to and fro, and other delayes peculiar to the *Spaniard*. And in another place; The *Spaniard* had need of a more ready dispatch than he hath, and the *French* of more moderation in his actions and passions. And whereas *Commines* saith of us, that we be not so craftie in our treaties and agreements as the *French*; I thinke, saving the credit of so great an Author, he might better have said, so head-strong and precipitate. But where he saith, that he that will treat and determine matters with us, must have a little patience; I yeeld unto him, hee hath good reason so to say; for his Countrey-men, the *French*, can endure no delay; they must propound & conclude all in one day. By this haste of theirs, they lost more, saith *Bodin*, by one Treatie at *Cambrey*, *Anno* 1559. to the *Spaniard*, than he had before got of the *French* in fortie yeares by warre.

Navarre.

Navarre.

TO the Title and Armes of *France* wee see these of *Navarre* annexed; notwithstanding that this Kingdome lies Westward of the *Pyreneax* mountaines, touching upon *Arragon* on its South, and *Biscay* on its North part, two of the *Spanish* Provinces. The old Inhabitants were the *Vascones*, the *Berones*, &c. The present name of *Navarre*, it hath either from the *Spanish* word *Navas*, signifying a *Campagnia*, or woodlesse champaigne Country or field, naturally fenced with trees round about, of which divers are in this Kingdome: or else from *Navarrin*, a towne in the mountaines, and a chiefe Fort against the Moores of old time. About the yeare 716. *Garcia Ximenes*, freeing it from the Moores, gained it the honour of a petty Kingdome; which his Ancestors so well increased, that within three hundred yeares after *Sancho* the great wrote himselfe King of *Spaine*, for *Leon* he held by force, *Arragon* had beene before united by marriage; and himselfe obtained *Castile* in right of his wife: out of other parts hee had driven the *Moores* also. But this union himselfe againe disjoynted, by a division of it amongst his owne sonnes. *Navarre* thus againe dissevered, came about the yeare 1483. unto *Katherine* Countesse of *Foix* and *Bigorre*, and Princesse of *Bearne*; who unhappily marrying with *Iohn* Earle of *Albret*, (a *French* Countie, as those three of his wives also) lost the Kingdome to the *Spaniard*. The quarrell was this; *Lewis* the twelfth of *France* falling at warres with the *Spaniards*, *Venetians*, and *Germans*, was seconded by this *Iohn* of *Albret*, and both for this opposed and excommunicated by the Pope *Iulius* the second; *Navarre* being by a Bull exposed to the Invader. Vpon this hint *Ferdinand* of *Spaine* puts in; demands passage thorow *Navarre* for his Army pretended against the *Moores*:

Moores: which upon deniall of his requeſt, he turnes upon *Navarre:* and before the ſlow ſuccours could come out of *France*, carries the whole Kingdome, not ſo much as a box on the eare being given in reſiſtance. Thus the *Spaniard* gat the poſſeſſion, though *Henry* of *Albret* (ſonne to *Katherine* and *Iohn* aforeſaid) retaines the title: from whom alſo the *French* King challengeth it; as being deſcended of this *Henry*, and his wife *Margaret* of *Valois*, Siſter to King *Francis* of *France:* from whom came *Ioan Albret*, Queen of *Navarre*, whoſe husband was *Anthony* Duke of *Burbon:* whoſe ſon was *Henry* the great, King of *Navarre* firſt, and of *France* afterward, whoſe ſonne is *Lewis* the thirteenth, the preſent King of *France*.

The chiefe Citie of *Navarre* is *Pampelona:* the ſtrength is made uſe of by the *Spaniard*, as a Bulwarke againſt *France*; there being but two paſſages thorow the *Pyrenean* mountaines out of this kingdome into *Bearne* in *France*, which he eaſily keepes fortified.

Belgia, Netherland.

NExt lyeth the ſeventeene Provinces, called the *Low-Countries*, the *Netherlands*, or *Germania Inferior*, concerning whom, the world can but wonder, how any Prince would neglect ſuch a benefit and inheritance of goodneſſe, greatneſſe, and wealth, which united with the love of the Inhabitants, would have exceeded *Spaine* for Revennes, multitude of people, Cities, ſhipping, and all things elſe tending to worldly felicitie. In obſerving the diſtraction whereof, a diſcreet Reader may truly learne the inconſtancie of worldly proſperitie, moſt commonly procured by Princes themſelves in following ill counſell and youthfull diſtemperature.

The Region containeth the Dukedomes of *Brabant*, *Limburk*, *Luzzenburg*, and *Gelderland:* the Earledoms of *Flanders*,

ders, Artoys, Hennalt, Holland, Zealand, Nemours, and *Zutphin:* the Marqueſate of the Empire; the Lordſhips of *Frieſland, Mechlin, Utrech, Over-iſel,* and *Groning, Eaſt Frieſland* belongeth to a Prince of its owne, who ever diſclaimed to bee united to the reſidue, belike to prevent all claime, that either Empe our or King might by cavill lay thereunto. They invented the Art of Printing, reſtored Muſicke, framed the Chario:, deviſed the laying of colours in Oyle, the working of colours in Glaſſe, the making of Tapeſtrie, Sayes, Scarges, Wooſteds, Friſadoes, and divers ſorts of Linnen-cloth, with innumerable other ſmall trifles: all ſorts of Clocks and Dials; and the Mariners Compaſſe.

Townes. In theſe Provinces are numbred two hundred and eight great Townes munited with wals, ramparts, ditches, warlike ports, draw-bridges, and in which are continuall guards, either of the Burgers, or Souldiers lying there in garriſon, according to the proximitie of the enemie, the importance of the place, or neceſſitie of the time.

The Villages (or Dorps) are ſix thouſand three hundred, beautified with Churches imbatteled, and of many ſeverall faſhions, beſides Granges, Caſtles, Religious houſes, Towers, and Gentlemens Manours. The aire ſeemeth moiſt, yet not prejudiciall to the health of the inhabitants: for in the Campaine of *Brabant*, men live an hundred yeares, and glory in the ſame, as if the promiſe were fulfilled in them, *to have their dayes long in the Land which the Lord God hath given them.*

The Emperour *Charles* had an intention to erect it into a Kingdome, but the difficultie conſiſted herein, that every of theſe Provinces being governed by peculiar cuſtomes, prerogatives, and privileges; would never have yeelded unto one Royall Law, common to all, eſpecially thoſe that had the largeſt privileges: for which cauſe he gave over his determination. It is ſeated commodiouſly for all the Provinces of *Europe*, and containeth in circuit about a thouſand *Italian* miles. The aire of later times is become much more wholeſome and temperate than in times paſt, whether it be by reaſon

ſon of the increaſe of Inhabitants, or induſtry of the people, who ſpare no charge to amend whatſoever is amiſſe.

Whoſoever ſhall conſider what commodity they raiſe by the fiſhing and traffike onely, may well ſay, that no Nation through the whole world may compare with them for riches. For *Guicciardine* writeth, that of their Herring-fiſhing, they make yearely 441000. pound ſterling; their fiſhing for Cod 150000. pound ſterling: and of their fiſhing for Salmon more than 200000. crownes, which is of ſterling money 60000. pound. The continuall riches that groweth in the Country, of other ſorts of fiſh taken all the yeare, is infinite. The value of the principall Merchandize yearely brought in, and carried out, is likewiſe infinite; the aforeſaid Author eſteemeth it to be about fourteene millions, one hundred and thirty crownes: whereof *England* only bringeth to the value of five millions, and two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns. It is a wonder to ſee, how that the Inhabitants of all theſe Provinces (eſpecially of *Brabant* and *Flanders*) underſtand and ſpeake two or three languages, and ſome foure or more, according to their entercourſe with ſtrangers, yea, in *Antwerp* you ſhall heare the women ſpeake *Dutch*, *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *Engliſh*. The Countrey is everywhere bettered by navigable Rivers, and thoſe not empty handed, but affording delicate water, and excellent fiſh. It is reaſonably beautified with woods, affording materials to build withall, and pleaſure for hunting. It is ſmally, or not at all mountainous, except about *Namurs*, *Lutzenburg*, and *Henalt*: fruitfull of corne, graſſe, and herbs fit for medicine: in ſome places of *Brabant* and *Gelder-land* full of heath, yet not ſo barren but cattell are well ſuſtained there, their fleſh having an exdinary ſweet taſte. Nature of the ſoile.

It is free from thoſe creatures which are either noyſome or dangerous to man, and wanteth none of thoſe bleſſings wherwith the God of all bleſſings indoweth a country, but a noble Prince, unity of Religion, and a quiet Government. Which if it might pleaſe the Almighty to regrant, it would queſtion-

queſtionleſſe ſhine as the Sunne amongſt the inferiour Planets, with the reſt of their adjacent neighbours, in treaſure, potencie, content, and ordinary felicitie.

Forces. For their Forces at Land, of them it may truly be reported, that they have not only made their parties good againſt the potent wealth and exact diſcipline of the *Spaniſh*, but have alſo at all times prevented the intimations, intruſions, and underminings of all their neighbours, and lately regained the freedome of their ancient libertie, even to point of admiration; *That where all other Nations grow poore by warre, they only thrive and become rich.*

For the ſtore of ſhipping they are alſo immatchable. In the yeare 1587. the King of *Denmarke* upon ſome pretences of diſpleaſure, arreſted one with another 600. in the *Sunde* at one time. In 88. upon ſhort warning they rigged to the narrow ſeas 100. good men of warre. And if ſuggeſtion deceive not, at this day, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Freeſland*, are ſaid to rejoyce in the poſſeſſion of 2500. good ſhips, from 150. to 700. tun apeece.

In regard whereof, other nations profeſſing the ſame religion, and accommodated with like advantages, may firſt obſerve, to what height of courage and confidence this people is growne, by good order and faithfull dealing; who in truth (being but two or three ſmall ſhires) have for forty yeares ſpace reſiſted and beaten the forces of a mighty King, who keepes *Millan*, *Naples*, and *Sicil*, under great bondage, in deſpight of all the *Italians*, for valour and policie notwithſtanding proclaiming themſelves to be the ſole Minions of the habitable world. But truth is; Theſe petty Princes have not now thoſe daring ſpirits which they had in former times, when the *Viſconti*, *Neapolitans*, *Fortibrachio*, *Francis Sforza*, with other Lords and Common-weales, were of power to invade the territories of the Church, and inforce the *Romans* themſelves to thruſt their Pope *Eugenius* out of *Rome*, to ſave their citie from ſacking.

The Country now repreſenteth unto all Chriſtendome nothing more livelier than a Schoole of Martiall Diſcipline, where-

whereunto all Nations resort to learne and see the practice of Armes, and the models of Fortifications.

Whereupon no few considerations are to be observed: first, into what follies and extremities Princes run, by inuring their people to the assiduitie of warfare: and secondly, what great advantages a small or weake Estate gaineth, by fortifying places and passages: for surely there is nothing that sooner undoeth a great Prince, than to be forced to besiege a Towne which is excellently defended; because herein he consumeth his time, and most commonly loseth his reputation. As did *Amurath* before *Belgrade*: *Soliman* before *Vienna*: *Charles* the fifth before *Mets*: *Francis* the first before *Pauie*: *Maximilian* before *Padoa*: The *Catholikes* before *Rochel*: The *Protestants* before *Saint Iohn de Angeli*: And *Albert* before *Oastend*. This manner of defence grew in use first in *Italie*, by occasion of the comming of *Charles* to the Conquest of *Naples*, whose manner of warfare, together with the terrour of his Ordnance (never before that time practised in *Italie*) gave the Inhabitants occasion to raise their wits to the utmost of resistance. Then followed the famous overthrow of the *Venetians* at *Caravaggio*; wherein an adverse battell, they almost lost all they held upon the firme Land. By which examples, Princes being instructed in the danger that came by fields so foughten, the most part afterward turned all their imaginations of defence from the field to fortresses. And the first that put this in practice to his highest commendation, was *Prosper Colloura*, who at two severall times most honourably defended the Duchie of *Millaine* against the *French*, only by shutting them from victuall, wearying them with all manner of distresses, and opposing them to the want of all things requisite for an Armie.

Whether the *Netherlands* borrowed this discreetnesse from the *Italians*, or more lately provided for their best safeties, being by long time beaten with the rod of experience, I will not here dispute; but sure I am, that by this manner of discipline, they only of all Christendome have made best

use

use thereof; As the people to whose glory, industry, patience, and fortitude, and that in a good cause, too much honour and commendation can never be attributed.

The States of the Low-Countries.

ALL the seventeene Provinces of *Netherland* were sometimes under one Lord: but privileges being broken, and warres arising, the King of *Spaine*, (the naturall Lord of all these *Low-Countries*) was in the treaty of peace, *Anno* 1606. inforced to renounce all pretence of his owne right to these confederate Provinces; Since when, we may well handle them by themselves, as an absolute and a free State of Government, as the *Spaniard* himselfe acknowledged them. The Provinces united are these; *Zeland*, *Holland*, *Vtrich*, *Over-Issell*, *Zutphen*, *Groningen*, three quarters of *Gelderland*, with some peeces of *Brabant* and *Flanders*: This union was made *Anno* 1581. The Fleets and Forces of which Confederation, are from the chiefe Province altogether called *Hollanders*.

The first of these is *Zeland*, whose name given it by the *Danes* of *Zeland* in *Scandia*, notifies its nature, *A land overflowed with the Sea*. Broken it is into seven Ilands: whereof those three to the East beyond the River *Scheld*, and next to *Holland* are *Schowen*, *Duvelant*, and *Tolen*: the other foure be *Walcheren*, *Zuyd-beverlant*, *Nort-beverlant*, and *Wolferdijck*.

1. *T'land van Schowen* is seven of their miles about, parted
1 with a narrow fret from *Nort-beverlant*. The chiefe towne is *Zierickzee*, the ancientest of all *Zeland*, built 849. The Port sometimes traded unto is now choaked with sand,
2 which they labour to cleare againe. 2. *Duveland* (so named of the Doves) foure miles about, hath some townes, but no
3 City. 3. *Tolen*, called so of the chiefe towne; as that was of the *Tolle*, there payed by the boats comming downe the *Scheld*.

Scheld. 4. The chiefe of the ſeven is *Walcheren*, ten miles compaſſe; ſo named of the *Walſh* or *Galles*. In the middle of it is *Middleburgh*, the prime Citie of *Zeland*, and a goodly Towne; other Cities it hath, as *Vere*, *Armuyden*, and *Fluſhing*, all fortified. 5. *Zuyd-beverlant*, & *Nort-beverlant*, ſo named of the *Bavarians*. The firſt is now ten miles about: The Cities are *Romerſwael*, much endangered by the Sea, and divided from the Iſland; and *Goeſſe* or *Tergooſe*, a pretty and a rich towne. 6. *Nort-beverlant*, quite drowned in the yeare 1532. but one towne. 7. *Wolferdijck*, that is, *Wolfers-banke*, hath now but two Villages upon it. *Zeland* hath ten Cities in all. The land is good, and excellently husbanded, the water brackiſh. Their gaines comes in by that which brought their loſſes, the Sea. Their wheat is very good; ſome ſtore they have of Cowes, but more of Sheepe; great ſtore of Salt-houſes they have, for the refining of Salt; of which they make great merchandize. The *Zelanders* were converted to the faith by our Country-man *Willebrord*, before *Charles* the greats time.

4 5 6 7

HOlland, ſo named, either *quaſi Holt-land*, that is, the Wood-land; which woods they ſay were deſtroyed by a mighty tempeſt, *Anno* 860. the roots and truncks of which being often here found; or *quaſi Hol-land*, Hollow and light land, as it is indeed. But moſt likely it is, that the *Danes* alſo comming from *Olandt* in their owne Countrie, gave name to this Province, as they did to *Zeland* alſo. The whole compaſſe is not above ſixtie of their miles; the breadth in moſt places is not above ſix houres travelling with a Wagon; and in ſome places ſcarce a mile over. The whole is divided into *South-Holland*, *Kinheymar*, *Weſt-Freeſland*, *Waterlandt*, and *Goytland*. The chiefe Towne is *Dort*, but the goodlieſt and richeſt is *Amſterdam*; one of the greateſt Townes of merchandize in the whole world; they have almoſt twenty other Cities ſtrong and elegant. At *Leyden* there being a College and Vniverſity. Their banks, mils, and other workes for keeping out the *Holland.*

Sea, be moſt admirable, vaſt, and expenſive. Three of the foure Elements are there and in *Zeland* ſtarke naught; their Water brackiſh, their Aire foggie, & their Fire ſmokiſh, made of their Turfes, for which they are ſaid to burne up their owne land before the day of Iudgement. The men are rather bigge than ſtrong; ſome accuſe them to love their penny better than they doe a ſtranger. Their women are the incomparable huſwives of the world; and (if you looke off their faces, upon their linnen and houſhold ſtuffe) are very neat and cleanly. At their Innes they have a kinde of open-heartedneſſe, and you ſhall be ſure to finde it in your reckoning. Their land is paſſing good for Cowes: they live much upon their butter, and they bragge mightily of their cheeſes. As for fleſh-meat, I thinke that a Hawke in *England* eats more in a moneth, than a rich Boore, nay, than a ſufficient corporall Burger does in ſix weekes. The induſtry of the people is wonderfull: ſo many ditches have they made thorow the Country, that there is not the moſt Iland Boore, but he can row from his owne doore to all the Cities of *Holland*, and *Zeland*. The *Dutchman* will drinke indeed, but yet he ſtill does his buſineſſe, he lookes ſtill to the maine chance; both in City and Country, by Sea and Land, they thrive like the Iewes every where; and wee have few ſuch drunkards in *England*: too many wee have apt enough to imitate their vice, but too too few that will follow them in their vertue.

Gelderland.

THis Duchie lies on the Eaſt of *Holland* and *Brabant*, touching alſo upon *Cleve* and *Iuliers*. It hath two and twenty Cities and good Townes, whereof *Nimwegen*, *Zutphen*, *Ruremond*, and *Arnheim* are the chiefe. Some peeces the *Spaniard* here hath: and the whole Country having heretofore beene infected with the warres, makes it a little to come behinde his followes. The land and people differ not much from thoſe of *Holland*, ſaving that towards *Cleveland* it is more mountainous: the Champian is very rich paſturage for grazing.

This

THis touches *Gelderland* upon the South, *West-Freesland* upon the North, *Westphalia* upon the East, and the *Zuyderſee* on the Weſt. The chiefe Citie is *Deventer*; others of the better ſort be *Campen*, *Zwol*, *Steinwick*, *Oetmarſe*, *Oldenzeel*, *Heſſelen*, *Vollenhoven*, &c. This Countrey was of old inhabited by the *Franks*, or *Frenchmen*; of which there were two tribes, the *Anſuarii*, which gave name to the Hanſe-townes, whereof *Deventer* was firſt: and the *Salii*, which tooke name from the River *Iſala*, upon which *Deventer* ſtands: and theſe gave name to the *Salique* Law; which you ſee did rather concerne theſe Countries than *France* it ſelfe; and was made by a barbarous people, in an age as barbarous: though this onely was pretended to barre women from the crowne of *France*; and to hinder our Kings, and occaſion thoſe warres and bloudſheds. *Over-Iſel.*

THe Biſhopricke of *Vtrecht* hath *Holland* on the North, and *Gelderland* on the Weſt. The circuit is but ſmall, yet hath it five pretty Cities, whereof *Vtrecht* it ſelfe is large, delicate, and rich; inhabited by moſt of the Gentry of *Holland*. Much haraſſed hath it beene, but now well recovered ſince it came into the union. *Vtrecht.*

GRoningen is a City of *West-Freeſland*, and the head of 145. villages about it: It hath had a chargeable neighbour of the *Spaniſh* garriſons in *Lingen*, & *Oldenzeel*; but by benefit of the Sea they obtaine both liberty and riches. Tis very full of Cattell and of Mechanicks; their breed of Oxen and Horſes are the largeſt of *Europe*. And ſo much for the deſcriptions of theſe united Provinces. *Groningen.*

The chiefe *Entrata* or revenue of this people is gained out of the Sea, which is not onely invaluable, but incredible: it being reported that there be more ſhips belonging to *Amſterdam* alone, than to all *England*; almoſt a thouſand ſhips going in and out every tide. The Cuſtome paid by the *The Riches.*

Merchant is very great; and their Exciſe upon victuals doth almoſt maintaine their warres; the Inholder paying as much for the Exciſe, as he did at firſt for the thing. Tis beleeved, that for very butter and cheeſe ſold out of *Holland* alone, they receive a million of Gold yearley. All the people be wonderfull induſtrious; ſcarce a poore mans childe of five or ſix yeares old, which cannot earne the beſt part of his owne living. Their gaines by fiſhing is inestimable; their Linnen, Salt, and other curious manufactures, are good merchandize all the world over: and finally, none of their leaſt commodities is the Warres, for whereas all other Nations are undone by them, they have the ſecret to thrive, and to grow exceeding rich by them.

Their forces. By Land.

Theſe are of two ſort, Land-forces, and Sea-forces. In their ſeverall garriſons they cannot have fewer than foure and twenty thouſand in continuall pay; and their times of leaguer or being in the field, coſts them a thouſand pound a day more than ordinary. This very yeare 1629. the Prince of *Orange* is ſaid to have had off and on, neere upon 60000. men at the ſiege of *S' Hertoghenboſch*, his trenches being 18. or 20. miles about, and yet hath hee left his Townes well garriſon'd. They have had an Army on foot continually for theſe 60. yeares together, and ſuch a one, as were it imployed in an invaſive, as it hath beene in a defenſive warre, I ſee no reaſon but it might long agoe have overrunne even *Spaine* it ſelfe. It hath ſtill beene the prime ſchoole of warre for all *Europe*.

By Sea.

Their Sea-forces increaſe every day, and yet were the three Provinces of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Freeſland* able many yeares agoe to make three thouſand luſty ſhips fit for warre and burthen. They have for theſe eight or ten yeares together had two or three ſeverall Fleets about the *Weſt Indies*; as namely, that whereof Monſieur *L' Ermite* was Admirall, which ſent home many a rich prize. That which tooke *Todos los Santos*, and thoſe two which this very yeare tooke thoſe two mighty prizes from the Plate Fleet, and the Braſile Fleet, within the ſame ſpace having oftentimes

times twentie or fortie ſhips imployed againſt the *Dunkirker*. All this while have they maintained their Trades and Factories in *New Holland*, the *Eaſt-Indies*, *Muſcovia*, &c. where oftentimes have they beene ſo ſtrong, that they have beaten our *Engliſh* from the Trades; once broke they our *Muſcovia* Company: what they did at *Amboyna* is too famous, and how much our *Eaſt-India* Company hath beene indammaged by them, let them tell you. This I repeat, not to refreſh the complaint, but to ſet forth their power; and plainly they are at leaſt, Quarter-maſters of the Narrow Seas.

Finally, the *Low-Countries* may ſay as *Tyrus* did in the Prophet, *I ſit like a Queene in the midſt of the Sea*; So that were the *Spaniard* but Maſter of their Ports, nothing could hinder him from his deſigned Monarchie. This is their honour; that for theſe many yeares they have inforced the King of *Spaine* to ſpend his *Indies* upon them; they have ſtill kept him at the ſtaves end; if hee hath beſieged one of their Townes, they have beſieged another of his; for *Oſtend* they tooke *Sluce*, *Groll* for *Breda*: and at this very inſtant all the *Spaniſh* power was not able to beat them from the ſiege of *S'Hertoghenboſch*. But at Sea, they are ever terrible to him, ever aforehand with him; and their Coines are made of his Gold and Silver. They have ſtill fiftie ſaile of ſhips upon the Coaſt of the *Weſt-Indies*, fiftie ſaile more going out, and fiftie more comming home: with their Fleets they have this Summer beaten his *Armada*, troubled *Carthagena*, and mightily inricht themſelves by his Prizes. Finally, they are the people, that next to the *Spaniard*, have the honour of it, both by Land and Water; the greateſt Monarchs are glad of the Friendſhip of this Nation, whom our finicall people ſtile no better, than a company of Boores and Mechanicks; and this alſo makes for their honour. For no where ſuch Boores to be found, no where ſuch Mechanicks: others derive honour from their Anceſtors, but they from their owne valour and vertue.

Their Government is adminiſtred according to the Rules of the Civill Lawes of the Empire; reſpect being had to the

privileges of each private people and Citie, who enjoy their ancient Customes and Lawes municipall. The stile of their principall Governours is, *The high and mightie Lords the States Generall.* These are chosen by the particular States of the severall Provinces of the Vnion, out of the Nobilitie and primest Magistrates both of the Provinces and Citizens. And these receiving power from the rest, doe in their meetings at the *Hage* plenarily conclude upon all the great Actions of State, either for Peace, Warre, Religion, Treasure, Leagues, Trafficks, and all publike things whatsoever. Amongst these the Legier Ambassador of *England* hath hitherto beene admitted in all consultations; and so hath the Prince of *Orange*, as being Generall of their Armies: These States doe every weeke choose a new President among themselves: the proposition is made, and the Votes are collected by an Advocate, who is a standing Officer for the purpose. From their *Placaerts*, Proclamations, or Edicts, there is no appeale, as carrying the same power of Law with them, that Proclamations and Acts of Parliament doe with us. To enter into the Governments of the Courts of Iustice, and of the severall Provinces and Corporations, would require a volume by it selfe.

Religion. Libertie of Conscience being one of the maine pretences of their falling off from the *Spaniard*, they might seeme to deale hardlier with others, than they did with themselves, should they not now give what themselves tooke, Libertie of Conscience. Publike profession therefore of all Religions (except the Popish and Arminian) even of Iudaisme, is there tolerated. Each Faction cals it selfe a Church; and every new-fangled giddie *Enthusiasticall* Button-maker, is able enough to make a Faction. The generall Religion of the States and best people, is *Calvinisme*; the profession whereof (though fatall to Monarchies) agrees well enough with the parity of Free States, where the people and citizens have so much voice and authoritie. Their Ministers are here better respected than in the *French* Churches. But our men at home (zealous ones of the *Geneva* discipline) are much deceived

ceived if they looke for such a face of a Church, such decent Service of God, such devotion, or strict observation of the Lords day, in any of the *Calviniſt* Churches, as in the Church of *England*: the Faires (and *Kirck-maſſes*, as they call them) are on Sundayes in the after-noone as much frequented there, as the Churches were in the fore-noone. The *States* (I ſuppoſe) cannot on the ſudden reduce perfection in the profeſſion of Religion: for that the Papiſts are both ſubtill and diligent to work upon the diſcontents of the people, and to turne them to a rebellion; unto which the Hiſtorians have noted theſe Nations to be naturally not indiſpoſed.

Denmarke.

ALthough it may ſeeme needleſſe to make mention of *Scandia*, which is that whole *Pen-inſula* of huge circuit, which is almoſt incompaſſed with the waves of the Sea, and abutteth Northward and Eaſtward upon the *German* and *Sarmatian* Coaſts, becauſe it is as it were ſituated in another World; and with whom there is no great entercourſe of trading; yet for the ſpacious largeneſſe thereof, containing two Kingdomes (*viz.*) *Norway* and *Sweveland*, with part of *Denmarke*, it may well deſerve a place amongſt other Kingdoms ſpoken of in theſe Relations. It is ſituate in that part of *Europe* which ſome terme *Scandia*, others *Scandavia* or *Balthia*; from whence iſſued the *Gothes* and *Vandales*, the very rooters up of the *Roman* Empire. It is ſubject both to the *Daniſh* and *Swevian* Crowne. The King of *Denmarke*, beſides the *Cimbrian Cherſoneſſe*, (where *Holſatia*, *Ditmarſen*, the Dukedome of *Sleſia*, *Flenſburge*, *Frieſland*, and *Iuthland*, Regions fruitfull and repleniſhed with ſtore of cattell, and wilde beaſts, doe lie) retaineth other ſpacious Iſlands, the beſt whereof ſtand in the entrance of the Baltike

ſea, being fifteene in number, all comprehended under the name of *Denmarke*. The chiefeſt of them is *Seland*, containing threeſcore miles in length, and little leſſe in breadth. It excelleth the reſt, both for number of Villages, the mildneſſe of the aire, and becauſe that *Copenhagen* ſtands in it, which hath beene and is the Seat of their Kings. He hath alſo *Gothland* under his juriſdiction, which is placed right over againſt *Gothia*. One of his Kinſmen hath the Government of *Oſilia* or *Oeſel*, a prettie Iſland in the greater Gulfe of *Livonia*; and ruleth thoſe fat and plenteous Counties, which lie on the Continent of *Livonia*. *Scania* likewiſe acknowledgeth his Soveraigntie, extending from *Nihuſe* to *Timale*, and hee holdeth the Kingdome of *Norway*, which from the Confines of *Scania* extendeth and ſtretcheth Northward a thouſand three hundred miles to the Caſtle of *Wardhouſe*, upon which, border the *Lappians*. The Iſles adjoyning thereto, *Sania*, *Shetland*, and *Faria*, (lying in the maine Sea) are in his tenure. In times paſt the people of *Norway* have beene of great puiſſance: they afflicted *England*, ſcourged *France*, and therein obtained a Province, called to this day *Normandie*. In *Italy* they conquered the Kingdome of *Sicil* and *Apulia*. And in the holy Warre *Boemond* Leader of the *Normans*, wonne the Principality of *Antioch*. In the North Ocean (beſides that of *Frieſland*, and the Sea-coaſt of *Iſland* and *Groineland*) he holdeth the Dominions of the foreſaid Iſlands of *Shetland* and *Faria*. The *Orcades* acknowledged the Kings of *Norway* for their Lords, although they are now ſubject to the *Britiſh* Crowne. Sithence then the Kingdome of *Norway* became Elective, and turmoiled with civill warres and inteſtine diſcords, it came to the poſſeſſion of the *Daniſh* Kings, who, that he may hold it ſurely, intreateth the Inhabitants cruelly, ſpoiling them of their ſubſtance, and to leave no hope of better fortune to this miſerable people, hee holdeth fortified all the Creekes, and Havens of the Sea-coaſt.

Riches. The wealth of the Kingdome conſiſteth in the abundance of cattell and ſea-fiſh, whereof there is ſuch ſtore, that of the herring-

herring-fishing only, a mighty masse of money is yearely gathered; so huge is the number of all sorts of fish, that at some times of the yeare a ship can make but slow way in the Sea: and the Marishes and Medowes adjoyning thereunto are very pleasant and savourie to the feeding of their cattell. *Scandia* is rich in corne and pasture, and well repleni shed with people. *Norwey* hath no riches of any moment, except Timber fit for the erecting of houses and building of ships, (from thence transported into *Holland* and *Flanders*) and cattell affording great store of cheese and milke. Some profit also ariseth of a kinde of fish dried in the wind, which the *Dutchmen* call *Stock-fish*. It is taken in Ianuarie, and laid in the wind and cold, untill it be indurate and hardned like Wood, and then carried into divers Regions as a kinde of sustenance. The greatest matter of gaine to the King of *Denmarke*, is the narrow Sea or Strait betweene *Cronburg* and *Elizenburg*, commonly called the *Sont*, or *Sound*, which is a passage so narrow, that no shipping can passe that way, without the licence and favour of the Watchmen, keeping Garrison on either side, there to receive the impost s and customes of the arriving Vessels. It is easily gathered, to what summe of money that impost amounteth, by the infinite number of shipping, of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *France*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Norwey*, and the *Baiticke Sea*, that saile in those Seas, and of necessitie must passe the jawes of that narrow Strait. The Inhabitants are as greedie of *Rhenish*, *French*, and *Spanish* Wines, the Spices of *Portugal*, and the Fruits of *Andaluzia*, as they againe are needie of the Wax, Honey, Skins and Corne, which are brought thither from *Prussia*, *Livonia*, *Moscovia*, and the bordering Nations.

The *Entrada* or Tribute due to the King, ariseth; First, out of the *Sowndt*, thorow which sometimes passe two hundred, sometimes three hundred vessels in a day, many of which are to pay a Rose-noble of gold, not only in value, but *in specie* for their passage, and some more, some lesse, which cannot but amount to an incredible summe. His gaines likewise upon Herrings and other fish (of which there

is

is infinite ſtore in all thoſe Northerne Seas) comes to a great matter. Adde to this his Cuſtomes upon Maſt and Cordage, Pitch, Tarre, &c. fetcht from him by the *Hamburgers*, *Lubeckers*, and others. Mighty droves of Beeves and other Cattell are out of his Dominions ſold into *Germany*, out of every one of which he hath his *Geldt* or tribute. In *Dietmarſen* (a Countrey for ſtore of cattell like our *Rumney-marſh*) is a place called the *Gap*, thorow which their infinite droves muſt paſſe; where the Kings toll is about twelve pence Engliſh for every hoofe of greater cattell, that is, foure ſhillings for a beaſt. *Iuttland* alſo is as beneficiall unto him in the ſame kinde, and much more.

It hath beene obſerved, that 50000 Oxen have beene driven out of theſe Provinces into *Germany*, for which toll hath beene paid at *Gutthorp*. He reapeth ſome profit likewiſe of *Ward-houſe*, whither the *Engliſh* now of late yeares have ſailed betweene *Norwey* and *Groenland*; ſome to *Colmogro*, others to *Stockholme*, not farre from Saint *Nicholas*, where they traffique with the *Ruſſies* for Wax, for Hony, and for Flax: thither reſort likewiſe *Hollanders*, *Scots*, and *French-men*. Almoſt in the middle of this Bay is alſo an Iland and Towne called *Warde-huis*, which *Fredericke* the ſecond cauſed to be very ſtrongly fortified, and here the Merchants doe alſo pay their Cuſtomes. In *Scandia* hath he ſome ſilver mines, about which were his late warres with the King of *Sweden*. Beſides all this, the Kings of *Denmarke* of this preſent Familie, have thought it no diſroyaltie to ſet up divers manufactures, for which they take up the children of ſuch parents as are unable to keepe them, whom the King brings up till they be able to worke, he in recompence taking the profits of their labours afterwards. Finally, twas ever held, that *Magnum vectigal parſimonia*, *Sparing was equall to a great tribute*: And truly the cold winters and durtie wayes of *Denmarke* expect no great Gallanterie; nor is his Court and Retinue very chargeable to him. By theſe and other wayes came the King of *Denmarke* (before theſe warres with *Tilly*) to have the reputation of the greateſt

monied

monied Prince of *Europe*.

Touching his Forces for matter of Invaſion by Land, it hath ſeldome beene ſeene that he enterprized any journey of reputation, but only that againſt *Dietmarſen*, upon whom King *Valdemar* laid the yoke of ſubjection: but they falling againe into rebellion, after many chances of warre beginning in the yeare 1500, were againe utterly vanquiſhed by *Frederick* the ſecond, in the yeare 1558. before which overthrowes, they once diſcomfited *Iohn* the ſonne of King *Chriſtierne* the firſt. Since theſe troubles of *Europe*, this preſent King hath beene inforced to take up Armes in defence of his dominions of *Holſteyn* and *Dietmarſen*, and in favour withall of the lower *Creitz*, or circle of *Saxony*, and thoſe parts with which he was confederate. But his Army of *Danes* and *Germans* being baſe and cowardly, Aids alſo from other places failing him, he was ſtill put to the worſt by the *Imperialiſts*, many of his Townes, much of his Land being taken from him; which upon compoſition were all reſtored in the yeare 1629, the Emperour having his hands full otherwhere, being glad enough of a peace with him. Forces at Land

What this King is able to performe at Sea, may be gathered by the Navie which upon occaſion he once rigged up at the intreatie of *Henry* the ſecond, King of *France*; when *Chriſtierne* the ſecond ſent a Navie of 100 Saile into *Scotland* againſt the *Engliſh*, and 10000 Land-ſouldiers with them. And certainly foraſmuch as it is apparent that hee is Lord of ſo ample a Sea-coaſt, and poſſeſſor of ſo many Havens in *Denmarke*, *Scandia*, *Norwey*, and the many Ilands both within and without the *Baltike Sea*; it is moſt likely that he is able to aſſemble a great Fleet. It concernes him alſo to have a ſufficient Sea-force ever in paly and readineſſe, for defence of the *Sownd*, and his many Ports; eſpecially upon the coaſt of *Norway*, where they willingly yeeld him no better obedience than hee is able to exact of them by ſtrong hand. As for ſurprize or ſudden invaſion, hee needs not much feare, ſeeing that *Denmarke* is nothing but broken Ilands, and thoſe ſufficiently fortified. At Sea.

Norwey.

Norwey.

NOrwey upon the East respecteth *Denmarke*, on the West it is bounded with the Ocean; on the South lieth *Swevia*, upon the North it is separated from *Lapland*, by high and steepe craggie Rocks. The Westerne and Easterne Tracts are rockie and hard to travell, yet is the Aire there temperate, insomuch that the Sea freezeth not, neither doe the Snowes long continue.

The Land it selfe is not very fruitfull to sufficiencie; for it is poore, and towards the North, what by reason of the rocks and cold, yeeldeth no sort of Corne. And therefore the Inhabitants (except the better sort) in stead of Bread, eat dried Fish, (*viz.*) Stock-fish; which to their great profit they transport thorow *Europe*, and exchange for Corne. The Countrey, especially the Southerne parts, transport rich Furres, Tallow, Butter, Tan'd-Lether, Traine-Oile, Pitch, Clapboord, all sorts of Timber-works, and Masts, Fire-wood, and Timber for building, and that with great ease and little charge.

Their owne buildings are base and poore, and the Inhabitants honest, lovers of strangers, liberall of gift, and most serviceable. Amongst them are neither Filchers, Theeves, nor Pyrats, though they dwell in a most convenient situation for Pyracie. *Birgis* was once their Metropolis, a Hanse-Towne, and for its safe harbour, one of the foure chiefe Mart-Townes in *Europe*, (*viz.*) *Birgis* in *Norwey*, *London* in *England*, *Nugardia* in *Moscovie*, and *Burgis* in *Flanders*: But it is now decayed.

The cold, Northerly, and small-frequented Ilands of *Schetland*, *Friesland*, *Island*, and *Groneland*, with the Navigations (such as they are) thereunto for Fish, I imagine every man can conceive, and therfore forbeare further to write of.

Swethland.

Swethland.

THe King of *Swethland* reigneth in part of *Scandie*, being a larger Province than *Denmarke*; for it is accounted to be a journey of five and forty dayes from the borders of *Scandia* to *Lapland*; and the Coast of the *Baltick Sea* is little lesse than foure hundred leagues long, a tract of Land esteemed larger than *France* and *Italie*. *Swethland* is incompassed with the *Baltick Ocean* on the South, the Mountaines on the West, the Icie Seas on the North, and *Russia* on the East. In *Livonia* he possesseth *Rivalia*, the *Narve*, *Danovia*, and other peeces of good estimation; the Ilands *Vlander*, *Alandes*, and other places (not worthy speaking of) situated in the *Sweveian* and *Finland* Sea. These Regions (besides *Livonia*) are divided into three severall Kingdomes, (*viz.*) *Gothland*, *Sweveland*, and *Vandalia*, which againe are subdivided into eleven Provinces, and twelve Counties, amongst which the *Lappians* are not accounted, because this people (though inhabiting a larger Countrey than *Sweveland*) cannot be termed to live under any certaine dominion, by reason of their miserie, povertie, and wandring from place to place, thorow woods and mountaines; but they who have any manner of certaine abode, or setled habitation, are under the *Swevish* dominion, and pay rich skins for their tribute. These are those *Lapps* which inhabit the Countries of *Biarmia* and *Scrifinia*; the other *Lapps* being under the *Russian*. Both of them are Idolaters. The *Swethlanders* are *Lutherans* in opinion, and *Dutch* in language, but with a different Dialect.

Of the three Kingdomes whereof wee spake, *Gotland* bordereth with *Scandia*, and is divided into East and West, as also into the Iland of *Gothia* lying in the *Baltike Sea*, five of their miles (which in some places of *Sweden* be seven or nine *Got'and.*

nine of our *Engliſh*) broad, and almoſt 18. long. Sometimes the *Danes*, but now the *Sweden* poſſeſſe it: The Metropolis is called *Wieſbich*. The firme land of *Gothland* is the hither part of that which is called *Scandia*, and next to *Denmarke*: In this is the mighty Lake *Weret*: in the middeſt whereof the King (delighting in the pleaſantneſſe of the place) keepeth his Court. Twenty foure Rivers doe runne into this Lake, yet it emptieth it ſelfe but by one mouth. The Inhabitants for the exceſſive noiſe of waters, call it in their tongue, *the Devils Head*. *Gothia* ſignifieth a good Country, which doth well agree thereto for the abundance of ſuſtenance; no Region being comparable unto it for fertility of Fleſh, Fiſh, and Corne.

Next followeth *Sweveland*, which is larger than *Norwey* and *Gotland* both together. In *Sweveland* is *Vpſalia*, their chiefe Citie, an Archbiſhopricke, and an Vniverſity, and *Stockholme* the Kings ſeat. *Stringa*, *Envecopia*, *Orogundia*, *Arboia*, *Aroſia*.

Finland. Then comes *Finland* ſituated betweene the *Balticke* and *Finland* Bay, where ſtand *Abo* the chiefe City, *Rangina* and *Augo*, both famous Mart-Townes: *Vames*, *Viburge*, and *Caſtelholme*, in the *Alandian* Iſlands. The Husbandmen doe not inhabit in Townes, but by reaſon of the plentie of Timber and Woods, the Vallies and other places are ſo well defended from the fury of the Northerne wind, that they live here in very good ſort, keeping in their houſes flocks of Cattell, and all ſorts of inſtruments to digge, to build, or to make any thing neceſſary for the life of man; and this is the reaſon that Townes here are neither ſo faire nor ſo frequent, as in *Germanie* or *England*. Over and above, the Cities and Villages there are accounted 1433. Pariſhes; in ſome of which, a thouſand people, or (as they terme it) a thouſand houſholders or fires doe inhabit, but there are few of theſe Pariſhes, in which at the leaſt there are not one hundred families. By this a man may judge the number of this people, eſpecially if he conſider the fruitfulneſſe of their generation; for the Women of

Finland

Finland by a ſecret operation of their Beere (as ſome think) become exceeding fruitfull. The men live here very long chiefly in the moſt Northerly parts; neither is it miraculous amongſt them, to ſee a man live above an hundred & thirty, or forty yeares. And in truth, this long living is the cauſe of their propagation: for where men live ſhorteſt lives, there the vertue of generation muſt needs ſooneſt decay: and therefore our Lord God in the beginning of the world, did permit mankinde to live ſeven hundred yeares and more, that the world might the ſooner be peopled, and the act of generation (which now for the ſhortneſſe of our lives is determined within forty yeares) was then more vigorous at one hundred and upward, than in this our age at twenty.

There is not onely *Finland*, but *Finmacke* alſo bordering upon the North Ocean and lying beyond the *Arctike* circle, whoſe barbarous inhabitants be Witches and Idolaters. They uſually ſell winds to Merchants to carry their ſhip to any Port, and to bring them backe againe, which ſome making juſt ſcruple of, have laid wind-bound in the harbour, whiles others have made proſperous voyages. *Bothnia* or *Bodia*, (which gives name to the *Sinus Bodicus*) is alſo under his dominion. To theſe may be added thoſe new conqueſts which this preſent King *Guſtavus Adolphus* (the gallanteſt and moſt warlike Prince of theſe times) hath already made, or ſhall make hereafter in *Pruſſia*, where he hath taken *Elbing*, and other Townes and Lands from the *Polander*, with whom he is ſtill in warres; and now ready to come with an Army alſo into *Germany*. He hath under him eleven Dukedomes, twelve Earledomes, and ſeven Biſhopricks: The whole is from *Stockholme* one way a thouſand *Italian* miles, and twenty dayes journey another.

Riches.

The riches of this kingdome conſiſteth in plenty of victuals, which this word *Gothia* (ſignifying an heavenly Region, as we ſaid before) and *Finland* (ſignifying a fine land or Country) doe well witneſſe. Their proviſion is Fleſh, freſh-Fiſh, ſalt-Fiſh, Fiſh dried in the ſmoke and Sunne, Come and Beere; whereof there is ſo great abundance, that

that it is a hard thing to ſee a begger amongſt them, and Travellers are there freely entertained: The Innes at this day in the Villages being the Parſons houſes, who expect ſome rare toy by way of gift, rather than of pay, for they doe it of courteſie. It is ſo rich in Mines of Lead, Copper, Silver, and ſome Gold, that no Province in *Europe* may compare therewith. And theſe Mines are to be found in every place, if the Country people (bound to carry wood to the Mines, and to ſervile works) did not hide and hinder the diſcoverie thereof as much as in them lieth. Moſt fine Silver is found in the Province of *Veſtros*, and more would be, were it not for the envie of the Inhabitants, who though they know not the uſe of trying of Mettals, doe notwithſtanding murmure that any ſtrangers ſhould imploy their labours therein. And this their frowardneſſe toward ſtrangers ariſeth not of hatred, but upon a jealouſie that they ſhould be over-reached, or otherwiſe abuſed: for by nature they are ſimple and well meaning, not given to ambition, nor infected with avarice.

The Kings revenue conſiſteth in foure things; the tenths of Eccleſiaſticall livings, Mine, Tributes, and Cuſtomes. The profits of the Church-livings amount to a great ſumme of money: for in this Kingdome there were ſeven Cathedrall Churches; threeſcore Monaſteries of Men and Women, endowed with moſt rich revenues. Firſt *Guſtan*, and after his ſonne *Eric*, ſeized the greateſt part thereof into their poſſeſſions. Of the Mines, ſome are wrought at the Kings charges, ſome at the charge of private perſons, allowing the tenth part to the King.

Copper. Of three Copper-works, I have knowne the tenth part (which is the Kings) to amount to the value of three thouſand Dolars yearely: hereby eſtimation may be made of the Silver and Lead. But his taxes doe farre ſurpaſſe all his other In-comes: for he levieth the tenth of Rie, Wheat, Barley, Fiſh, Oxen, Skinnes, and ſuch like. Of the tenth of Oxen, at ſome times he hath gathered eighteene thouſand, and with them maintaineth his Court, his Officers, his Navie, and

and his Armies: for in the time of warre either with the *Dane* or *Moſcovite*, he alloweth his Souldiers victuals, and by this meanes provideth it at very eaſie rates, as well offending as defending. The mariage of the Kings daughters is at the diſpoſition of the people, and they allow them beſides Silver, Plate, and other gifts, one hundred thouſand Dolars for a Dowrie. Of the Vplandiſh people and others which pay not the impoſition of victuals, the King is accuſtomed to exact of every poll according to his ability, five Dolars or more yearely. The cuſtomes are paid in the Haven-Townes; the chiefe whereof are *Calmar*, *Loahus*, and *Stockholme*, (whereat ſometimes three hundred ſhips of burthen are to bee ſeene) *Abo*, *Auge*, *Revalia*, *Parnovia*, and *Narve*. It is thought that the King doth lay up in his Treaſury, ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand Dolars, over and above the expences upon the fortreſſes of *Revalia* and *Kiburgh*; for ſo did he in the yeare 1578. out of two or three Mines onely, and yet this was but the Kings tenth: whereas if need be, he may take all the ſilver, and pay the maſters of the worke with victuals, Copper, or other commodity.

There are maintained in *Sweveland* and *Gothland*, about thirty two Companies, every troope conſiſting of five or ſix hundred Souldiers, all Harquebuſiers, alwayes ready to march whither occaſion calleth. Becauſe of the thickneſſe of the Woods, the Horſemen ſerve with Petronels, and ſeldome uſe Pikes or Launces. Theſe are moſt excellent Footmen; for every ſouldier is able to make and furniſh himſelfe with any furniture whatſoever, even the making of his owne Flaske and Touch-box; as likewiſe the common people in *Pervina*, and the neighbouring Provinces, being contented with a little, have alwayes accuſtomed to make all implements for their houſes and bodies; to build, to weave, to play the Tailors, to ſow, to reape, and to forge tooles fit for their buſineſſe. And as for theſe Trades, which are neither common nor neceſſary, as to paint, to worke in ſilver, and ſuch like, there are notwithſtanding found among them very good worke-men, wanting rather matter

Forces at land.

than Art to worke upon. The *Swevian* Horſe-men are divided into thirteene Companies: *Sweveland* and *Gothland* maintaine eleven, and *Finland* two; and upon neceſſitie they can raiſe a greater force: for the Dukedome of *Urmeland* (as report goeth) is able to furniſh better than ten thouſand men with Horſe. In *Marchland* there is ſuch plentifull breed of Horſe, that there they are ſold at a very low rate: both theſe Provinces are in *Gothland*. Their Horſe is not ſo bigge bodied as the *Frieſlander*, but exceeding hardie, active, able to endure travell, and fed with a little. I will not omit to ſpeake of two Noble uſages of the King of *Swethland* towards his Souldiers: one is, that if a Souldier be taken priſoner, he is ranſomed at the Kings charges; the other, that if his Horſe be ſlaine, the King beſtoweth another upon him. To his Captaines, and thoſe which ſerve on Horſe-back, in part of payment of their wages, hee giveth yearely a Garment, which the *Germans* terme *Idolis*, and may be taken for a Caſſocke.

The reſt of the Captaines meanes, if he ſerves within the Kingdome againſt the *Dane* or *Moſcovite*, is but foure Dollars a moneth, and exemption for himſelfe and family from other duties and payments to the King. The common ſouldier is not thus exempted, unleſſe in time of warre or danger: his other pay is one Dollar and a quarter for a moneth: ſmall pay, if you conſider not the cheapneſſe of victuals. In their marches in looſe troopes, they are billetted in the next houſes at the countries charges: But when the Armie is in the field altogether, the King findes them victuals, without deducting it out of their meanes. It was not long ſince that the Horſeman in time of peace received more than twenty Dollars ſtanding for a yeare, with a Horſemans coat and his exemptions: but this is increaſed in the warres. The Officers of Horſe-troopes receive monethly pay for themſelves, their ſervitors, horſe-boyes, &c. The Nobilitie and Courtiers alſo (Privie Councellors excepted) which may be about three hundred in all, are bound to wait on the King on horſeback; every of which for himſelfe and followers, receiving each

fiv

five Dollars a moneth. Every Captaine must be a Gentleman borne.

As touching their Sea-affaires, by reason of their huge Sea-coast, and infinite Havens, the Kingdome swarmeth with Mariners and shipping, which the King may arrest in his Dominions, as other Princes are accustomed to doe: hee maintaineth commonly fiftie Ships of warre, whereof every one carrieth fortie peeces of Ordnance, more or lesse. King *Gustavus* first brought in the use of Gallies. In the Warre which King *Iohn* waged with the *Danes* (before the Peace treated on at *Stetin* was agreed) he put to Sea seventie great ships, besides other of smaller burthen, in which were 12000. fighting men. In the Summer time they warre at Sea; in the Winter at Land: for then the Rivers are frozen, as likewise the Sea neere the shore for a great space. Seeing I have spoken of Guns, I will adde thus much, that the King is thought to have about eight thousand great Peeces, the most part of Brasse, and that hee could cast many more if hee had more store of Tin. In the Castle of *Stockholme* only are numbred foure hundred. Certaine it is that the King can on the sudden rigge up a sufficient Fleet both for defence and offence; and that cheaper than any Prince of Christendome. For first he hath store of Mariners, and they easily paid; as desiring little more than cloaths and victuals. Their cloathes are simple enough; and their victuals the Countrie is bound to send them; a proportion namely of Beefe, Bacon, Salt-fish, Butter, Barly and Peason. As for materials for building a ship, he either hath them of his owne, (timber, pitch, iron and cordage,) or else they are brought him but from the next doore. Brasse peeces (such plentie of metall he hath) that they cost him little or nothing. So that well might King *Iohn* the third of *Swethland* affirme, that he would set out and maintaine as good a Fleet for 100000. Dollars, as the King of *Spaine* could for a million of pounds. The chiefe of the Kings Navie in time of peace, rides (like our Kings at *Chatham*) commonly in two places; either at *Stockholme*, where they may lye safe, even afloat without mooring, or so much as anchoring, Sea-forces.

ring, the Harbour being thirty *English* miles within Land, and the high cliffes keeping off all winds: The other Stations are in *Finland*, ſtill in a readineſſe againſt the *Muſcovite*, and to watch that nor Armes nor munition be brought them out of *Germanie*.

Fortifications. The chiefe Fort of this Countrey is the *Finniſh* Sea, which breaking in about *Dantzik*, runs up with a long gut or fret thorow the midſt of his Countrey, from South to North, a great deale beyond the Arctick Circle, into *Finmarch* and *Lapland*: another Arme of it, neere the firſt entrance parting *Lieſtland* and *Finland* (of which it is called the *Finniſh* Bay) flowing even to the Frontiers of *Ruſſeland*: Both of them are wonderfull ſtrengths, eaſes, and riches to his Countrey: Fortified Townes and Caſtles he hath in all his Frontiers upon the *Dane* and *Muſcovite*, ſome twentie in all.

Borders. Vpon the Weſt-ſide of *Swethland* is *Denmarke*; on the Eaſt *Moſcovie*, with both which he hath had long war. The *Swevians* have ſuffered much loſſe by the *Denmarkes*: for King *Chriſtian* the ſecond beſieged *Stockholme*, and forced it, committing all kinde of cruelty againſt the Inhabitants, filling the Citie with bloud and dead carkaſes. The title which the *Dane* pretendeth to the Crowne of *Swethland*, is the cauſe of their enmities. The Havens, the ſituation of the Countrey, and eſpecially *Gothland* (which is a member of *Gothia*, and therefore the *Swevian* claimeth it as his right) affordeth the *Dane* this facility of invading at his pleaſure. After *Guſtavus* recovered the Kingdom, he and his ſon *Henry* and *John* reigned ſucceſſively: and although bloud enough hath beene ſhed in the warres betweene *Guſtavus* and the *Danes*, yet the Kingdome hath retained her honour: and the Citie of *Lubeck* (the mightieſt State in that Sea) ſometimes by confederating with the one, ſometime with the other, doth in ſo even a ballance poiſe the differences of theſe two Nations, as it ſuffereth not the one to practiſe againſt the other, upon the perill that may enſue to the offender. In warring with the *Moſcovite*, the *Swevian* hath moſt advantage, becauſe *Finland* (which bordereth upon *Ruſſia*) by reaſon

ſon of the great Mariſhes, whereof it is full, yeeldeth hard and perillous paſſage to the Enemie, oftentimes ſwallowing up whole Armies in thoſe congealed Waters: there be Keepers of the Caſtles of *Viburge*, *Narve*, *Ravelia*, and other piles and peeces upon the borders of the great Duke of *Moſcovia*, excellent well fortified, as bridles to ſtop his violent courſes. In which, hee doth very wiſely; for thoſe peeces which lie in the Territories of our Enemies, are to be regarded moſt carefully, becauſe they bring forth two notable effects: firſt, they defend what is ours, and offend what is the Enemies. The further they are diſtant from our borders, the better they ſtand us in ſtead: for while the Enemie is occupied in beſieging thereof, our owne State ſtandeth in quiet, and time affordeth meanes for reſcue, or delivery thereof at leaſure, and that without ſpoile to our owne people, or loſſe of our proper revenues. They grieve the Enemie with ſo much the more dammage, by how much the neerer they are ſituated unto him. Of this effect was *Calais* in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, and the places which the *Spaniards* and *Portugals* hold in *Africke*. But the Fortreſſes built in our owne borders, ſerve to no other end, than to defend what is already ours, and that to our great diſadvantage: for as often as they are invaded, all things are done at a ſudden, and it cannot be avoided, but ſomewhat will fall to the ſpoile of the Enemie. To end with the King of *Swethland*, he is ſo much better able than the *Moſcovite* to defend his Territories, by how much Sea-forces joyned to Land-forces are able to prevaile againſt a State furniſhed with Land-forces only.

Spaine.

EVROPE is in the Mappe shaped something like a Queene; and there is *Spaine* made the head of it; and perchance there may prove some fatalitie in it. The shape of *Spaine* doth indeed resemble a Dragon, which is a creature of prey, and for devouring. *Spaine* indeed hath in hope and designe, already devoured all *Europe*, and would be head of the Monarchie. But stay! the proverbe is, That *Serpens nisi serpentem comederit, non fit Draco*: Vnlesse one Serpent eat another, hee never proves a Dragon: there be many Countries that *Spaine* must first eat up, before it proves the *European* Dragon and Monarch; *England*, *France*, *Netherland*, &c. all must be eaten first. But soberly to consider of the matter, *Spaine* hath already done very well towards it: for sithence the remembrance of later times, a larger Empire hath not befallen any Christian Potentate, than that which the *Spanish* enjoyeth at this day, especially since the union of the Kingdome of *Portugal* (with the dependancies thereof) unto their Crown. For besides the large and faire Provinces in *Europe*, the goodly Regions of *Asia*, and divers rich Territories in *Africke*, he enjoyeth in peace and securitie, without any corrivall or competitor, the *New World*, in circuit more spacious than either *Europe* or *Africke*.

His dominions in *Europe*.

In *Europe* hee is sole Soveraigne of *Spaine*, holding it whole and entire; A thing worthy observation, for that by the space of eight hundred yeares before our age, it never obeyed any one Prince, but was dismembred and peece-meale clamed by divers Seigniors: Hee hath very much shaken *Belgia*, and Lordeth it over the Kingdome of *Naples*, containing in circuit a thousand and foure hundred miles: and retaineth *Insubria*, otherwise called the Duchie of *Millaine*, comprehending three hundred miles in circuit. Of the Islands, he holdeth *Majorique*, *Minorique*, and *Eviſa*: the

the first of three hundred miles circuit; the second of an hundred and fifty; the third of eight. *Sicil* is reported to containe seven hundred: *Sardinia* five hundred threescore and two.

In *Africa* he holdeth the great Haven called *Masalquiuir*, the most secure and safe harbour in the whole *Mediterranean* Sea. Hee hath also *Oran*, *Melilla*, and the rocke commonly called the *Penion* of *Velez*: And without the *Streights*, he possesseth the *Canary* Islands, twelve in number; and the least of seven, containing ninety miles. In the right of the House of *Portugal*, hee possesseth the famous places of *Septa* and *Tangier*: and of late he hath conquered *Alarach*: the which may rightly bee surnamed the *Keyes* of the *Streights*, yea, of the *Mediterran* Sea, and *Atlantique* Ocean. In *Africa*. Within the *Streights*.

Without the *Straights*, he holdeth the Citie of *Mazaga*, and by the same Title in the vast Ocean, he claimeth the *Terceraz*, *Port-Santo*, and *Madera*, famous for the Wines which grow therein, and the Lady-like Iland of all the *Atlantique*, containing by estimation 160. miles in compasse: Then the Ilands of *Cape Verd*, seven in number. Without the *Streights*.

Vnder the *Æquinoctiall*, he holdeth the Iland of *S. Thomas*, somewhat more spacious than *Madera*, but most plentifull in Sugar, and from thence rangeth over that huge tract of Land, which tendeth from *Cape Aguer*, to *Cape Guardafu*. Lastly, he pretendeth to be Lord of all the Traffique, Merchandize, Negotiation, and Navigation of the whole Ocean, and of all the Ilands, which Nature hath scattered in these Seas, especially betweene the *Cape* of *Good-hope*, and the promontory of *Guardafu*. Vnder the *Æquinoctiall*.

In *Asia*, in the aforesaid right of the Crowne of *Portugal*, he ruleth the better part of Westerne Coasts (*viz.*) *Ormus*, *Diu*, *Goa* and *Malaca*; *Ormus* for his commodious situation is become so rich, that these verses are growne to a common proverbe among the *Arabians*: In *Asia*.

As in a Ring, the well set stone appeareth to the eye,
Such (to the worlds round circle) doth rich Ormus-Iland lie.

A great portion of *Arabia Felix* belongeth to the Principalitie of *Ormus*, as likewise *Balſara*, the Iland-Queene within that Gulfe, for plentie, circuit, varietie of fruits, and the rich fiſhing of Pearle. But this goodly Iland and Caſtle of *Ormus* is ſince taken from him by the *Perſians*, with the aid of our Eaſt-Indian Fleet: and there are continuall fights with the Portugall Frigats, maintained by the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*. So that on thoſe coaſts he rather exerciſeth Pyracie, than Dominion. In this Sea the *Portugals* poſſeſſe *Damian*, *Bazain*, *Tavaan*, and *Goa*; which Citie (to omit *Chial*, *Canora*, *Cochin* and *Colan*) is of ſo great eſteeme, that it is thought to yeeld the King as great a revenue as many Provinces in *Europe* doe their Lords: and finally, the *Portugals* hold all that Sea-coaſt, which lieth betweene the Citie *Damian* and *Malepura*; wherein no Prince (except the King of *Calecute*) challengeth one foot of Land. The Iland of *Zeilan*, wherein they poſſeſſe a ſtrong Haven and a Caſtle, commonly called *Columbo*, may rightly be called the delight of Nature: They enjoy alſo *Malaca*, which in thoſe places is the bound and limit of their Empire, as alſo the ſtaple of the Traffique, and the Navigation of the Eaſt Ocean, and of all thoſe Ilands, being ſo many and ſo ſpacious, that in circuit of Land they may well be compared to all *Europe*.

To continue their Trade with the *Chinois*, and the Ilanders of *Tidore*, and for their entercourſe to the *Moluccas* and *Banda*, they have erected certaine ſtrong places in all of them, but indeed reſembling rather Factories than Caſtles.

Certainly it would amaze a man to thinke how many puiſſant Kings and fierce Nations are bridled and yoked by the Armes of twelve thouſand *Portugues*; (for in ſo huge a tract of Land and Sea, there neither are, nor ever were, a greater number inhabiting) and thoſe few, not only to have diſcovered and conquered the *Atlanticke*, *Indian*, and the Eaſt-Seas, but alſo ever ſince, till now of late, to have kept and defended the Soveraigntie thereof againſt all Invaders. How ever their fame and fortunes at this day ſeeme to be

eclipſed

eclipsed by the trading of the Dutch & English Merchants; they will not sticke to relate unto you, how by the vertue of their Armes, they tooke the kingdome of *Ormus* from the Vassall and Confederate of the King of *Persia*: as also how they drowned and defeated at *Diu*, the Navie of the *Sultan* of *Ægypt*, fully furnished with *Mammeluks*, a kinde of Souldierie no lesse famous for their valour and discipline, than the *Pretorian Turkish Ianizars*: As also that they made good the said place against the leagues of the *Turkes* and *Guzarits*.

In the Red-sea they have often foiled the Turkish *Armada*. In the yeare 1552. they defeated his whole Fleet at *Ormus*. In *Taproban* they affronted the Kings of *Decan*, *Cambaia*, *Calecute*, and *Achem*; Princes favoured, & throughly assisted with the forces of the said Emperour: Yea, such have beene their expeditions into *Cambaia*, *India*, that Ocean, and along the coasts of *Asia*, that in desert of glory and admiration, they are (by their owne Writers) censured to be nothing inferiour to the victorious *Alexander*; yea, so much the rather to be preferred, because neither in circuit, nor numbers of people, they were ever comparable to the *Macedonian*: for with nineteene ships they overthrew the *Ægyptian* Navie, farre more powerfull in number and furniture: with two thousand Souldiers they forced *Goa*, and recovered it (being lost) with fifteene hundred. With eight hundred they won *Malaca*; and not with many more, *Ormus*.

But little need the *Portugals* bragge of their victories atchieved upon effeminate, barbarous, and naked men, such as in the West-Indies would by troopes run away from one of the *Spaniards* horses or dogs: I wonder that twelve thousand *Portugals* have done no more against so little resistance. But let the *Portugals* bragge of their victories against the *English* and *Hollanders*. And though there be but twelve thousand *Portugals* inhabiting there, yet are they continually supplied from home, and they make the poore *Blacks* and Natives of those *Indies*, to serve them in their Gallies, Warres, and drudgerie. Lastly, the King of *Spaine* can command

mand his subjects at home in *Portugal*, yet these abroad yeeld him but little obedience; so that here the *Spaniard* hath no dominion.

In the New-World. Another member of the Spanish Dominions lieth in the *New-World*; wherein because he hath no corrivall able to make head against him, he challengeth as his owne, whatsoever either by discoverie, or conquest, he attaineth unto. This *New-Worlds* dominion is divided into Continent and Islands.

Islands. In the North-sea are so many Islands, (most of them of forty miles in compasse) that their number can hardly be ascertained or knowne: and some of them are rich and spacious, sufficient to erect a great and stately Kingdome. Of these, *Boriquen* is three hundred miles long, and threescore broad: *Iamaica* is little lesse: *Cuba* is three hundred long, and twenty broad: *Hispaniola* containeth a thousand and six hundred miles in compasse. On the Continent he is absolute Lord (say they) of all that Sea-coast which watereth *Florida*, *Nova-Hispania*, *Iucatan*, and all that spacious Southerly *Peninsula*, to the Cape of *California*, and *Quivira*. For even so farre have the Discoveries and Navigations of this Nation pierced. The coast of *Nova-Hispania* counting his beginning at the Towne of *Santa Helena*, and cutting by *Panama* to *Quivira*, containeth about five thousand and two hundred miles in length, to which if you please to adde the upland Regions, coasting towards the North, you shall finde no lesse than nine thousand miles.

Peru, beginning at *Panama*, containeth by the Maritime coast twelve thousand and six hundred miles: of which three thousand lying betweene the River *Maragnon* and the River of *Plate*, and including *Brasil*, doe acknowledge the Soveraigntie of *Portugal*.

Continent. In the Continent are many Kingdomes and Seigniories, amongst which, those of *Mexico* and *Peru* (once most powerfull and wealthy Dominions) were counted chiefe, and as it were two imperiall Monarchies. These Kings lived a long while in great Majestie, inhabited sumptuous Palaces, and maintained

maintained a mighty troope of their vassals for the guard of their persons.

On one quarter they inlarged their bounds, and transferred their Religion and Language to the skirts of *Tegnan Pecan*, two hundred leagues remote from *Mexico*: and on another quarter as farre as *Guatimall*, 300. leagues distant. In these places they made the North and South Seas their bounds; but *Mecoican*, *Tapcalan*, and *Terpeacan*, they could never bring under their yoke. Their differences with the citie of *Tascala*, encouraged the *Spaniards* to invade their dominions: and being entered, made their victorie easie, and the end fortunate: this happened in the yeare 1518. This people (divided into seven Tribes) came into these Regions, from that part of the North, where of late yeares the *Spaniard* discovered a most wealthy and populous Province, which at this day they call *New-Mexico*.

Besides Merchandize, incredible treasures of Gold and Silver are transported out of *Nova-Hispania* and *Peru*. Of those treasures, commonly *Peru* yeeldeth two parts, and *Nova-Hispania* the third, which is more rich in Merchandize than *Mexico*. Amongst the rest, it yeeldeth *Cochinella*, a commoditie of inestimable value, and infinite store of Hides. The Islands also afford plentie of Hides, Cotton, Wooll, Sugar, *Cana-fistula*, Hard wax, and Pearles. The riches of these places.

Amongst these riches and treasures of *Peru*, two things are wonderfull: One, that in the Silver-Mines, which were discovered in *Potosie*, in the yeare 1545, there is, and hath beene found so huge a masse of Bullion, that the fifth part (which is the Kings) in the space of forty yeares amounted to one hundred and eleven millions of *Pezoes*: neither yet did two third parts pay their customarie due to his Majestie. The other is the Quicksilver-Mines in *Guancavalca*, found in the yeare 1567. out of which the King hath received forty thousand *Pezoes*, all charges defrayed. *Peru.*

And in truth, were it not for the tribute of these Westerne Mines, neither could the pride of *Spaine* be divulged, nor the Cities of *Sivil* or *Lisbone*, *cum multis aliis*, be enriched, nor

nor the *Escurial* blazoned, no nor life haply maintained, nor the Ports frequented, nor the native commodities to satisfaction of forren importation countervailed, nor the Garrisons paid, nor such frequent troopes of strange souldiers yearely entertained.

Brasile. But it is a strange thing to note, that whereas Nature hath interlaced so riotously her golden and silver Veines in the bosome and wombe of *Peru*, it hath bestowed no such blessing upon her neerest daughter *Brasile*; but in stead thereof hath inriched it with a most temperate and wholsome aire, with many pleasant Springs and large Rivers, not without sufficiencie of wood: she hath divided the land into fruitfull and delightsome hils, cloathed it with the beautie of continuall greennesse, abounding above beleefe with Sugar-canes, which the *Portugals* have there planted, and now transport in infinite quantitie into forren Regions.

Philipina. The *Philipina* may well be termed the appendances to this *New-World*; for although in respect of their site and proximitie, they may be thought a part of *Asia*; yet the discoverers thereof travelled thorow *New-Spaine*, before they could discover them: of which Islands, more than forty are subject to this Soveraigntie, and by them have beene reduced unto civill kinde of life and policie.

His greatnesse in Europe. Having thus generally run over the spacious (or rather boundlesse) members of this Empire, I will now relate unto you the true qualitie and State of this great Prince of Christendome, (the matter being so much the more hard, by how much the more copious in it selfe.) And not to wearie your patience with long discourse, I will restraine my selfe to things of most importance, with all possible varietie. In performance whereof, forbearing to tell, how out of this House of *Austria*, in the space of three hundred yeares, ten Emperors have already successively succeeded one another, from Father to Sonne; As also by what casualties so many Kingdomes and Provinces have beene united unto this Crowne; And in particular, how the Houses of *Austria* and *Burgundie* have in such sort beene conjoyned, that had his enterprises

enterprises against *England* and *France* fallen out conformable to expectation, without question he had beene much inabled to have marcht on with large paces, to the Monarchie of the whole world.

This his Empire is divided into foure parts; the Kingdome of *Spaine*, the Estates of *Italie*, the Dominions of the *Indies*, and the Countries of *Flanders*. *Spaine* is by the *Spaniards* (for the greater grace) divided into ten Kingdomes, and hath beene alway acknowledged for so wealthie, puissant, and so spacious a Kingdome, that the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* continued so long and so cruell warres for the possession and royaltie thereof. The *Goths* and *Vandals*, when (with the streame of their over-flowing multitudes) they swarmed over the greatest part of the *Roman* Empire, here sate them downe, and made it the place of their habitation. *Trebellius Pollio* termed it and *France*, The joynts and sinewes of the *Roman* Empire. *Constantine*, when he divided the Empire, preferred it before *Italie*: and in the division, when *England*, *France*, *Spaine*, and *Italie* fell to his lot, hee little esteeming the last, and voluntarily leaving it to his competitor, contented himselfe with the three formost. Division of his dominions. *Spaine.*

The Estates of *Italie* (the sinewes and nurseries of his warres) comprehend the Kingdomes of *Naples*, *Sicilie*, *Sardinia*, the Dukedome of *Millaine*, and the three Forts situate upon the Sea-coast of *Tuscain*, *Orbatello*, *Vrcole*, and *Telemon*. The Estates of *Italy*.

The dominion of *India* is divided into the East and West. In the East he hath but some Islands farre distant from the firme Land, but in the West he hath divers Provinces adjoyning upon the Sea-coast, yet not penetrating farre within the Land. And although he doth daily conquer some of the neighbouring places, yet they be of no great value nor consequence. The dominion of *India*.

From the *Low-Countries* he reapeth small profit; for hee hath there lost his ancient Revenues with his reputation, being faine to acknowledge the States of *Holland*, *Zeland*, &c. for free, before they would yeeld to capitulate with him. The *Low-Countries*.

To

To intreat first of *Spaine*, (because it is the centre of this spacious Empire) it is conserved by two meanes; that is to say, by Iustice and Religion, keeping this people in obedience more with severity and chastisement, than with clemency and mercy. The Province it selfe is barren, if we consider each part thereof by it selfe, but being reduced into one grosse, it aboundeth with all things necessary, especially towards the Sea coast: being also stored with divers Minerals. True it is, that it hath few men, and is not populous, both by reason that a great number are drawne from thence to serve in the warres, to re-enforce the garrisons, and to defend the forts abroad, as well amongst the *Indies*, as in many other places of his dominions: as also, for that many of them doe exercise Merchandize and Navigation; Which although it bring some dammage to the State, because so many leave the Country, yet proveth it very beneficiall and commodious by their enricht returne unto their owne houses, and ridding by that meanes the Country of the more slothfull sort of home-livers. Two parts are incompast with the *Ocean* and *Mediterran* Seas, the third is secured from the power of the *French* Armes, not onely by reason of the craggy situation of the *Pirenean*, of *Scialon*, *Pargnan*, and *Pampelone*, where it is mountainous and hard to passe, and by the forts: but also through the difficulty that they should there finde in journeying, and the incommodity and want of victuals, entring into a Country so sterill and unfruitfull. The other part (confining (as aforesaid) upon the *Mediterran* Sea) remaineth onely exposed unto the *Turkish* Navie; from which it is well secured by having few Ports, and those diligently kept and guarded with powerfull forces. But amongst all the offensive Potentates, the Kingdome of *England* is able to infest it more than any other: for in the late warres, it did beyond measure trouble the Kingdome of *Portugal*, in pitying the quarrell of *Don Antonio* (a man much favoured of that Crowne) in such sort, that the City of *Lisbon*, once famous and well inhabited, became poore, and well-nigh dispeopled. For whereas

in

in times past one might number a thousand vessels within her Ports, 500 of them were consumed & taken by the enemie, which did not much displease his Majestie: for (some said) he was well content to see the *Portugals* so impoverished and abased, because they live male-contentedly under his obedience and government. Whereupon at all times his Majesty is constrained to maintaine a strong *Armada* in these Seas, to safeguard the Navigation to the *Indies*, and to secure the Merchants comming from thence into these Countries, over and besides twenty foure Gallies, which he keepeth to guard the coast, and to defend it from the *Turkish* fleet, and the incursions of Pyrats; the charges whereof, with the maintenance of the fortifications and defences, amount yearely to halfe a million of Gold. The number of souldiers in all the presidiarie places of *Spaine*, amount to eight thousand, not reckoning any man of sort, nor Mariners; for in stead of these, the *Moores* and *Turkish* slaves doe serve in the Gallies. This Kingdome doth never send forth any Horsemen, because there be but few, and yet not sufficient for their owne affaires.

In the next ranke follow the *Italian* Provinces; *Naples*, *Millaine*, and *Sicilie*; wherein nature hath confined, and heaped up as it were into her Closet, all those delightfull happinesses, which with her owne hands she hath here and there scattered and dispersed through the residue of the *European* Provinces, whereof in their proper places. *Italian* Provinces under the *Spaniard*.

The Revenue which his Majestie doth principally raise upon the Ecclesiasticall livings, (*viz.*) the Tithes of the Church, the Buls of the Crosse, both amongst the *Indies*, through all *Spaine*, and the Kingdome of *Sicilie*, doe amount to two millions by yeare: and these may be well numbred amongst his ordinary revenues, because they be yearely raised, and be the surest and most certaine that this Crowne enjoyeth. *Commendums* and presentations unto benefices, doe yeeld yearely to his Majestie a great quantity of mony. The whole revenues of the Clergie are valued at six millions of gold by yeare, there being foure and thirty Cathe- Revenues ordinary.

drall

drall Churches all very rich, of which ſome have fifty, ſome one hundred, and ſome two hundred millions of crownes of yearely revenues: as in particular, the Archbiſhop of *Toledo* hath more than three hundred millions, remaining over and beſides free to his ſubſtitute Prelate two hundred. Neither doth his Majeſtie care to bring theſe Churches to a greater number, for then ſhould hee with greater difficulty make uſe of the revenues and riches thereof when occaſion required. And it is ſaid, that the Cardinall *Birago* gave to his Majeſtie at divers times, more than a million and a halfe of gold, upon ſome ſimoniacall occaſion.

So it is thought that the ordinary revenues of *Spaine* doe amount to ſix millions of gold, whereof much hath beene pawned for the debts of the Crowne, the reſt is ſpent in charges of the warres, in the government of the Kings houſhold, and in the Gallies, which he maintaineth to ſafeguard the coaſt of the Kingdome, as aforeſaid.

Extraordinary. In extraordinarie revenues he raiſeth much more; for in the Kingdome of *Caſtile* alone in one yeare, his Majeſtie had nigh eight millions of Gold. And while I was at his Court, his Majeſtie ſent a Ieſuite through all *Spaine*, who went from houſe to houſe, requiring their benevolence, as an almes for the expences in his warres: by which meanes he raiſed a million and a halfe of gold, but with much diſhonour, ſaving that it was ſaid, that hee did better to demand this money for the love of God, than to take it by force: yet was not the requeſt ſuch, but that it had in it the effect of a command; his Majeſty excuſing himſelfe, that the Emperour his Father whileſt he lived, did the ſelfe-ſame thing in his greateſt and moſt urgent affaires and neceſſities. There doe not want alſo other meanes and devices to raiſe money, as the impoſition of the Milſtone; which as it is ſuppoſed, if it once take effect, will amount to two millions of gold yearely. There be alſo ſales of Offices, Eſcheats, Penalties, Amerciaments, and other like meanes to raiſe money, as in other Kingdomes.

His

His Majeſtie hath orders of Knight-hood alſo, (*viz.*) of Saint *Iames*, of *Alcantera*, of *Callatrava*, of *Monteſea*, and of *Chriſt*: this laſt Order is in *Portugal*, which all together doe yeeld him yearely 275. millions of crownes, and accrueth to them in rents paid by the *Iuccarie*. The Order of the *Croſſe* is much deſired, and greatly ſought for by the great men of *Spaine*, becauſe it yeeldeth both honour and profit, being in number two hundred and fifty, which have in yearely revenues 15000000 crownes of gold. But to ſome he giveth the Order, and not the Fee; to others the Fee, not the Order; but to many for their good ſervice, both Fee and Order. There is alſo the Order of the *Toiſon*, of which his Majeſtie is chiefe, which is the moſt honourable, and moſt ſought for of Princes, although it yeeldeth no profit. Of this is made great account, and herewith onely Princes and perſonages of quality are honoured. Orders of Knighthood.

In theſe Kingdomes are found divers diſcontented perſons, and ill ſatisfied with the government, for that all thoſe *Moores* which there inhabit (being forced to turne Chriſtians, and by the ſame force conſtrained ſo to continue) are wonderfully diſpleaſed. And ſuch as are called Iewes, or halfe Chriſtians, doe daily increaſe in number, and multiply in riches; For they all marrie, and never goe to the warres, but continually intend their traffike and commoditie. Beſides theſe, there be all the deſcendants of them, that have at any time beene condemned by the Inquiſition, which live in *Spaine* moſt deſperately, becauſe they are thereby held infamous, even to the third and fourth generation, and diſabled to receive any dignity, honour, or office. Of theſe ſorts, it ſeemeth by the late proſcriptions and baniſhment of the Inhabitants of *Valentia* into *Barbarie*, that he is moſt jealous. Malecontents. The *Iewes*.

Next theſe, the *Portugals* may be compriſed in this number, by reaſon of their ancient hatred which they have alwayes borne to the *Caſtilians*, and for the bad uſage of the *Spaniards*, being alwayes held under their command, with minds cruelly affected. The *Portugals*.

The *Arragonois.*

The Provinces of *Aragon* alſo, for their priviledges broken and annulled, for riſing in Armes by meanes of *Antonio Perez*, late Secretary to his Majeſtie, doe evilly brooke this government. The chiefe Citizens whereof (having with loſſe of their lives, paid the debt of that puniſhment due unto them) have left a memoriall behinde them of that their fact, the ſtroke whereof is imprinted in all the reſt, which are yet for a long time ready to lay downe their lives upon occaſion.

The Nobles.

Laſt of all, bee the Nobles of *Spaine*, which in times paſt were many in number, and in great eſtimation with their Kings, are now much abaſed, and brought to the number of 36. only, being unimployed by his Majeſtie, and receive ſmall charges from him, and thoſe in places farre remote, and of little or no reputation: ſome of which doe much blame the King therefore, inferring that thereby he maketh the people more inſolent, in hating them and their greatneſſe, indeed becauſe they would not, that they ſhould much increaſe it power; the State being ſerved in moſt affaires with common perſons, and thoſe of no great eſtimation; becauſe theſe Kings for the moſt part ſuppoſe, that by them he is the better ſerved, as alſo, are very jealous of the greatneſſe of their Officers. For in truth the *Spaniſh* Nation by nature is very proud, yet baſe, and ſuch as careth not to be hated, ſo it be feared: in all paſſages above all other Nations, uſing and imitating a kinde of *decorum*, which they call Reſpect, we complement, or apiſh courteſie; being full of ſervility, yet in publike ſhewing more ſeverity over their owne, than over ſtrangers: which may well be, if well underſtood. For where he conquereth and commandeth, no people ſo intolerable as they; but maſtered and ſubdued, no Nation of the world ſo ſubmiſſive and crouching. At home, in generall, poore, timorous, and unwarlike; abroad (by hardning and cuſtome) a very hardy and valiant ſouldier on foot, obedient to his Commander, and patient in the diſtreſſes and labours of warre; but by night they never goe upon any ſervice. By it ſelfe alone this Nation hath done nothing of reckoning, but accompanied with

with others, it hath made good aſſaies of its owne valour, alwayes boaſting of the taking of the *French* King, of the victories of *Germany*, of the enterpriſe of the *Tercers*, and of the happy fight at the *Curzolary*, without once remembring their contrary ſucceſſes of *Goletta*, *Algiers*, and *England*.

Of ordinary revenues from *Italy*, it receiveth foure millions of gold. Much of that of *Naples* is pawned; the which the Kingdome of *Sicilie* doth yearly ſupply, by ſending thither ordinarily foure thouſand crownes, and the Councell of *Spaine* taking order for the reſt. Theſe States in *Italy* are defended from the forces of bordering Princes, partly by nature of ſite, and partly by the aid of ſtrong Forts; ordinarily maintaining in the preſidiarie places ten thouſand *Spaniſh* foot-men, 1200. men at Armes, three hundred light-horſe, and thirty ſix Gallies for guard of the Sea-coaſts: Of ſixteene are of *Genoa*, twentie five of *Naples*, twelve of *Sicilie*, and three of *Savoy*. This is the appointed number, but you ſhall ſeldome ſee it ſo ſtrong. For notwithſtanding this *Armada*, the coaſts are badly ſecured; as it appeared by the late yeares example, in the dammages done by the *Turkiſh* Navie upon *Puglia*, and *Calabria*; amounting (as it is reported) to the ſumme of more than a million and a halfe of gold. He ſerveth himſelfe alſo (when occaſion requireth) with the Gallies of *Malta*, with the Popes, (which are eighteene) and ſometimes alſo with thoſe of the great Duke of *Tuſcan*. And all theſe charges are nothing neere defrayed by the foure millions of revenue; ſo that *Italy* ſtands the *Spaniard* in much more than hee gets by it. The witty *Boccalini* brings in *Lorenzo Medices* weighing the Eſtates of *Europe*; and when the *Spaniards* ſaw the revenue of *Spaine* alone, to weigh within a few millions as much as *France*, with great chearefulneſſe they gate on their ſpectacles, and would needs caſt their dominions of *Italie* into the ſcale; but perceiving the beame to turne contrary to their expectation, all aſhamed they tooke them out againe, and durſt not put in their dominions in

Revenues from *Italie*.

Africa, and the *Low-Countries*.

The *Italian* humours.

The mindes of these his *Italian* subjects are exceedingly exasperated through the insolencie of their government, their intolerable charges, and the burthen of infinite taxations, which are continually imposed upon them, finding out daily one meanes or other to raise new summes of money. The *Neapolitans* are most doubted for revolt, by reason of the instability of that people, alwayes desirous of change and novelties. *Millaine* is also suspected, by reason of the dammage which they undergoe by lodging of souldiers at discretion, being growne to a custome, with the finall desolation of divers families.

The *Indies*.

The *Indies* are divided into *Orientall* and *Occidentall*, the King pretending to be sole Lord, both of the one and the other. The *Orientall* not only are indangered by the *English* Navies, (which in time of warre doe continually trouble them) but in hazard also, if not to be lost, yet to be forced to share quiet and peaceable Trafficke, both to the *English* and *Netherland* Merchants. The King maintaineth there, for custodie of those Countries, many ships of Warre, having also distributed eight thousand foot-men, for the ordinary safegard of the Forts.

The *West-Indies* (exceeding rich and abounding with gold and silver) are divided into two parts: *Peru*, and *New Spaine*. These Countries are full of Mines, in which is found great store of gold, keeping therein the *Indians* continually at worke, living very barely, and undergoing the punishment of their ignorance and pusilanimity, in suffering themselves to be easily overcome, and so basely subjected. The King hath the fifth part of all extracted from the Mines. These *Indies*, in the time of *Charles* the fifth, yeelded no more than five hundred thousand crownes of gold by yeare, but they now yeeld an exceeding commodity to this King; for in some yeares past (comprehending the Buls of the Crosse, and other confiscations in those parts) he hath received from thence ten millions of gold, yea, fifteene and seventeene millions many yeares since that. His Highnesse Ministers doe

If one yeare conjecture is to be made of another.

still

ſtill procure ſome new gaine in thoſe parts, and the people, ſtill continue their Navigation thither with more gaine upon their returne, than one hundred for another. The Merchants carry thither Wines, Woollen-cloth, and other merchandize of theſe parts, and bring from thence in lieu thereof (over and beſides divers ſorts of Spices) a great quantitie of Gold: by extraction of which, the fruitfulneſſe of the Mines is no whit diminiſhed, but it ſeemeth that they doe rather daily more and more increaſe and multiply; in ſuch ſort, that the Countrey-men in tilling the ground, doe finde great ſtore thereof, together with the clods of earth, when they dig it up; and in my time, there was diſcovered a Mine of Quick-ſilver, which will yeeld exceeding profit, and incredible gaine. True it is, that all theſe profits have their intereſt, but they ariſe not to above twenty in the hundred laid out, by reaſon of Convoyes, for ſecurity of the Fleet. For there is alwayes maintained ſtrong guards in the Iſle of *Iava*, apt by reaſon of the ſituation, to give the Empire of all theſe parts to him, that can make himſelfe once Maſter thereof. The ſouldiers which hee ſent into theſe parts, have for their pay two crownes a moneth, in ſuch ſort, that the Land-ſouldiers, the guarders of the Forts, and the Gallies which he maintaineth for this purpoſe, is a ſpeciall cauſe, that his Majeſtie expendeth in intereſts and charges amongſt the *Indies*, more by a great deale than a million and a halfe of gold: Which maketh me nothing to wonder, that although this King by reaſon of his abundance of Treaſure, and many other infinite riches brought yearely from the *Indies*, ſhould ſeeme to be richer than other Princes, and his ſtate much more wealthy and aboundant; yet in truth the great Turke, not having any mines of gold, is more mightier and farre wealthier: And ſo in true interpretation is *France*, *England*, and *Netherland*, as late experience (the touch-ſtone of ambiguities) hath fully diſcovered. Whereupon it muſt needs follow, that this Crowne is either much hindred by ingagement in war, want of home-bred neceſſities, or by uncertaine returnes of its Fleets, ſubject every yeare to the caſualties of Seas, currents

and ſurpriſals. If theſe be not the cauſes of ſo many croſſes, as our eyes have lately diſcovered; then ſurely, his neighbouring Princes muſt be thought to be Lords of a valianter people, than are his *Spaniſh*.

For, ſay they, it appeareth by record, from time to time, kept in the Citie of *Sivil*, that in threeſcore and fourteene yeares ſpace there have come into *Spaine* two hundred and threeſcore millions of gold. Of all which ſumme there remaineth now in *Spaine*, by conjecture, in ready money and plate (wherewith this Nation is much delighted) about ſix and fifty millions: Five and twenty the *Genoeſe* have had for intereſt: Seven millions were ſpent in the *French* warres, and the conqueſt of *Portugal*: Eight were beſtowed on that glorious and ſtately building of the *Eſcuriall*. And the reſt (which is more than an hundred millions) hath beene all ſpent in the fruitleſſe warres of Chriſtendome and *Flanders*. So that it may be truly ſaid, that all the enterprizes which this State hath undertaken, ſince the dayes of *Charles* the Emperour, have beene performed with *Indian* gold: being certainly to be affirmed without contradiction, that *Philip* the ſecond, during his raigne alone, ſpent more than all his predeceſſors, being in number ſixty two, that have reigned ſince theſe Kingdomes ſhooke off the *Roman* yoke; conſidering that he alone ſpent more than an hundred millions: and notwithſtanding all this here ſpoken of, *Spaine* is very poore and ſmally ſtored with wealth. For although his Navigation to the *Indies* was upheld, yet the Trafficke which he had with *England* and *Flanders*, (which brought him exceeding and moſt ſecure gaines) was all cut off. Whence it ſeemes true that the *Spaniards* ſay in diſcourſe of this Gold, (brought from *India* into *Spaine*) that it worketh the ſame effects upon them, that a ſhowre of raine doth upon the tops and coverings of houſes, which falling thereon doth all at laſt deſcend below to the ground, leaving no benefit behind, to thoſe that firſt received it.

Of *Flanders*. *Flanders*, once the true correlative of the *Indies*, but being now divided and alienated, yeeldeth no profit to this Prince, yet

yet *Charles* the fifth, by his good government drew from thence by extraordinary grievances and Impoſts (occaſioned by his manifold warres) more than twenty foure millions of gold.

This Country, though by Nature it be not very fruitfull, yet by Art, it proveth to the Inhabitants very profitable and commodious, exerciſing with all travell and induſtry the Trade of Merchandize; by which in former times infinite riches aroſe to their Princes, who alwayes held it deare, and ſought by all meanes to conſerve the Dominion thereof. And ſo *Philip* the ſecond would faine have done, ſuppoſing that thoſe warres would the rather have drawne to an end, when hee gave his daughter *Iſabella* for wife to the Arch-Duke (with the aſſignment thereof) for her Dower; and that the people would the ſooner have quieted themſelves under the obedience of that Prince, if they might be ſuffered to enjoy the libertie of their conſciences; but time hath revealed what effects thoſe projects have produced.

Councell.

It now remaineth to ſpeake of the Councell, and quality of his Councell, and the conditions of his Counſellors, a matter both of great importance, and worthy of underſtanding, being the very Seat of the ſoule of his government.

Governments.

The government is abſolute and royall: matters of ſeverall qualities are handled in ſeverall Councels, and they are ſeven in number, beſides the Privie Councell: That the King may bee the better informed of all affaires, they keepe alwayes neere about his perſon in ſeverall Chambers under one roofe. Their names are theſe: The Councell of *Spaine*, of the *Indies*, of *Italy*, of the *Low-Countries*, of Warre, of the Order of Saint *Iohn*, and of the *Inquiſition*: In theſe the ſlow and conſiderate adviſes of *Fabius*, rather than the raſh and heady reſolutions of *Marcellus* are received. As much as may be, innovations and change of ancient cuſtomes are avoided. In regard whereof, *Innocent* the eighth was wont to affirme, the *Spaniſh* Nation to be ſo wary in their actions, that they ſeldome committed any over-ſight therein. By this courſe the King rangeth under his obedience, *Caſtilians*,

Arragons, Biſcaines, Portugals, Italians, the *New-world*, *Chriſtians*, and *Gentiles*, people utterly different in Lawes, Cuſtomes, and Natures, as if they were all of one Nation, and his naturall ſubjects.

And whereas ſome object, that this Empire cannot long endure in ſo flouriſhing an eſtate, becauſe the members thereof are ſo farre disjoyned: to ſuch objections, let this Maxime be oppoſed; *That ſpacious Dominions are beſt preſerved againſt forren attempts, as thoſe of meane capacitie have the like advantage, againſt inteſtine diviſions.* But in this Empire thus divided, ſpaciouſneſſe and mediocrity are well united. The ſpaciouſneſſe is apparent in the whole body compounded of ſeverall members: the mediocrity in the greateſt part of the ſeverall members: For ſeeing that the portions thereof (as *Spaine, Peru, Mexico*) are ſo great and goodly States of themſelves, they cannot but bee ſtored with all thoſe good things, which are requiſite either for greatneſſe or mediocritie; that is to ſay, with a puiſſant union to reſiſt forren attempts, and ſufficient inward force to provide againſt domeſticall diſcontents. For who knoweth not, that by meanes of Sea-forces, all theſe members may ſtrengthen one another, and ſtand as it were united, even as *Cæſar Auguſtus* by maintaining one Fleet at *Ravenna*, and another at *Meſſina*, awed the whole *Roman* Empire, and kept it in aſſured tranquility: As alſo wee have ſeene, the *Portugals*, by reaſon of their Sea-forces, which they maintained in *Perſia, Cambeia, Decan*, and other places of the *Indies*, in thoſe parts to have given the Law to many famous Princes.

This State layeth claime alſo to the Duchie of *Burgundie*, as part of that Countrey whereof the Houſe of *Auſtria* remaineth Heire. He doth the like to the Citie of *Tunis* in *Africa*, to the Iſland of *Corſica*, poſſeſſed by the *Genoeſe*, to the baſe and higher *Britaine*, as alſo to the Kingdome of *Hieruſalem*, whoſe Title he taketh upon him; and finally (as it is above mentioned) pretendeth himſelfe the Monarch of the World. But this mightineſſe of his, hath many diſturbances

in

in it ſelfe, which hinder motion, and cruelly curbe deſignements, by reaſon wherof he ſets forward with ſuch dulneſſe of ſpeed, that for the moſt part the proviſion which is prepared for effecting of future enterpriſes, commeth alwayes too late. For if he be to provide Souldiers in *Italie*, after they be preſſed, inrolled, and ſet onwards, they lie waiting three or foure moneths at the River of *Spaine*, before they be embarked for their voyage, their pay ſtill running on, to the great dammage and prejudice of that Crowne; ſo that wee may very well avouch, that what another Prince performeth with two hundred thouſand Crownes expence, his Catholike Majeſtie can ſcarce execute ſo much with the coſt of five hundred thouſand.

Of no leſſe danger is the dammage which that Crowne may very eaſily receive by a ſudden and unexpected loſſe of their Fleet, becauſe on it are grounded all the hopes and deſignes of the ſaid State, that are of any importance. But more pernicious and fuller of trouble would be the loſſe of the *Indies*, which with eaſe, either by forren Fleets may be taken from them, or much moleſted and hindered: Or if neither of theſe, yet that the *Spaniards* themſelves, ſent thither in Colonies, combining themſelves in one bond of unitie, having all the Fortreſſes in their owne hands, together with the Ports and Ships that are there, may one day reſolve to be governed by themſelves, denying all obedience to their Kings commandements. Another contrarietie alſo doth this great State incurre; That the Prince thereof hath farre better meanes to get Money than Men. For howbeit upon every occaſion, and when need ſerveth, he is ſerved by the *Swizzers*, the *Wallons*, and *Italians*, yet theſe of themſelves are little or nothing worth, being upon every ſleight occaſion of ſlack pay, ready to make commotions, and in their furie to forſake his ſervice. Of other Nations (beſides that his Majeſtie dareth leſſe truſt them) he cannot (although he would) have ſuch a ſufficient number as ſhould ſupply his need and occaſion. So, howbeit that this Prince be ſole Lord and Maſter of ſo many mighty States, and of ſo great and potent

an

an Empire, yet liveth he full of continuall travels and diſcontents.

Correſpondencie.

Now having taken a full view and mature conſideration both of the States, as alſo of the ends and intents of this mighty Monarch, together with thoſe contrarieties which theſe States doe ſuffer; it reſteth, that in this laſt place wee ſhould intreat of the correſpondencie which hee holdeth with other Princes: which as it is of all other knowledges the moſt neceſſary, ſo is it the hardeſt to be diſcovered, bringing with it for the moſt part greater difficultie, to be able fully and judiciouſly to pierce into the purpoſes and inward thoughts of Princes, but eſpecially into the ſecret Councels of the State of *Spaine*, being full of cunning diſſimulation.

With the Pope.

To begin therefore with this point: I ſay, that generally (to inſtance firſt of all the Pope) his Catholike Majeſtie will have him to be ſuch a one, as may wholly depend upon him, and be confident of his faſtneſſe. And therefore in their Elections, his endevour is, that not any aſcend to that dignitie, that doth any way ſavour of the *French* faction, (and therefore alienated from his devotion) nor any that are of ſingular Nobilitie, leſt their ſpirits might be too generous to be baſely abuſed by him: nor any of the Kingdome of *Naples*, for feare (taught by former examples) of ſome new diſturbance in that State: But his principall deſire is, to create one of baſe linage, and of meane reſpect, and ſuch a one, as ſhall (if it be poſſible) acknowledge his Cardinalſhip, and all other dignities, to proceed from him: and ſuch a one, whoſe parents and kinsfolkes are poore, that by the bountie which he ſhall beſtow upon them, and the penſions which he ſhall conferre on their friends, he may binde them unto him, and confidently aſſure himſelfe of their favour and partaking, when occaſion ſerveth.

And for this cauſe (in all that he can) he ſeeketh to weaken the Popes, and to detract from their dignities, to make them inclinable to his will, and wholly to depend upon him, procuring them to continue in this office of their love, by furniſhing

niſhing their State with Corne out of *Puglia* and *Sicilie*, and by upholding the authoritie of the holy See; in defending their Coaſts from the incurſions of the Turkiſh Fleets, and from the depredations and inrodes of Pyrats: and laſtly, by giving them to underſtand, that it is in his power to call a Councell, and in it to take an account of their actions, and to call their prerogatives into queſtion. And howbeit the abſolution and re-benediction of the late King of *Navarre* did much move, nay beyond meaſure trouble the minde of *Philip* the ſecond, who in thoſe times did hope for great things at the Popes hands, yet did he diſſemble this offence; As on the coutrary, did his Holineſſe the prejudice that was and is done him in *Spaine*, in regard of holy Church, whereby not only his orders and decrees are broken and moderated by the Councell, but alſo ſometimes rejected and contemned; whereof his Holineſſe hath made often complaint to the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour, but to ſmall purpoſe.

In the College of Cardinals, the King at this preſent hath not much authoritie, by reaſon of his imperious proceeding, and leſſe will have hereafter, the French Nation being now riſen to ſome greatneſſe, which will now every day more and more be able ſtrongly to oppoſe themſelves againſt the Spaniſh, by whoſe jealouſies, greatneſſe, and diſſimulation one with another, that See hath gained ſuch greatneſſe and reputation in the world. With the College of Cardinals.

In requitall whereof, his Holineſſe in favour of *Philip* the ſecond (waſted forſooth in warre againſt the *Lutherans*) cut off by his authoritie I know not how many millions of debt, due to the *Genoeſe*. He hath given him alſo all Pardons ſent to the *Indies*, worth by yeare halfe a million, with the collations of Benefices and Biſhopricks, and the enjoyment of the two rich Orders of Saint *Iames* and *Calatrava*.

With the Emperour (howbeit all be of his bleu!) his Catholike Majeſtie hath not had (till of late) any great intelligence, becauſe in many occurrences that have beene offered, he hath given him but ſlender ſatisfaction, neither would With the Emperour.

would ever seeke any counsell of his Majestie, which principally is by him desired, to the intent that he might seeme to relie upon him. But true it is, that these gusts are now over-blowne, and the distastes are at length somewhat lessened, in consideration of entermariages.

But since these late warres about *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate*, he hath made great use of the Emperour. The *Spaniard* knowes well, that to attaine his designed Monarchie, he must first conquer *Germanie*, and make himselfe Master of those Ports and Hanse-Townes, from thence to annoy *England* and *Holland*. To prepare the way to this, necessary it was that some quarrell should be pickt with some of the Protestant Princes for matter of State, and with all of them for matter of Religion. The plot hath taken, and by this meanes hath the *Spaniard* brought forren forces into the Empire, (though this was objected by the Princes in their Dyets, to be against the Constitutions of the Empire.) By these forces of his (having first gotten himselfe to be made Executioner of the Imperiall *Ban* against the proscribed *Palatine*, *Baden*, *Hessen*, *Iegerensdorff*, and others) hath he in the Emperours name gotten possession of divers Townes, which he holds as his owne. Knowne it is, that there was a Mint set up at *Vienna*, the Coine whereof though it bare the Emperours stampe, yet the Bullion came from *Spaine*. To make himselfe neerer unto the Emperour, he hath made himselfe Master of the *Valtoline*, that by that passage hee might unite his owne forces of *Millane*, with those of the Emperours hereditary States next to the *Alps* in *Germanie*. By the Emperours meanes hath he also made himselfe a partie in the present quarrell of the Dukedome of *Mantua* in *Italie*: and it shall goe hard but he will get all or some good part of it, to joyne to *Millane* and *Naples*. And this is the use that the *Spaniard* since the yeare 1620. hath made of the Emperour. The Emperour growes great by the Armes of *Spaine*; but this is but personall, and to die with *Ferdinand* of *Gratz*: in the meane time all the world knows that the *Spaniard* hath the reputation, and will at last reape the whole benefit of it.

For

For the Arch-ducheſſe, wee know ſhee beares but the name of Governeſſe of his Provinces, being her ſelfe otherwiſe wholly governed by Spaniſh Counſell: and were the Kings younger brother but old enough to be Governour, wee know that ſhe muſt be thruſt into a Monaſterie. With the Archducheſſe.

However *France* ſeemeth now to rejoyce in a new alliance, yet let the world not doubt but that out of ancient emulation, which hath ever beene betweene theſe two Kingdomes, being exaſperated one againſt another, by ſo many injuries, ſo many wrongs, and ſo many jarres and brawles, new occaſions of diſcontents will evermore ariſe: For can the *French* (thinke we) ever forget their expulſions out of *Italie*, their deprivation of *Navarre*, or the intruſion of the late King upon the maine body of the Kingdome? But freſh in memory, and yet unrevenged (as done this preſent yeare 1629.) is the defeat of the French troopes ſent into *Italie* in favour of the Duke of *Mantoa*: nor does the *Spaniard* looke that the croſſe mariages with the *French* (the Kings marying one anothers ſiſters) can make any attonement; but lookes either that the *French* ſhould invade *Flanders*, or the *Wallon* Countries, unto which hee hath ſo good and ancient pretencion; or watch him ſome other good turne at his beſt opportunitie. With *France*.

Betweene him and the *Savoyard* (notwithſtanding their neere alliance) have there beene late warres; the *Spaniard* depriving him of ſome Townes in *Montferat*; and the Duke of *Savoy* in revenge on the other ſide diſtreſſing *Genoa* with an Armie, which is under the *Spaniards* protection, and the place from whence he borrowes his great ſummes of mony. But theſe differences are ſo farre reconciled, that contrary to all expectation, the *Savoyard* in conſideration of the reſtoring to him of thoſe Townes in *Montferat*, is now at this preſent turned on the *Spaniards* ſide, hath levied an Armie in favour of him, and blockt up the paſſages of his owne Countrey, by which the French Armes ſhould enter *Italie*, to the aid of *Mantoa*. But to be knowne it is, that this Duke of *Savoy* is an old, a ſubtill, and an inconſtant Prince, jealous, With *Savoy*.

jealous enough (as all the States of *Italie* are) of the *Spaniards* greatneſſe; and for his owne advantage will as readily turne to the *French*, as he did now to the *Spaniard*.

Polonia. With the King of *Polonia* he hath not any negotiation, ſave good correſpondencie. And becauſe betwixt theſe two Crownes there is not any pretencion of State, or intereſt of Confines, which are wont to be cauſes from whence diſcords ariſe, and alſo for the moſt part evill intelligence among Princes.

With the *Turks.* As the *Turke* is Lord of a larger Sea-coaſt than the King, ſo can he hardly compare with his Majeſty either in furniture or mariners. Along all the coaſt of *Africke*, he hath not an harbour, where he can build or keepe a couple of Gallies, except *Algier*, and *Tripolie*. In the *Euxine* ſea, what place of name is there, beſides *Capha* and *Trapezond*? What better report can we give to the coaſt of *Aſia*? More implements than a ſpacious Sea-coaſt are incident on either part to this buſineſſe: he muſt have plenty of Timber and Cordage; he muſt be furniſhed with a people practiſed in Sea-affaires, able to endure the labour and working of the waters; delighting in traffike and navigation; chearefull in tempeſts and rough weather, which dare dwell as it were amongſt perils, and expoſe their lives to a thouſand dangers, and here in true judgement, I take the King to exceed the *Turke*: For the *Turkiſh* ſubjects, as to the better part never ſaw Sea, and thoſe that have uſed it are not to bee compared to the *Biskaines*, *Catalonians*, *Portugals*, and *Genowais*; (I adde this people for their good ſervices and affections at all times to this Crowne.) To conclude, in two things the King excelleth the *Turke*; the firſt is, that although the *Turke* can command more men, yet the beſt and greater part of them being Chriſtians, he dare hardly truſt; the ſecond, that the Sea-coaſts of the King are neerer conjoyned than thoſe of the *Turke*, and in that regard hath his forces ſooner incorporated. By this facilitie, experience hath proved, that the Eaſterne Navies have beene often overthrowne by the Weſterne, the Southerne by the Northerne,

therne, the *Carthaginian* by the *Roman*, the *Asian* by the *Grecian*. *Octavius Cæsar* with the Navie of *Italy*, defeated the Fleet of *Ægypt*, and in our times the *Armada* of the Christians, the Fleet of the *Turke*. The *Turkes* themselves confesse, that in Sea-fights the Christians excell, and are unwilling to deale with those forces. As often as *Charles* the fifth rigged forth his Navie, it was so puissant, that the *Turke* never durst leave the harbour. In his journey of *Algier*, he rigged five hundred vessels; in his *Tunis* voyage 600. *Andrew Dorie* conducted so gallant an *Armada* into *Greece*, that the *Turke* not daring to move out of his station, the Christians tooke *Patras* and *Coronna* in *Morea*.

At this day they are at peace: The *Spaniard* is doubtfull of the *Turkish* forces, especially by Sea, if he be not assisted by the league of *Italie*: And againe, the *Turke* is fearefull of him alone, and of his associates. For he knowes he is to deale with a Potentate of much estimation, and well practised in the world; and although of late there have fallen out betweene them certaine jarres and differences upon dammages done by the one and the other Prince reciprocally in each others dominions, yet it is to be thought, that these two so powerfull Princes will not easily bee brought to take Armes, seeing they emulate each others greatnesse, and contented with equall strife, to bring all Christendome to their subjection; pretending both one and the selfe-same end, *viz.* Religion. Besides, it is sufficient for the Catholike King to have revenged his wrongs, and for the *Turke*, that he is no more molested by the *Spanish Armadaes*. As the one hath a warlike and well armed Empire, so hath the other an united and most rich Kingdome. But herein the *Turke* hath the greater advantage, that he spendeth but little in the warres, in regard of that, that not onely the King of *Spaine* disburseth, but even all the Princes of the world. For his souldiers receive for their pay, those lands which he hath given them to hold for life, with condition annexed, alwayes to bee in readinesse to serve at an instant. Certaine it is, that the *Turke* being dread-

dreadfull to Christendome, the *Spaniard* is the ableſt to oppoſe him. For which reaſon *Andreas Hoia* would needs perſwade us, that it were beſt for Chriſtendome to chuſe the *Spaniard* for their univerſall Monarch : but *Boccalini* argues better; that it had beene more convenient for *Europe*, if the *Moores* had ſtill beene Lords of *Spaine*. Moſt ſure it is, that the Proteſtants, yea, all Chriſtians in *Hungaria*, live better under the *Turke*, than under the houſe of *Auſtria*. The *Spaniards* bee intolerable maſters, witneſſe the poore *Indians*. *Hoia* therefore vented this in an Oration at *Doway*, to inflame our *Engliſh* fugitives to treaſon.

Forces at land.

His Land-forces conſiſt in Cavalrie and Infanterie : the beſt footmen of all the *German* Nations is the *Wallon*, and it is well knowne that in all ages the *Spaniſh* have beene accounted one of the moſt valourous Nations of the world. The *French* in nine yeares were ſubdued to the *Roman* yoke, the *Spaniards* held out two hundred. The power and perſon of *Auguſtus Cæſar* were requiſite to the ſubduing of the *Cantabrians*, whereas they not onely delivered their owne Country from ſubjection of the *Moores*, but invaded *Africke*, and therein tooke many ſtrong places. So the *Portugals* invaded *Barbarie*, tamed the coaſt of *Guinea*, *Æthiopia*, and *Cafraria* ; they conquered *India*, *Malaca*, and the *Moluccas*. The *Caſtilians* ſailing through the *Atlanticke* ſea, ſubdued the *New-world*, with all the Kingdomes, Provinces, and people therein : and finally, drove the *French* from *Naples*, *Sicil*, and *Millaine*.

Humours of the *Spaniards*.

This people is much inclined to melancholy, which maketh them ſolemne in their converſation, ſlow and adviſed in action : they love complement, and ſtand much upon appearance, preſuming greatly of themſelves, and exceedingly boaſting of their owne doings : and to maintaine their reputation, they will imploy all they have in furniture and apparell : in ſuffering of hunger, thirſt, heat, cold, labour, and extremities, they will lay up any Nation in *Europe*. By theſe vertues they have atchieved the glory of ſo many victories, and although ſomtime they have beene overcome, notwith-

notwithstanding they vanquished their vanquishers, as it fell out at *Ravenna*. They never suffered any famous defeature, but in the journeys of *Algier*, and *England*; the one by the casualty of Tempest; the other by the skilfull prowesse, and Sea-faring dexterity of the *English*. Three or foure thousand of them turned topsie-turvie the better part of *Germanie*, and made way with their Swords thorow the thickest of their enemies. In the journey of *Carven* in *Barbarie*, being foure thousand foot souldiers of great valour, they made a brave retreit the space of foure or five miles, beset and charged with twenty thousand horse by the King of the *Moores*, at least five or six times, with the losse onely of eighty men, and the slaughter of eight hundred of the enemie. They serve better on foot than on horsebacke, (although they have horses of excellent courage) and better with the Harquebuze, than with any other kind of weapon. With great care they will cover their losses and weaknesse.

As concerning their Cavalrie, it cannot be gain-said, but that the *Spanish* Genet is the noblest horse of Christendome, farre excelling the Courser of *Naples*, or the horse of *Burgundie*, so much esteemed of the *French*, of the *Freeslander*, and in so great request with the *Germans*. It should seeme that nature herselfe hath armed this people, in giving them the Iron Mines of *Biskay*, *Guipuscoa*, and *Medina*, with the temperature of *Baion*, *Bilbo*, *Toledo*, and *Calataiut*; the Armeries of *Millan*, *Naples*, and *Boscoducis*; the corne and provision of the inexhaustible Garners of *Apulia*, *Sicil*, *Sardinia*, *Artesia*, *Castile*, and *Andaluzia*; with the plentifull vintages of *Soma*, *Calabria*, *San Martin*, *Aymont*, and sundry other places. To conclude, this Prince is so mighty in gold and silver, that therewith (to spare his owne people, ingaged in the defence of so many Territories, Provinces, and Frontiers, from undoubted destruction) he is able to wage what numbers of horsemen and footmen of the *German* and *Italian* Nations it pleaseth him. Their Cavalrie.

The Princes whose dominions are bordering, and in regard of their forces are any way able to endanger his domi- Borderers.

nions, are the *Venetians*, the Kings of *France* and *England*, and the *Turke*.

The *Venetians*. The *Venetians* (long since the Duchie of *Millan* came to the possession of this Crowne) have set them downe with great quietnesse, rather looking to the strengthning and keeping of their owne Townes and peeces, than to the winning of others from their neighbours. And good reason it is, sithence peace is the surest anchor-hold of their Common-wealth.

The *French*. Concerning *France*, sithence the *French* Nation hath put an end to their civill discontents, what Trophee or Triumph can the *Spaniard* boast to have carried from them? Indeed it cannot be denied, but in elder dayes, the warinesse of the one, hath turned the furious attempts of the other to matter of too late repentance. For the great Captaine surprizing *Barletta*, and then encamping upon the banks of *Gariglano*, first tooke from them the possession of the Kingdome of *Naples*, and afterwards all hope of regaining it againe. By the same temporizing, *Anthony Leva* wearied King *Francis* at *Ticinum*, and *Prosper Collonna* cleared the Duchie of *Millan*.

In assaulting of Townes and Fortresses, I confesse fury to be of great moment; I confesse likewise, that by this vertue the *French* prevailed at *Ioious*, *Momedium*, and *Calais*; but in set battels, as at *Graveling*, Saint *Quintins*, and *Siena*, most commonly they have had the foile: for in the field good order & skilfull conduct doth more prevaile, than valour and furious resolution: In all assaults, fury and resolution, more than counsell or temporizing.

The *Persian*. In the East *Indies* he confineth with the King of *Persia*, betwixt whom there is not any evill intelligence, but contrariwise, rather great tokens of much love and amitie, as by whose helpe that King hopeth to finde meanes to overthrow the *Turke*. Howbeit hee hath very oftentimes denied him assistance and aid in those warres, which hee made against the house and family of *Ottoman*, being very much urged and sought unto by the *Persian*, to send unto him

him some of his people, men expert and skilfull in casting of great Ordnance, as also in building of Forts, and other the like matters of defence and assistance. Excusing himself with the perill of his Religion, which doth not permit Christian Princes to lend aid unto Infidels: though indeed the true cause was, because he would not thereby give an occasion of future trouble & molestation to himselfe (by communicating these two advantages, so important in war) in his navigation to the *Indies*, which are adjoyning to the *Persian* Sea. But the *Persians* taking *Ormuz* from the *Portugal*, shews that they do not at this day much regard the *Spaniard*.

In *Barbaria.*

With the King of *Fesse* and *Morocco* his Catholike Majestie is in league, upon interest of those States which hee possesseth in *Africa*.

In *Tuscanie.*

His Catholike Majestie would very willingly that the great Duke of *Tuscanie* should wholly depend upon him; but he is so farre from that, that he doth not onely depend, but in many occasions hath still shewed himselfe opposite unto this Crowne, and hath lately discovered himselfe to be a welwiller to the Crowne of *France*, by joyning alliance with the most Christian King: and therefore it is not likely that any good intelligence can bee betwixt them. In like manner, the Ambassadour of *Tuscanie* is but of indifferent regard in that Court, but since the Emperour and the Duke are allied by marriage, there is greater respect.

Parma.

The Duke of *Parma* is not onely a devout servant, and a neere kinsman, but also a subject to this Crowne, by the Citie of *Placentia*, and therefore wholly depends thereupon, having taken a secret oath to obey him in all commands. Proceeding with all possible respect, not to give the least occasion of offence, by reason that the investiture of *Placentia* was not granted absolutely to the house of *Farnesi*, but only to the fourth descendencie after which it returnes againe to the King of *Spaine*, as Duke of *Millan*. And therefore his Excellencie (that hee may not separate himselfe from his Majesties good liking) did lately refuse to linke himselfe in alliance with the great Duke, lest hee should

displease the King, whose minde he saw was bent against it.

Vrbine. The Duke of *Vrbine* being a Prince of small power, wholly relies upon his Majestie, as receiving his greatest benefit from him, to whom he hath committed the charge of all his *Italian* Cavalrie.

Genoa. The Common-wealth of *Genoa* is like a ship beaten at Sea, and tost with contrary winds, & tempestuous stormes, placed as it were betwixt two anchors; which are, Prince *Doria*, a true borne Citizen, and the Ambassadour of the Catholike King, who hath the protection thereof in his Masters name, to his great benefit. If ever he chance to become Sole-Lord thereof it will adde a greater Dominion to his greatnesse, for the nature and quality of the situation of that Citie, whereof the *Spaniards* were wont to say; That if the King their Master were but once Lord of *Marselles* in *Provence*, and of *Genoa* in *Italy*, by the benefit of these two famous ports, hee might easily arrive to the Monarchie of the whole World. But howbeit the King of *Spaine* be not Lord thereof, nor yet hath so great a part therein, that he can assuredly say, that it wholly rests at his command, yet by favouring and upholding the greatnesse of the Prince *Doria*, he maketh him the Instrument to serve his turne, and by his meanes obtaineth what hee will, or can in reason desire of that people deeply interessed, in regard that his Majestie hath taken up great summes of money upon interest of them, and therefore will take heed how they breake with him, lest they be hindred of their gaines, peradventure of their principall: It hath beene thought, that some Kings have beene behinde hand with them, for more than a million and a halfe of gold. How much *Genoa* depends upon him, was seene in these late warres, in which they were wholly protected by him.

Malta. Of the Religion of *Malta*, the said King taketh a particular protection, as that in like sort depends wholly upon his pleasure, and doth readily execute his royall commandements, serving his turne oftentimes, in keeping the Coasts of *Spaine*, and the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicily*, from the

the incursions of Pyrates, and that without any one penie cost or charges to the said King; whereof in proper place.

The Seigniory of *Lucca* hath placed both it selfe and all that it hath (fearing the potencie of the great Duke) under the protection of his Majesty. *Lucca.*

In generall, the *Spanish* Nation beareth little love to the *Venetian* Common-wealth, as suspecting it to favour the *French*, and for the strict friendship which it holds with the most Christian King, and the most renowned State of *England*, of late his apparant and professed Enemies. *Venice.*

Againe, there is also little inclination of love towards this State, because they thinke, that it maketh profession to ballance the States and Forces of the Princes of *Italy*; and though they esteeme well enough of it, yet they love it not a jot. Notwithstanding, the *Spaniards* know, that in those warres which may happen betwixt the *Turks* and this people, they cannot (out of their particular interests) but aid and assist them, and that on the contrary from them, they have no hope of retribution, unlesse in like occasion. But withall they assuredly beleeve, that the aids which they shall afford it, shall be but feeble; and slowly submministred, in such sort, that they shall not give it any great re-enforcement, but only such as may be sufficient to save it from ruine, yea scarce that. From him.

Finally, for a perfect review of this tedious discourse, I wil recite unto you, these weighty, secret, and last instructions given by *Philip* the second, King of *Spaine*, to his son *Philip* the third, father of this present King: teaching him how to governe himselfe and his Kingdomes after the decease of his said father; brought to light by a servant of *Don Christophero di Mora*, called *Roderigo*, and translated out of *Spanish* and *Dutch* into *English*, that the world may see how judiciously this manuscript of the Kings owne hand agreeth with the purport of these Relations.

SOnne, I have often troubled my mind, and entered into most deepe and serious considerations, how to leave a

quiet and setled estate unto you after my decease: Howbeit, neither the long time of my life, nor the opportunity of Princes affected to my service, would afford me sufficient assistance in this behalfe. I confesse, that I have spent more than 594. millions of Duckets; in lieu whereof, I have enjoyed nothing the space of three and thirty yeares, but heart-sorrow, and vexation of spirit. True it is, that I recovered *Portugal*; but as lightly as *France* is escaped from me, so likewise may *Portugal* slide backe. Would to God I had followed the counsell of *Charles* the Emperour, my Lord Father of famous memory: for then could I much more quietly brooke those my sorrowes, and die with a more willing minde, leaving to you the succession of this mortall life.

This then, besides so many stately Kingdomes and Seigniories, as a perpetuall testament I leave behinde unto you, as a mirrour and Looking-glasse, wherein you may see how to frame your actions, and to carry your selfe in your government after my death.

Alwayes looke well to the charges and alterations of other States and Countries; to the end you make use, and reap good profit thereby, as occasion shall serve; and withall, have a cautelous and circumspect eye over them that be in Counsell with you.

Two meanes you have whereby to maintaine your *Spanish* Kingdomes; the one is Government; the other, the Trade of the *Indies*.

Touching your Government, you must draw unto you, and relie either upon the Nobilitie, or the Spiritualtie of your Dominions.

If you leane unto the Spiritualtie, you must seeke to bridle and curbe the other, as I have done: but if you meane to strengthen your selfe with the Nobility, cut short the Livings and Revenues of the Spiritualtie, as much as is possible. For holding them both in equall favour, they will consume you; and besides, you shall set your Realmes out of quiet, and never come to resolution, the ballance being over-weighed, sometimes by the one, and sometimes by the other.

My

My Counsell is, that you hold in league with the Provinces of the *Netherlands*, especially if you meane to helpe your selfe with the Nobilitie: for they be friends to *France*, *England*, the *German* Princes. And neither *Italy*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, nor *Denmarke*, can stand you much in stead: As for the King of *Denmarke*, hee getteth his Revenues by forren Nations.

Sweden is alwayes at division, and unfit in regard of situation.

The *Polacks* be as Masters over their Kings. *Italy*, though it be rich, yet it is farre distant from these before named; besides that, all the Princes therein are of divers humours and dispositions.

But on the other side, the *Netherlands* are exceeding populous, and abound mightily in shipping: the Inhabitants being a people most constant in labours, diligent in searching out things profitable, couragious in their attempts, patient in adversitie.

True it is, that I have bestowed those Provinces upon your Sister *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, howbeit in the transport thereof are comprized an hundred meanes, whereby you may helpe your selfe: The principall whereof be, that you are Tutor and over-seer of all her children; and that shee may alter nothing in the Catholike Religion: These two maine points being taken away, you are absolutely dispossessed and quit of the *Netherlands*; and other Kings would be so forward to draw them unto their allegeance, that it may haply redound to your overthrow.

Contrariwise, if you meane to rely and cleave to the Clergie and State Spirituall, you shall purchase your selfe many enemies: I have had the experience thereof: but hold all correspondencie with the Popes: Give them much; bee friendly alwayes to them: Entertaine such Cardinals as be most in credit with them: Make your selfe Master of the Conclave: Make much of the *German*-Princes Bishops, and use to bestow no more pension on them by the hand of the Emperour, but deale so, as they may acknowledge your selfe

for the giver; surely they will serve you the more willingly, and receive your gifts with greater gladnesse.

As for them that be of baser degree and qualitie, let them not come neere you, and so shall you seeme to give your Nobilitie and Commons the better countenance. For certainly I must needs say, their pride is great, they are mighty in substance, whatsoever they desire must be done, they will be chargeable unto you, and in the end will seeke to rule your Scepter. Wherefore make your partie good, by the meanes of such as are descended of Noble parentage, and great Families, and promote them now and then to some Spirituall livings. The common sort is not so serviceable; for they will procure you such unspeakable hatred, as that thereby you might be forced to consume your treasure, and therefore repose your trust in none of them, unlesse they be of great qualitie.

Abandon and shake off your *English* Spies.

Cleare your selfe of the *French* charges.

Vse the service of some part of the *Netherlandish* Nobilitie, so that you may joyne and knit them unto your best and most trusty subjects. Now as concerning the travell and Navigation to the *East* and *West Indies*, therein doth consist all the power and might of the Kingdome of *Spaine*, as likewise the straining and bridling of the *Italians*.

France and *England* cannot be debarred from medling with the aforesaid Trade and Navigation, their powers be great, their Sea-men be many, their Seas be too large, their Merchants too rich, their Captaines and souldiers too greedie of money, and their subjects too trustie.

I have for your sake, in the transport of the *Low-Countries*, put down a *proviso*, altogether to restrain the *Netherlanders* from dealing in the aforesaid Trade: but I feare that time and men will prove changeable: wherefore you must doe two things. First, alter often your Governours. Secondly, those which you draw from thence, you shall put in Office here at home, and make them of the Councell of *India* in *Spaine*. So shall you never (in my opinion) be deceived,

but

but both parties will discover your profit, and seeke their owne honour.

If you perceive the *Englishmen* prepare to bereave you of these commodities, as being strong both in shipping and Mariners, (for the *French* I make small account) see that you strengthen your selfe with the *Netherlands*, notwithstanding that a great part of them be Hereticks, and would so continue, with condition, that they shall have full liberty to utter all their commodities in *Spaine* and *Italy*, paying their royall Incomes and Customes, and all duties belonging unto you: and then also you may grant unto them passage to travell and trade unto your *East* and *West Indies*, provided that they put in good security in *Spaine*, and take upon them a corporall oath, that upon their returne from the *Indies*, they shall arrive in some part of *Spaine*, and there to unload upon paine of death, if they shall be found to doe otherwise. Mine opinion is, that they will never refuse to accept of this easie condition, and to accomplish the same: and by these meanes shall the *Indian* and *Spanish* be linked and knit to the *Netherlandish* trade: and *England* and *France* must then live upon their owne purses.

My Sonne, I could relate unto you more secrets for the conquests of other Kingdomes and Countries, but all such advertisements, with the discourses thereupon delivered unto me, and by me amended, you shall finde in my Cabinet. Cause *Christopher de Moro* immediately to deliver the key unto you, lest these so weighty secrets come into the hands of some other.

Vpon the seventeenth of September, I caused the transcript or last scribled coppy of these remembrances, being in divers places interlined, amended, and altered, to be cast into the fire: but I feare somewhat thereof might underhand be kept and reserved: wherefore set your eares to hearken thereafter.

I have this present day added thus much: If you can, deale with *Antonio Peres*, to draw him into *Italie*, or at least to procure him to doe you service in some other Countries,

tries, but into *Spaine* or the *Netherlands* never let him come.

Touching your marriage, the particular writings thereof remaine under the custodie of the Secretarie.

Moreover, remember that you often read over this signed Bill, and these Writings, here-about was never any body in counsell with me, but mine owne hand.

Have alwayes an especiall care over your Counsellors, and over those that are neere unto you.

The deciphering of Letters you must your selfe take upon you.

Doe not offend nor anger your Secretaries; deliver them alwayes worke of small or great importance, make proofe of them rather by your enemies, than by your friends. And although you be enforced to discover your secrets to your deerest favourites, yet locke the chiefest alwayes within your owne brest.

Thus much gentle Reader, as it is thought hath beene saved out of those notes and writings which were seene to be burned, and this I thought good to publish for the common understanding.

Portugal.

THis Kingdome (which is not above 320. miles long, and sixtie broad; not very populous, and but meanly rich in essentiall revenues:) by navigation and Acquisition of late dayes, it held equall ranke with the most famous Provinces of the world: yea, this humour of industrie so possessed their minds, that they solely undertooke the famous expeditions of *Barbarie*, *Æthiopia*, *India*, and *Brasile*. Wherein within these hundred yeares, they have taken and fortified the principall places and harbours of those Provinces, challenging unto themselves the peculiar traffike of the *Atlantick* and East Ocean. They seised upon the *Terceraz*, knowing that without touching at those Islands, no ship could safely passe into *Æthiopia*, *India*, *Brasil*, or the

New-

New world. Returning from the Countries towards *Spaine* or *Lisbon*, they put in to releeve their wants and sicke passengers, and outward they touch to take in fresh water, and fetch the wind. In *Africke* they are Lords of those places, which we spake of before in the description of *Spaine*: In *Cambaia*, they have *Diu*, *Damain*, and *Bazain*, the hither *India*, *Chaul*, *Goa*, and the fortresses of *Cochin*, *Colan*, the Island *Mavar*, and the haven *Columbo* in *Zeilan*.

Amongst these *Goa* is the chiefest, as the place where the *Viceroy* keepeth his Court. *Cochin* and *Colan* for their plenty of Pepper: *Mavar* for the Pearle-fishing; *Columbo* for the abundance of Cinamon: *Damain* and *Bazain*, for fertill provision. In these quarters they have some Princes their Confederates, others their Feodaries. The chiefe and wealthiest of Allies is the King of *Cochin*, sometime tributarie to the *Calecute*, but now by the entercourse and traffike with the *Portugals*, he is growne so rich and mighty, that the other Princes doe envie his prosperity. The King of *Colan* is likewise their confederate.

Their cheife Force consisteth in situation and strength of places, and in number and goodnesse of their shipping. As concerning situation, this people wisely foreseeing, that in regard of their contemptible numbers, they were not of power to make any famous journey into the Inland Regions, neither able to match the *Persians*, the *Guizarites*, the Princes of *Decan*, the King of *Narsinga*, and other barbarous Potentates in *Cambaia*, turned all their cogitations to immure themselves in such defensive places, that therein with small forces they might ever have hope to divert great attempts, and make themselves Lords and Commanders of the Sea and Navigation: which when they had done, they entertained and maintained so strong a Navie, that no Prince in those parts was able to wrong them; yea, they furnished those vessels so throughly, that one single ship would not refuse to cope with three or foure of the *Barbarians*. With this *Armada* (of one and twenty ships) *Francis Almeida* defeated the *Mamelucks*, neere the towne of *Diu*. *Al-*

Forces.

fonse

fonse Alburquerick with thirty great ships wonne *Calecute*: with one and twenty he tooke *Goa*, and regained it (being loſt) with foure and thirty. With three and twenty he tooke *Malaca*; with ſix and twenty he entred the Red Sea; and with two and twenty recovered *Ormus*. In proceſſe of time, as their mightineſſe increaſed, *Lopes Zuarezius* made a journy into the Red-ſea with ſeven and thirty *Galleons*. *Lopes Sequeira* with twenty foure ſhips, but with greater number of ſouldiers than ever before, laid ſiege to *Guidda* in the Red-ſea: *Henry Meneſius* waſted *Patan* with fifty ſhips. *Lopes Vazius Sampaius* left in the *Arſenall* 136. veſſels of warre, whereof the greateſt part were excellent well furniſhed. *Nonius Acunia* undertooke a journey to *Diu* with three hundred ſhips, wherein were three thouſand *Portugals*, and five thouſand *Indians*, beſides a great number of his Guard and Servants, which ordinarily follow the Viceroyes in thoſe Countries.

These Galleons I ſuppoſe were but poore Frigats.

Thus have they much talked of their victories and purchaſes, and ſo ſhould ſtill for mee, if truth and time proclaimed not, that indeed they are but poore poſſeſſors of ſome Harbours and Townes by the Sea ſhore; ſtanding on their Guard now more than ever, as fearing to loſe them with more terrour, than ever they entertained comfort in the facile acquiſition of them.

Borderers.

Beſides his confederates and feodaries, hee is confined with moſt mighty Princes, his enemies: as the *Perſian*, the King of *Cambaia*, who maketh title to *Diu*, and other places, which were once under his juriſdiction: *Nizzamaluc* and *Idalcam* (for ſo the *Portugals* call the two Princes of *Decan*) and the Kings of *Calecute* and *Narſinga*.

As for the Kings of *Perſia* & *Narſinga*, they never waged warre againſt them, becauſe they have alwayes had to doe with more dangerous enemies: other Princes though they have enterprized to their uttermoſt, to regaine *Diu*, *Chial*, *Goa*, and other places, and have left no meanes unattempted to bring their deſignes to effect, yet their abilities could not worke any proſperous ſucceſſe to their laborious endevours,

endevours, by reason of situation, so commodious for the transportation & receit of continuall succours from the Sea. And though they have undertaken the like actions in the deepe of Winter, hoping by tempests and other casualties, to barre the *Portugals* from their Sea-succours, yet they never prevailed; because the ships and courages of the *Portugals*, the one resolute to endure the siege, and by patience to overcome; the other determining (hap what may) never to forsake their distressed Countrey-men, have set all upon hazard, and exposed their fortunes to the mercy of wind and waves in those tempestuous seasons. Their worst, greatest, and fiercest enemie is the *Turke*, who (being backed with the like advantage of situation, which the Citie of *Aden* affordeth him, and sometime pricked on by his owne proper envie, emulation, and ambition, sometime egged on by the perswasion of the King of *Cambaia*,) hath often endevoured to dispoile them of the Soveraignty of the Red-sea, and finally to drive them out of the *East India*. The greatest Navie that ever he sent against them, was to recover *Diu*, consisting of sixtie foure ships, but by them defeated. Afterwards he sent a Navie of greater vessels to the conquest of *Ormuz*, and that likewise was almost wholly beaten, bruised, and drowned.

In the further *Indies* they hold nothing but *Malaca*, and the *Molaccas*. In times past *Malaca* was farre greater than now it is: for it lay scattered three miles alongst the Sea-coast; but the *Portugals*, that they might the better defend it, have brought it into a round forme, containing not above a mile in compasse. Here the King hath two puissant enemies, *Ior*, and *Achem*, the one mighty at Land, and the other far mightier at Sea, by whom the Towne, not without great danger, hath more than once been besieged, but by the aid sent from *India*, alwayes relieved, with great slaughter of the Enemie. At length *Paul Lima* defeated King *Ior*, and raced the Castle built by him neere *Malaca*, wherein besides other spoiles, he found nine hundred brazen cast-peeces. This territorie is subject to great danger,

ger, by reaſon of the puiſſance of this King of *Achem*, bending all his cogitations to the rooting and finall deſtruction of the *Portugals* out of this Province, and therefore the King of *Spaine* of late yeares ſent *Matthias Alburquerk*, with a great power into *India*, with authority either to ſecure the territory of *Malaca*, or to fight with the King of *Achem*.

To ſecure their trade of Spice and Nutmegs in the *Moluccas* and *Banda*, they have built many Caſtles, yet for many yeares paſt they have beene mightily moleſted by the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Nations, who by no meanes will bee excluded from the free traffique of the Sea. The *Engliſh* by reaſon of their great puiſſance, have of late builded the faireſt ſhips of the World for that onely trade, and therein (as now) ſeated a hopefull and peaceable Factorie.

The Roman *Empire, or* Germanie.

THis Empire in its greateſt glory (*viz.*) in the dayes of *Trajan*, ſtretched from the *Iriſh* Ocean; and beyond, from the *Atlantike*, to the *Perſian* Gulfe, and from *Catnes* in *Scotland*, to the River *Albis*, and beyond, to the *Danubie*. It began firſt to decline by the civill warres of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*: for in thoſe times the Legions of *Britanie* were tranſported into the Continent; *Holland* and the bordering Countries revolted, and immediately after, the *Sarazens* finding the Frontiers of the Empire without Garriſons, paſſed over *Danubius*. The *Alani* won the Streights of the *Caſpian* Hils: the *Perſians* endevoured to get them a name and reputation; the *Goths* wandered thorowout *Mœſia* and *Macedonia*; the *French-men* entred *Gallia*. But *Conſtantine* the Emperour reſtored it to the former glory, made an end of civill Warre, and tamed the barbarous and cruell Nations; and had hee not committed two great faults, this Empire might

might long have flouriſhed. The firſt was, the tranſlating of the Imperiall Seat, from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*; which action weakened the Weſt, and overthrew the Empire: as Plants removed out of their naturall ſoile, and tranſported into Regions contrary in temperature and aire, retaine ſmall vigour of their radicall vertue: as alſo becauſe the manly and martiall people of *Europe* if they ſhould rebell, could not be reduced to obedience by the power of the effeminate *Aſians*; whom, or none, the Emperours of *Conſtantinople* muſt of neceſſity make uſe of, by reaſon of their ſituation. In which regard, the *Roman* Senate would never conſent, that the people ſhould leave *Rome* and dwell at *Veij*, a Citie farre more pleaſant and more commodious than *Rome*, eſpecially after the ſacking thereof by the *French-men*.

The ſecond fault of *Conſtantine*, was, the diviſion of the Empire to his children, *Anno Dom.* 341. By this diviſion, of one Empire he made three, and withall, a memorable diminution of his authoritie and forces. For when his ſonnes fell to civill diſſention, they conſumed one another ſo cruelly, that the Empire reſembled a bloudleſſe, yea, a liveleſſe body. And though ſometime, under ſome one Prince, it ſtood on foot againe, yet it remained alwayes ſubject to diviſion, and parted into two Empires, the Eaſt and the Weſt, untill the comming of *Odoacer*, King of the *Hernles* and *Turingi*, into *Italy*, with a mightie Hoaſt: by which invaſion, *Auguſtulus* ſuffered ſuch irrecoverable loſſes, that in extreme deſpaire hee was forced to caſt himſelfe into the protection of the Eaſt Empire. This happened in the yeare of our Lord 476. And about this time the *Hunnes* paſſed *Danubius*; *Alaricus* King of the *Gothes* tooke *Rome*: the *Vandals* firſt ſpoiled *Andaluzia*, afterwards, *Africke*: the *Alans* wonne *Portugal*: the *Gothes* conquered the greater part of *Spaine*: the *Saxons*, *Britanie*: the *Burgundians*, *Provence*. *Anno* 556. *Iuſtinian* reſtored it ſomewhat to a better State, driving the *Vandals* out of *Africke*, and the *Gothes* out of *Italy*, by his Captaines. But this faire weather laſted not long: for in the yeare 713. the Armes and Hereſies of the *Mahumetans* began

began to vex the East Empire, and shortly after, the *Sarazens* wasted *Syria*, *Ægypt*, the *Archipelago*, *Africke*, *Sicil*, and *Spaine*. In the yeare 735. they vanquished *Narbon*, *Avignon*, *Tolouse*, *Burdeaux*, and the bordering Regions. Thus by little and little began the Westerne Empire to droope, and as it were, to draw towards his last age. As for the Easterne, it stood so weake and tottering, that with all the force it had, it was scarce able to defend *Constantinople* against the Armes of the *Sarazens*, much lesse to minister aid to the Westerne Provinces. But in the yeare of our Lord 800. *Charles* the Great, King of *France*, obtained the Title of the Westerne Empire, and in some sort mitigated the fury of these barbarous Nations.

And thus the Westerne Empire stood then divided: That *Naples* and *Sipont* East-ward, with *Sicil*, should belong to the *Greek* Empire; *Bononia* should remaine to the *Lumbards*; the *Venetians* were Neuters: the Popedome free; the rest *Charles* should possesse. *Blondus* saith, that the Empresse *Irene* gave the first counsell to this division, which afterwards was confirmed by *Nicephorus*. For before *Charles* his time, there was one forme of Government; and the Laws, Magistracies, and ordinances which were enacted for the well-fare of one Empire, tended to the good and honour of both, as to the members of one body; and if one Emperour died without issue, the whole Empire remained to the survivour. But when *Charles* the great was chosen Emperour of the West, there was no more regard taken of the East Empire, neither the Emperour of the East had to doe with the West, nor the West with the East. The Empire of the West continued in this line above one hundred yeares, and failed in *Arnolph*, the last of that house. In the yeare 1453. *Mahumet* Prince of the *Turkes* tooke *Constantinople*, and utterly extinguished the succession of the Easterne Empire.

And as for the West (*viz. Italy*) the Emperour hath no more to doe therein, than hath a pilgrime, who is admitted to visit the wonders of our Lady of *Loretto*.

For, in the yeare of Christ 1002. all claime of Inheritance rejected,

rejected, the Creation of the Emperour was granted to the free election of seven Princes, termed Electors. The reason why the Empire became elective, which had so long continued hereditary in the House of *Charles*, was because *Otho* the third left no issue male: After whom the Westerne Empire was marvellously curtailed and diminished: nothing being left but *Germanie*, and a part of *Italy*. The Pope held *Romagna*; the *Venetians* lived free, possessing great Dominions joyned to their State: the *Normans* (taking *Naples* and *Sicil* from the *Greekes*) held them in Fee of the Church, first under *Clement* the Antipope, then under *Nicholas* the second, and his successours, who for their private gaine ratified the former grant of *Clement* Antipope.

In *Tuscane* and *Lumbardie*, partly by the quarrels betweene *Henry* the fourth, *Henry* the fifth, *Fredericke* the first, and *Fredericke* the second, with the *Roman* Bishops: partly by reason of the valour of the Inhabitants, the Emperour reaped more labour than honour, more losse than profit. And therefore *Rodulphus* terrified with the misfortunes and crosses of his predecessours, had no great minde to travell into *Italy*, but sold them their liberties for a small matter. They of *Luques* paid ten thousand crownes; the *Florentines*, but six thousand. And so every State by little and little forsaking the Emperour, no part of *Italy* remained, but the bare Title. The Dukes of *Millaine* (and so every other State) usurped what they could catch, without leave asking, only they desired their investiture of the Empire. But *Francis*, after the conquest therof, did little regard this investiture, saying, *That hee was able to keepe it by the same meanes that hee had got it.* The Princes beyond the Mountaines also withdrew their obedience, so that at this day the Empire is inclosed in *Germanie*.

Whereupon, sithence the glory thereof at this day consisteth only in *Germanie*; It is good reason to say somewhat of this most ample and flourishing Province. It lyeth betweene *Odera* and *Mosa*; betweene *Vistula* and *Aa*; and betweene the *German* Sea; the *Baltick* Ocean, and the *Alpes*. Situation.

The forme thereof is foure-square, equall in length and breadth, stretching six hundred and fifty miles every way. That it aboundeth with Corne, Cattell, and Fish, let experience shew. For *Charles* the fifth had under his Ensignes at *Vienna* ninety thousand foot-men, and thirty five thousand horse. *Maximilian* the second at *Iavorin*, had almost one hundred thousand footmen, and thirty foure thousand horse, and yet no man complained of deareneſſe or scarcitie. In the warre betweene *Charles* the fifth and the Protestants, for certain moneths, one hundred and fifty thousand men sustained themselves abundantly in the field.

Plentie.

And surely, of all *Europe* it is the greatest Countrey, and beautified with the best and richest store of Cities, Townes, Castles, and Religious places. And in that *decorum* and order (for in a manner see one, and see all) as if there had beene an universall consent to have squared them, like Courts, to one anothers proportion: whereto may be added a secret of moralitie; That the inhabitants for honesty of conversation, probity of manners, assurance of loyaltie, and confidence of disposition (setting apart their imperfect customes of drinking) exceed our beleefe. For notwithstanding these their intemperate meetings, and phantasticalneſſe in apparell; yet are they unoffensive, conversible and maintainers of their Honours and Families: wherein they steppe so farre, as if true Gentrie were incorporate with them, and there had his principall mansion. And wanted they not an united and hereditary succeſſion of government, having sometime an Emperour by partiality of election, and sometime by the absolute command of the Pope; I should stand as forward as the best, to say with *Charles* the Emperour, That they were indeed a valiant, a happie, and an honourable Nation. But in respect of these apparant and materiall defects, in some abatement of their ostentation, concerning their owne glory, and the honour of Majestie (in my judgement) they should not doe amisse, to reforme the custome of intituling the younger sonnes of Dukes, Earles, and Barons, by the honourable Titles of their Ancestours: especially

sithence

sthence the *Italians* in facetiousnesse doe jest; That these Earles of *Germanie*, the Dukes of *Russia*, the *Dons* of *Spaine*, the *Monsiers* of *France*, the Bishops of *Italy*, the Knights of *Naples*, the Lairds of *Scotland*, the *Hidalgos* of *Portugal*, the Nobles of *Hungarie*, and the younger Brethren in *England*, make a very poore company. Otherwise, if noveltie transport you to view their Palaces of Honour, you shall eft-soones bee brought into their well fortified Cities, wherein you shall finde Armorie, Munition, &c. with a presence of the very Burgers excellently well trained in Militarie discipline: you shall see brave musters of Horse, with their exercises of Hunting, Hawking, and Riding; yea, how every man liveth of his owne, the Citizen in quiet, and the women blessed with plentifull issue.

The Nature of this Climate is temperate enough, somewhat of the coldest, yet tolerable and healthie. No place thereof, unlesse by nature it be utterly barren, lieth unmanured; insomuch, that few remainders of that huge wood of *Hercynia* are to bee seene at this day, unlesse in place where humane necessitie requireth their growing, or Nature hath made the Earth fit for no other imployment; as are the *Blacke*-Wood, the *Ottonique* Wood, and the Woods of *Bohemia*. And yet doe they neither carry that horrid face of thicknesse, as in old times, neither are they so untravelled, or unhabitable, but exceeding full of Habitations, Hamlets, Villages, and Monasteries. Climate. Soyle.

It is rich in Mines of Gold, Silver, Corne, Vines, Bathes, and all sorts of Metall, and therein surpasseth the residue of the Provinces of *Europe*. Nature hath also bestowed upon the Vp-land Countries, many Springs and pits of Salt Water; of which hard Salt is boiled. Neither is it lesse stored with Merchandize; for the Inhabitants more than any other Nation, doe excell in curious workmanship, and mechanicall invention: and it is so watered with Navigable Rivers, that all sorts of merchandize & wares are with ease conveied from one place to another. The greatest of them is *Danow*, Commodities. Rivers.

next the *Rhene*, which runneth cleane through the Country, from the South to the North, as the *Danow* from East to West. *Albis* riseth in *Bohemia*, passeth by *Misnia*, *Saxonie*, *Marchia*, and the ancient *Marquisat*. *Odera* springeth in *Moravia*, watereth *Silesia*, the two *Marquisats*, and *Pomeran*. Then followeth *Wesar*, *Neccar*, *Mosa*, *Moselia*, *Isara*, *Cenus*, *Varia*, the *Mase*. This divideth *Germanie* into two parts, the higher and the lower: The high stretcheth from the *Mase* to the *Alpes*: the low from the *Mase* to the Ocean. It is divided into many Provinces, the chiefe whereof (I meane the true members of the Empire) are *Alsatia*, *Swevia*, *Bavaria*, *Austria*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Silesia*, *Lusatia*, the two *Marquisates*, *Saxonie*, *Misnia*, *Thuringia*, *Franconia*, *Hassia*, *Westphalia*, *Cleveland*, *Maguncc*, *Pomeran*. In these Provinces (besides *Belgia* and *Helvetia*) are esteemed to bee ten Millions of men, and eightie great Cities; Villages innumerable, and those plentifully stored with all sorts of Mechanicall Occupations. Those which are seated neere Rivers, for the most part are builded of Stone; the Vp-land, part of Stone, and part of Timber. The Houses thereof are very faire and high, the Streets strait, large, and paved with stone; yea, more neat and handsome than those of *Italy*. *Strabo* writeth, that the *Romans* excelled the *Grecians*, in cleanlinesse of their cities, by reason of their Channels to conuey away the soile; but at this day, the *Dutch-men* doe farre exceed the *Romans* herein.

Cities.

These Cities are of three sorts, *viz.* free Cities, (yet those stiled imperiall) Hanse-townes, and Cities by inheritance immediately holden of Princes and Prelates. The free Cities are those which are by time and prescription immediately subject to the Emperour, and have no other protector but him onely. In times past they have beene accounted 96. now 60.

Of Hanse cities there were 72. mutually bound by ancient leagues to enjoy common privileges and freedomes, both at home and in forren Countries. In ancient times they

they were of high eſtimation in *England* and other Provinces, in regard of their numbers of ſhipping & Sea-trade, whereby they ſtored all Countries with their Eaſterne commodities, and ſerved Princes turnes in time of warre with uſe of ſhipping: But at this day wee ſhall finde neither themſelves, nor their meanes ſo great, that the *Engliſh* ſhould either feare them, or favour them, eſpecially in caſes of prejudice. I write this becauſe of their continuall grudges and complaints againſt our Nation. For if the State upon occaſion (as of late yeares) after the example of other Princes, ſhould forbid them all offenſive trade into *Spaine*, (which is their chiefeſt ſupport) they would in ſhort time be quit of that indifferent proportion which as yet remaineth. As for that true eſtimation which is ſo much ſpoken of beyond Sea, and vaunted of in Hiſtorie, almoſt nothing remaineth at this preſent but bare report. For of thoſe which in ſome good meaſure ſeeme to hold up their heads, and appeare by their Deputies in their aſſemblies, they are ſeldome of one minde, as being in truth unable (unleſſe with much adoe) to bring up the charges and contributions neceſſary and incident for the defence and maintenance of their leagues, privileges, and trade, in forren parts and at home.

Maidenburg is one of theſe Hanſe-towns, and the Countie wherein it ſtandeth is alſo *Maidenburg*. It is one of the moſt ancient townes of *Germany*, and containeth in circuit about three miles. The ſtreets are very large, but durtie; and the houſes built partly of ſtone, and partly of timber, many of them being ancient and faire: The wals are ſtrong and upon them are mounted many good peeces of braſſe Ordnance. It hath ten Churches, the Inhabitants for the moſt part being *Lutherans*. It ſtandeth upon the river *Elve*, over which it hath a faire and large bridge of timber. The Emperour this ſummer laid ſiege to it, which upon compoſition he afterwards raiſed.

Hamburg ſtandeth in the land of *Holſt* upon the River of *Elve* alſo. It is foure miles in compaſſe, and of great ſtrength,

and much reſorted unto by forren Nations for traffique of Merchandize. In it are nine Churches, and many large ſtreets, which are very durtie in foule weather. The greateſt part of the Inhabitants are Brewers: for here are ſaid to bee 777. Brewers, forty Bakers, two Lawyers, and one Phyſitian: for moſt of their quarrels and contentions, as they beginne in drinke, ſo they end in drinke. And being ſicke and ill at eaſe, their phyſicke is to fill their guts with *Hamborow* Beere: if that helpe not, their caſe is deſperate. It is one of the Hanſe-townes alſo, and the people are *Lutherans*.

Stoad, being neither faire nor great, ſtandeth within the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Breme*, but not ſubject unto him, by reaſon it is one of the Hanſe-townes. It ſtandeth about two Engliſh miles from the river of Elve, and hath a ſmall creeke called the *Swing*, which runneth through the citie into the river, and beareth ſmall barques for tranſportation of Merchandize. In it are foure Churches, and a Monaſtery of Lutheran Friers. It was this laſt yeere taken by the Emperour.

Of other goodly Cities there are a farre greater number, ſome by inheritance belonging to the Temporall Princes, and ſome to the Spirituall.

In criminall cauſes they inflict moſt ſharpe torments, and unuſuall kinds of death; a ſigne of the cruelty of their Natures. They were the inventors of Printing, of Guns, and of Clockes, things of notable uſe for mankind.

The people is divided into foure ſorts, Husbandmen (they beare no office) Citizens, Noblemen, and Prelates: The laſt three ſorts make the Aſſembly & States of the Empire.

Spirituall Princes.

Of Prelates, the Archbiſhops Electors have the chiefeſt place. The Archbiſhop of *Ments* is Chancellour for the Empire, the Biſhop of *Colen* is Chancellour of *Italy*, and the Biſhop of *Treuers* is Chancellour of *France*. The Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg* is of greateſt juriſdiction and revenue. The Biſhop of *Maidenburg* writeth himſelfe Primate of *Germany*. *Breme* and *Hamburg* had juriſdictions: next follow

low above forty other Bishops, the Great Master of the *Dutch* Order, and the *Prior* of the Knights of *Ierusalem*: then seven *Abbots*, and they likewise are States of the Empire.

Of secular Princes, the King of *Bohemia* is principall, who is chiefe Tatler: the Duke of *Saxonie*, Marshall: the Marquesse of *Brandburg*, high Chamberlaine: the Earle *Palatine*, Sewer. Besides these places, there are thirty other Dukes, amongst whom, the Arch-Duke of *Austria* holdeth the highest place: and of these Dukes, the King of *Dezmarke* by his tenure of the Dukedome of *Holsatia*, is reckoned to be one. The Marquesses, Lantgraves, Earles, and Barons are innumerable. Temporall Princes.

It is thought that the Empire receiveth every way above seven millions, which is a great matter: yet besides this ordinary, the people, not over pressed as in *Italy*, doe pay other great subsidies to their Princes in times of danger. The Empire was bound (at least wise accustomed) to furnish the Emperour, when hee went to *Rome* to bee crowned, with twenty thousand footmen, and foure thousand Horse, and to maintaine them for eight moneths, and therefore it was called *Romanum subsidium*. The revenues of the Cities and Lay-Princes, have beene greatly augmented since the suppressing of Popery, and bringing in of new impositions, which taking their beginning from *Italy*, (evill examples spread farre) quickly passed over to *France* and *Germany*. In times of necessity great taxes are laid upon the whole Empire, and levied extraordinarily; And that they may bee gathered with the greater ease, *Germany* is parted into ten divisions (or circuits) which have their particular assemblies for the execution of the Edicts made in the generall Diets of the Empire. Revenue.

As concerning their multitudes, it is thought that the Empire is able to afford two hundred thousand Horse and Foot, which the warre (before spoken of) may prove to be true: As likewise the forepassed warres of *France* and *Belgia*, which were ever continued in those two Provinces, for Forces.

the moſt part with *German* ſouldiers. Their forces may the better be tranſported from place to place, by reaſon of the commodiouſneſſe of many faire and navigable rivers. At one time, *Wolfang* Duke of *Bipont* led into *France* an Army of twelve thouſand footmen, and eight thouſand horſemen in behalfe of the Proteſtants; and at the ſame time, the Count *Mansfield* was leader of five thouſand horſemen of the ſame Nation, in behalfe of the Catholikes. *William* of *Naſſaw* had in his Armie eight thouſand German horſemen, and ten thouſand foot-men: the Duke of *Alva* had at the ſame inſtant three thouſand. What ſhould I ſpeake of the numbers that entred *Flanders* with Duke *Caſimere*? Or thoſe that entred *France* under the ſame Leader, in the yeere of our Lord 1578. Or to what end ſhould I make mention of that Armie, whereof part ſerved *Henrie* the fourth, part the league? But to prove that this Nation muſt be very populous, ſeeing that warres are continually open in ſome one or other part of Chriſtendome; and no action undertaken therein, wherein great numbers of *Germans* are not waged and entertained. To ſpeake nothing of the *Netherlands*, who in times paſt have reſiſted the whole power of *France*, with an Armie of foureſcore thouſand men; or of the *Swiſſers*, who in their owne defence, are thought able to raiſe an Army of one hundred and twenty thouſand ſouldiers; I will only put you in minde of that expedition, which they made out of their owne Territories into *Lumbardie*, in defence of that State, againſt *Francis* the French King, with an Armie of fifty thouſand foot-men.

The beſt foot-men of *Germany* are thoſe of *Tirol*, *Swevia*, and *Weſtphalia*: the beſt horſe-men, thoſe of *Brunſwicke*, *Cleveland*, and *Franconia*. But plainly the beſt horſemen of *Germany* will play the *Pultrones*, and the beſt foot, the cowards. They are both the meaneſt ſouldiers of Chriſtendom.

Of Weapons, they handle the Sword and the Pike, better than the Harquebuze. In the field they are very ſtrong, as well to charge, as to beare the Shocke: for Order is of great effect, which is as it were naturall unto them, with a ſtately

pace

pace and firme ſtanding. They are not accounted of for the defence of fortreſſes; and for their corpulent bodies, I hold them not fit for the aſſault of a breach. And therefore they are to be accounted rather reſolute and conſtant, than fierce and couragious; for they will never come to the ſervice wherein courage and magnanimitie is to be ſhewed. After the victorie, they doe kill all whom they meet, without difference of age, ſex, or calling. If the warre be drawne out at length, or if they be beſieged, they faint with cowardize. In Campe they can endure no delayes, neither know they how to temporize. If their firſt attempts fall not out to their mindes, they are at their wits end, and loſe courage: if they once begin to run, they will never turne againe. He that retaines them, muſt be at extraordinary charges and great trouble, by reaſon of their wives, who conſume ſo much proviſion, that it is a very hard thing to provide it, almoſt unpoſſible to preſerve it; and without this proviſion they ſtand in no ſtead. Their horſes are rather ſtrong than couragious; and becauſe often which goe to the warre, eight are preſt from the plough, they are of ſmall ſervice; and when they ſee their bloud, their heart quaileth. The Spaniſh Genets in this caſe wax more fierce.

In Sea-forces they are not much inferiour to their Land-forces, although they uſe no Sea-fights: the Cities of *Hamburg*, *Lubeck*, *Roſtoch*, and ſome other places, are able to make an hundred ſhips; ſome ſay an hundred and fifty, equall to the forces of the Kings of *Denmarke* and *Swethland*. When theſe ſtrong and invincible forces are united, they feare no enemie; and in imminent perill they are ſure of the aid of the Princes of *Italie*, *Savoy*, and *Lorraine*; for theſe Princes never forſooke the Empire in neceſſitie. To the *Zegethan* warre *Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* ſent ſix hundred *Argolatrees*. *Coſmo*, Duke of *Florence*, three thouſand footmen, paid by that State. *Alphonſus* the ſecond, Duke of *Ferrara*, was there in perſon with fifteene hundred horſemen; better horſe-men there were not in the whole Campe. *William* Duke of *Mantua* was there alſo with a gallant troope Forces by Sea.

troope of foot-men; and *Henry* of *Lorraine*, Duke of *Guise*, had there three hundred Gentlemen. The Common-weales of *Genoa* and *Lucca* assisted them with money. With the aid of these Princes, and with those whom *Pius* the fifth sent to his succours, *Maximilian* the second had in the field one hundred thousand footmen, and five and thirty thousand horse. *Anno* 1566. the States of the Empire at the Diet of *Ausburg* granted him an assistance of forty thousand foot-men and eight thousand horse-men for eight moneths, and twenty thousand foot-men and foure thousand horsemen for three yeares next following.

Austrich. And now because the Westerne Empire hath continued in the most noble Familie of the House of *Austrich*, and eight Emperours have successively succeeded one another of that line; for the delight of the Reader, wee will speake somewhat thereof.

This House grew famous almost about the same time that the *Ottoman* Prince began his Empire, and (as it may seeme) was raised up of God, to stand as a Wall or Bulwarke against these Turkes and Infidels.

Philip the first, King of *Spaine*, Arch-Duke of *Austrich*, &c. had two sonnes, *Charles* the fifth, afterward Emperour, and *Ferdinand* the first, King of *Romans*. To *Charles* (as to the eldest) fell *Belgia* and *Spaine*, with their dependances; *Ferdinand* succeeded him in his Lordships of *Germanie*, as *Austrich*, *Boheme*, *Tirol*, and other Provinces, whereunto by the mariage of his wife *Anne*, *Hungarie* was adjoyned. This *Ferdinand* left three sonnes behinde him, who although they divided their inheritance into three parts, yet their successours even to this day did and doe governe them as one intire government: their counsels are one, their mindes one, their designements one, most lively representing the ancient *Gerion*, where for the common safetie, if any part be afflicted, every member runneth to the succour of the other, as if it were to their peculiar tranquillitie. Their dominion stretcheth so large, and is of such force, that if (by reason of the great tract of Land lying betweene the *Carpathie* Mountaines

taines and *Segonia*) they did not border upon the great Turke, (who alwayes constraineth them to stand upon their guard, and to be at excessive charges) no Potentate thorowout the Christian World could goe beyond them for numbers of people, for Wealth and Treasure, or for magnificent Cities. Any man may perceive this to be true, that considereth the distance from *Tergiste* to the Borders of *Lusatia*, from *Tissa* to *Nobus*, from *Canisia* to *Constantia* upon the Lake *Podame*.

Austria was sometimes a kingdome of it selfe, and called *Ostenrick*; made so *Anno* 1225. It held this honour but eleven yeares. Duke *Albert* some to the Emperour *Rodolphus*, by mariage united *Tirole*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*; whose descendant *Frederike* 3. Emperour, raised it to an Arch-dukedome. This House is divided into foure illustrious Families: The first is *Spaine*; The second *Gratz* of *Stiria*, of which House this present Emperour *Ferdinand* is; The third *Insprnck*; And the fourth *Burgundie*. It is a goodly and a rich Countrey, yea the best of all *Germanie*, both for Corne, Cattell, Wine, and Fish. Divers good Cities it hath, whereof *Vienna* is small, but for strength the very Bulwarke of *Europe*, at the siege of which the Turke lost 60000. Souldiers. The first walls were built with the ransome of our King *Richard* the first. The *Protestants* were much gotten into these parts before these late warres, and the Emperour had much adoe to suppresse the Boores, who in the yeare 1627. under Student *Potts* (a Scholer) stood stoutly for their conscience. His revenue must needs be good, as having some silver mines: the transportation of Wine and Beeves yeelds much to him. His Forces are still in Garrison in *Hungary* against the *Turke*. The Sea comes not neere him.

Under the Emperour at this day are *Lusatia*, *Silesia*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Austria*, and a great part of *Hungarie*, (Territories large and ample) abounding with people, corne, and riches. Then follow *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, the Countries of *Canisia*, *Tirol*, *Slesia*, the Princedomes of *Swevia*, *Alsatia*, *Brisgovia*, and *Constantia*.

The

Bohemia.

The Kingdome of *Bohemia*, being in a manner round, is incompaſſed with great Mountaines and the Hercynian woods: it containeth in the whole circuit five hundred and fifty Engliſh miles; the length is three dayes journie. Thoſe Mountaines (as I have ſaid elſewhere) as alſo the whole ſoile, are pleaſant and fruitfull, abounding with corne, wood, wine, and graſſe; and afford gold, ſilver, copper, tinne, lead and iron, in great quantities: only here is no ſalt, but ſuch as is brought out of *Germanie*. The Countie is ſo populous, and ſo repleniſhed with buildings in all places, that here are credibly affirmed 29237. Cities, Townes, and Villages to be numbred. Others ſay, 780. Caſtles and walled Townes, and 32. thouſand Villages. Here is alſo plentie of Fowle, and great ſtore of Freſh-water Fiſh, by reaſon of the great Lakes which are found in many places of this Kingdome. The people are for the moſt part *Lutherans*, and their language is more than halfe Poliſh. They are a free people; and after the death of their King, they may make choice of whom they will to be their Governour. So did they lately chuſe *Matthias*. And for their more ſtrength and better ſecuritie againſt the *Romaniſts*, they linked themſelves with the *Sileſians* their next neighbours in a perpetuall and firme bond of amitie, offenſive and defenſive, againſt all men whatſoever.

The people of *Bohemia* live in great plentie and delicacie; they much reſemble the *Engliſh*: the women be very beautifull, white-handed, but luxurious, and that with libertie of their husbands alſo. They are divided in opinion of Religion; the *Proteſtants* of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion being ſo potent, that they were able to chuſe a King, and to put out the Emperour. Their Kingdome is meerely elective, although by force and faction now almoſt made hereditary to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; which it ſeemes it was not, when as within theſe two Ages that State made choice of one *M. Tyndall* an Engliſh Gentleman, father to M. Doctor *Tyndall*, Maſter of *Queenes College* in *Cambridge*, ſending over their Ambaſſadors to him, and by them their preſents: which

which ſtory is famouſly knowne in *Cambridge*. Their chiefe Citie *Prague* is one of the greateſt of Chriſtendome, as being three townes in one, each divided from other by the River *Multaw*, and all three conjoyned by a goodly wooden bridge of foure and twenty arches: by it runnes the famous *Elve*, which receives two others into him in that Country, *Eger* and *Wattz*. The Kingdome hath many mighty men of eſtate; into whoſe Lordſhips the Countrey is altogether divided, and not as others into Shires and Counties. The King hath three ſilver Mines, and one of gold, ſome pearles are there found alſo. The tinne Mines there were firſt found by an *Engliſh* Tinner, who fled thither for debt, and is the beſt of *Europe* next our *Engliſh*. All the Nobilitie and Gentrie are by their tenures obliged when their King is in the field, to wait upon him on horſebacke compleately armed; which are enow to make an Army of twenty or thirty thouſand. This ſervice the Proteſtants promiſed to King *Fredericke* of late, but the tenth man appeared not. They ſerve willinger on horſebacke than on foot; and are rather for a Summer ſervice, than to lie in the field all Winter; and yet are every way better ſouldiers than the *Germans*. The Proteſtants were ſuffered to plant and increaſe there by the craft and plot of Cardinall *Gleſſel*, (who was governour to the Emperour *Matthias*) his pretence was, that they would bee a ſure bulwarke againſt the *Turke*, & ſhould ſpare the ſervice and lives of the Catholikes; this was his pretence: but his plot was an expectation of ſome ſtirres to be raiſed by them; which ſome ſay he did in hatred of the houſe of *Auſtria*, whom hee deſired to ſee ſet beſides the cuſhion: others imagine it was but a tricke to make the great men of the Proteſtants to forfeit their Eſtates. Howſoever the plot tooke, and the Cardinall after the taking of *Prague*, being invited to a banquet by the Elector of *Mentz*, was by him ſent priſoner to *Rome*, where he remained two yeares, but was afterward both inlarged and rewarded. And this was one of the ſecrets of the Myſterie of iniquitie.

Moravia

Moravia.

Moravia lying on the East of *Bohemia*, so named of the River *Mora*, for the bigneſſe thereof affordeth more corne than any Country of *Europe*. It aboundeth alſo with good and pleaſant wine, like unto Rheniſh: and is wonderfully repleniſhed in all parts with faire Cities, Towns, & Villages, all built of ſtone or bricke. It is very mountainous and woody, but the South part is more champian. It containes two Earledomes, one Biſhopricke, divers Baronies, two good Cities, and foure or ſix faire Townes. The people be very martiall and fierce, eſpecially the mountaners, who ſtood ſo ſtoutly to King *Frederick* at the battell of *Prague*, that had all the reſt of the Army done ſo, the Kingdome had not beene loſt. It is a free State like *Poland*, and may make choice of whom they will to be the Lord, whoſe ſtile is to be called *Margrave* of *Moravia*. And for that in former times the Emperour and *Matthias* his brother offered them ſome wrongs concerning religion, they have ſithence contracted a league offenſive and defenſive with the Nobility of *Hungarie* and *Auſtria*, as well againſt the invaſions of the *Turke*, as the oppreſſions of the *Romaniſts*. Amongſt theſe Provinces, *Sileſia*, and *Luſatia*, are as large as *Bohemia*, but in ſtrength and numbers of people farre inferiour. Theſe two Provinces with *Moravia*, are incorporate to the Crowne of *Bohemia*. *Sileſia* lies on the East of *Bohemia*; *Poland* on the South of it, to which it ſometimes belonged; *Hungaria* and *Moravia* on the Eaſt. It is two hundred miles long, and foureſcore broad. It is a moſt delicate and a plentifull Country, finely divided in the middle by the faire River *Oder*: on which ſtand foure or five handſome Cities; the chiefe of which is *Breſlaw*, the Biſhop whereof is for his revenue called the golden Biſhop: here is alſo an Vniverſity. *Nieſſe* is alſo another Biſhopricke, who now is a Cardinall. The people (eſpecially of the Cities) be civill and generous; nor is there any where a more gallant or warlike Gentry, which the *Turke* well tried in the warres of *Hungarie*: for very ſufficient ſerviters they be both on horſe and foot, and they are able to levie great numbers.

numbers. The government is Aristocraticall, that is, by the States; yet in most things a dependant upon the will of the King of *Bohemia*. It was sometimes divided amongst fifteene Dukes, but all their families being extinct, nine of those Lordships are escheated to the King of *Bohemia*, the other six still remaine, amongst three of the heires of the ancient owners. The two Dukedomes of *Oppelen* and *Ratibor*, in this Country, were by this present Emperour given to *Bethlem Gabor*, in consideration of his relinquishment of the Crowne of *Hungaria*. For which two Dukedomes, and for the lands of the old Marquesse of *Iegerensdorff* in *Lusatia*, who being prescribed by the Emperour, and beaten out by the Duke of *Saxony*, fled to *Bethlem Gabor*, who had newly married his neece; that is, the sister to the present Elector of *Brandenburgh*, whose fathers brother this *Iegerensdorff* was: For these lands (I say) came part of the discontents still depending betweene *Bethlem Gabor* and the Emperour. Tis reported, that if King *Frederick* would have laid downe his right to *Bohemia*, the Emperour would have beene content to have made him King of *Silesia*.

Lusatia is on the South bounded with *Silesia*: tis neere upon two hundred miles long, and fifty broad: it lies betweene the Rivers *Elve* and *Viadrus*, and is divided into the Vpper and Lower; both given to *Vratislaus* (as *Silesia* also was) King of *Bohemia*, by the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, *Anno* 1087. It still retaines the honour of a Marquisate. *Gorlitz* is the chiefe Citie, and a faire one. *Baudzen*, *Sittaw*, *Spremberg*, and *Tribel*, bee neat and well peopled Townes. The people as in Northerly situation they are neerer to the *Germans*, so are they like them more rough mannerd than the *Silesians* and *Bohemians*. Their Countrey is fruitfull enough; and there may upon necessity be levied twenty thousand foot, as good as any in that King dome. All these incorporate Provinces use the *Selavonian* tongue. *Stiria* is rich in Mines of Silver and Iron, threescore miles broad, and an hundred and ten long: *Carinthia* a hilly and woody Countrey, is seventy five miles long, and fifty five broad:

broad: *Carniola*, with the bordering Countries up to *Tergiste*, is an hundred & fiftie miles long, and forty five broad. They are plentifull of Corne, Wine, Fleſh, and Wood.

The Country of *Tirol* is full of Mines of Silver, and Salt-pits, and is eighteene *German* miles long and broad. The territories *Swevia*, *Alſatia*, and *Rhetia*, doe pay little leſſe than two millions and a halfe of ordinary revenue, and ſo much extraordinary, beſides the eighteene Cantons of *Rhetia*, are under the ſame juriſdiction. They are ſo well peopled, that upon occaſion they are able to levie an hundred thouſand footmen, and thirty thouſand Horſe. I know no other Province in *Europe* able to ſay the like. And therefore the Emperour is not ſo weake a Prince, as thoſe, ignorant of the State of Kingdomes, doe ſuppoſe him to be, reporting his Territories to be ſmall, unprovided of neceſſaries, poore in money, and barren of people. But this is certaine, that as he is Lord of a large dominion, fertill, rich, and infinite of people; ſo let every man thinke, that by the neighbourhood of the *Turke*, bordering upon him from the *Carpathian* Mountaines to the *Adriatike* Sea, the forces of a mightier Prince may ſeeme ſmall & be overlaid. For what Prince is there bordering upon ſo puiſſant an enemie, but either by building of fortreſſes, or by entertaining of Garriſons, is not almoſt beggered; I will not ſay in time of warre, but even during the ſecureſt peace; eſpecially conſidering tha: the forces of the *Turke* are alwayes ready, ſtrong, and chearefull; yea, better furniſhed in the time of peace, than any other Nation in the hotteſt fury of warre? Wherefore it ſtands him upon, who is a borderer upon ſo powerfull an enemie, either for feare or jealouſie, to be ever watchfull, & to ſpare no charges, as doth the Emperour; retaining in wages continually twenty thouſand ſouldiers, keeping Watch and Ward upon the borders of *Hungarie*. Theſe aske great expences, and yet leſſe than theſe are not to be defraied for the ſtrengthning of other places; beſides other expences not meet here to bee ſpoken of.

Swevia.

To

To conclude with the State of the Empire, though it cannot be ſaid to be hereditary, nor to have (which is ſtrange) any chiefe City appropriate to the reſidence or ſtanding Court of the Emperour, (as *Rome* ſometimes was:) yet for neighbourhood and conveniences ſake, the Emperours have in this laſt age beene choſen out of the houſe of *Auſtria*; yea, when there have beene ſeverall brothers of them, they have all lookt for the Empire one after another, and have had it too. And for the ſame reaſons have the *Bohemians* made choice of the ſame perſon, yea, and ſometimes the *Hungarians* alſo; the *Auſtrian* being the ableſt Prince to defend them againſt the *Turks*. So that *Bohemia*, though in poſſeſſion of the Emperour, yet is no more part of the Empire than *Hungaria* is, but a Kingdome abſolute of it ſelfe, free to chuſe a King where it pleaſes. So that the Emperour in *Germany* is to be conſidered two wayes: firſt, as a *German* Prince; ſecondly, as the *German* Emperour. Firſt, as a Prince he hath by inheritance the lands and honours of his family; ſuch bee *Auſtria*, *Alſatia*, *Tirol*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, with ſome parts of *Rhetia* and *Swevia*: and theſe dominions are like other principalities, ſubjects of the Empire; and for them, the Emperour is his owne ſubject. Secondly, as a *German* Prince (though not by inheritance, but by election) may the Emperour be conſidered when he is King of *Bohemia*: Which though it be an independant kingdome, yet being included within *Germany*, and the King of *Bohemia* by office chiefe Taſter to the Emperour, and one of the ſeven Electors of the *German* Empire, (as having the caſting voice, if the other ſix be equally divided, nay, and with power to name himſelfe if he be one of the two in election,) in conſideration hereof may he thus alſo be brought within the Empire. But yet neither of theſe wayes can the Emperour or Empire ſo properly be conſidered. Thirdly, therefore to ſpeake of him as the *German* Emperour, is to conſider of him as Lord of thoſe portions and States of the Empire properly ſo called. And thoſe be either the States, or Imperiall Cities of *Ger-*

manie. The States and Princes of *Germanie* are naturally ſubjects to the Emperour, yea, and officers to his perſon too, (which is a part of their honour,) ſo the *Palſgrave* is chiefe *Shewer*, and *Brandenburgh Sword-bearer*, &c. They are alſo as ſubjects, to be ſummoned to the Imperiall *Diets*, their lands are to be charged towards the Emperours warres, made in defence of the Empire. But yet on the other ſide, the *German* Princes bee not ſuch ſubjects as the Lords of *England* and *France*, but much freer. *Lorraine* is a member of the Empire, and yet will not that Duke ſuffer the Emperour to have any thing to doe in his dominions; and if any other Prince ſhould take up Armes againſt the Emperour, (as *Saxonie* did in the caſe of *Luther:*) yet cannot the Emperour eſcheat their lands (as other Princes may ſerve their Rebels) by his owne private power, without the conſent of the other Electors & Princes in a *Diet*. So that the *German* Princes be ſubjects, and no ſubjects; The Emperour is as it were the Grand Land-lord, who hath made away his right by leaſe or grant, but hath little to doe till the expiration or forfeiture.

The ſecond member of the Empire be the Imperiall and Hanſe-townes; in which, becauſe they have leſſe power, the Emperour hath more than in the Princes Eſtates. Theſe acknowledge the Emperour for their Lord, but yet with divers acceptions. For firſt, they will ſtand upon their owne privileges, and for them will deny any requeſt of the Emperour. Secondly, they depend and truſt unto their owne private confederacies amongſt themſelves, as much as to the Emperour; as the *Switzers*, and *Griſons* leaguers amongſt themſelves; and the Princes of the lower *Creitz*, or circle of *Saxony*, amongſt themſelves; in defence of which the King of *Denmarke*, as Duke of *Holſtein* being one of them, tooke up juſt Armes of late even againſt the Emperour. Subjects theſe Cities and States are, but yet were they no freer than the ſubjects of other Princes, they durſt not make leagues amongſt themſelves to the prejudice of their Emperour. Thirdly, even theſe Imperiall Cities have ſome

other

other Lords beſides the Emperour, or the Maior, or Officers of their owne Townes. Thus the Marqueſſe of *Onſpach* being of the Houſe of *Brandenburgh*, ſtil challengeth the ancient Office and Title of his Family, which is to be *Burgrave* of *Nurembergh*, which is a principall Imperiall Citie. We ſee alſo what power and favour the King of *Poland* had in theſe warres with *Sweden*, in the Imperiall Citie of *Dantzik*, which put it ſelfe under his protection. *Wormbs* alſo in the *Palatinate* under protection of the *Palſgrave*, received an Armie of the Princes of the Vnion in favour of him, even againſt the preſent Emperour.

Finally, the Houſe of *Auſtria* holds the Empire in that faſhion, that *Adonias* laid claime to the Kingdome, wherein another fate confirmed, and periſhed for want of ſupportation. For beſides that it is not hereditary, neither can he after Coronation command like an abſolute Soveraigne, nor expect or inforce the reciprocall duties betweene Prince and Subject; nor is hee powerfull enough to countermand the Privileges of the Empire; no nor to call the *Diet* without the conſent of the major part of the Electors. For ſome Provinces are as it were members of the Empire, yet diſunited: for neither doe they, nor will they acknowledge that they belong at all to the Empire; as the Kings of *Denmarke* and *Sweden*, the Duke of *Pruſſia*, the Elector of *Brandenburg* that now is (who requires Inveſtiture of the *Polander*, not of the Emperour) the *Switzers* and the *Netherlands*. Others confeſſe the Emperour for their Soveraigne Prince; but they come not to the *Diets* of the Empire, nor will beare the Tax and Tallages of the Empire: as the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Lorraine*, and the Princes of *Italy*. Others come to the *Diets* and pay all impoſitions: and theſe are properly the Princes' and Cities of *Germanie*. But the King of *Bohemia*, by the grant of *Charles* the fourth, is exempted from all contributions. As for the other Princes, they be ſo many, and by leaguing together ſo mighty, that they attend in Court at pleaſure, conteſt with the Emperour at pleaſure, raiſe forces at pleaſure, and ſupply his wants of Exchequer at pleaſure.

Some of them have to doe both in the *Diets*, and at the Election of a new Emperour: those be the Electors; three Bishops, and three Princes. But as at first *Wenceslaus* the Emperor was faine to bribe them with many Privileges and Lordships for their voices in his Election: so still they must be courted, if the Emperour desires to have his sonne or brother chosen after him, or any great favour done unto him. If they be displeased, they are strong enough to ruffle with him. The other Princes live of themselves, and the Emperour is oftner beholding to them, than they to him: so that these be but Lordly Subjects of the Empire. To speake now in a word: These are truly termed the States, the Princes and Cities of the Empire; who have to doe in the *Diets* or Parliaments, and as members of one bodie participate of good and evill, of advantage or disadvantage, throwout the whole Empire. These, living after the manner of a Commonwealth well united, make use (in manner aforesaid) of the Emperour for their head and common safetie.

And such be divers of the lesser Princes, together with the Hanse-townes, and Imperiall Cities. Free or Imperiall Cities, are they, which are not directly within the Inheritance of any Prince, though they stand within his Territory. For example: *Heidleberg*, *Wormbs*, and *Spiers*, are all in the *Palatinate*; whereof the first is the Princes owne, and not Imperiall; the other be Imperiall, and not the Princes. Such Cities have obtained their freedome either for money, or for service done to the Emperour: whereupon, some of them are so strong, so privileged, and so populous, that out of obstinate repining at Taxes and Impositions, they have many times opposed against their naturall Lords; yea, and in hostile manner excluded them from the superioritie of commanding: witnesse the contentions heretofore betweene the Citie of *Brunswicke*, and their owne Duke; the exclamations of the Cities and Princes, when the *Landtgrave* of *Hessen* was imprisoned; and the generall cause of the Protestants, protesting in every place against the Ecclesiasticall proceedings, and Imperiall threatnings. These Cities governe them-

themſelves by their owne Lawes, being bound no further, than to pay two fifth parts of whatſoever generall contribution is aſſeſſed in the Imperiall *Diets*. They pay tribute to the Emperour (ſome ſay) fifteene thouſand Florens: but they have for the moſt part ſufficient revenue of their owne to defray the charges. The nature of other Cities you have before read of.

The *Diets* now be the things by which the Emperour rules all, if he be able to make a partie. The ordinances of theſe *Diets* cannot be fruſtrated but by another *Diet*: but of putting the Decrees in execution, the Emperour hath the full power and the ſole authority. And therfore as touching preheminence and dignity, hee is to be accounted the firſt and chiefe of the Chriſtian Princes, as the perſon upon whom the Majeſtie of the *Roman* Empire reſteth, and who ought to defend the Nation of the *Germans*, the Church of God, the Catholike Faith; and to procure the peace and wel-fare of the whole Chriſtian world. And this is ſomething towards the underſtanding of the State of the Empire in *Germany*. Go we now to relate of the other chiefe Princes there. And firſt of thoſe which worthily challenge the next place, the Electors: of which the *Palſgrave* is chiefe.

The State of the Prince Elector Palatine.

HIs Dominion containes the Vpper and the Lower *Palatinate*. The Lower is the chiefe of the two, as being both the richeſt, the largeſt, and the Seat of the Elector. A goodly and a delicate Country it is, almoſt two hundred miles in length, and about halfe ſo much in breadth, lying on both ſides of the famous *Rhine*; and watered beſides with the *Neccar*, whoſe bankes are inriched with the moſt generous Wines. It touches upon *Lorraine* at the South-weſt, and hath the Duchie of *Wirtenberg* upon the Eaſt. Of this Countrey, becauſe of the armie of the Deſtroyer, may we ſpeake in the Scripture phraſe, *The Land is as* Eden *before them, and as a deſolate wilderneſſe behind them; her goodly*

and ſtrong Cities, her pleaſant fields, and delicate vineyards, are fallen into the poſſeſſion of thoſe that reaped where they did not ſow. To this Principalitie, was the Title of the firſt Elector incorporate. It and *Bavaria* were made a Kingdome, *Anno* 456. which *Charles* the Great conquered; in whoſe Line it continued from the yeare 789. till *Otho's* time, *Anno* 955. whoſe heires continued in them (but not as a Kingdom) till the yeare 1043. at which time *Henry* the third deprived Prince *Conrade* of them: to whoſe heire, *Fredericke Barbaroſſa* reſtored the *Palatinate* in the yeare 1183. ſince which time (as *Munſter* ſaith) it ever continued in that male Line, untill theſe unfortunate warres. The Lower *Palatinate* hath beene twice augmented; once by the Emperour *Wenceſlaus*, who beſtowed *Oppenheim* and two other Imperiall Townes upon the Elector for his voice in the Election. The ſecond augmentation was by the ranſome of the Duke of *Wirtenberg*, and the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, both taken in one battell by Prince *Frederike*, *Anno* 1452. out of both whoſe Countries lying next unto the *Palatinate*, the victorious *Palatine* tooke ſomewhat to lay to his owne: For which, and other quarrels, there hath ſtill continued a grudging in the Archbiſhops towards the *Palſgraves*; *Mentz* (whoſe Archiepiſcopall Citie is alſo in the *Palatinate*) laying a claime to a Monaſtery, and the lands upon the *Bergſtraes*, or mountaine, within two *Engliſh* miles even of *Heidleberg*. The *Palſgrave* hath many prerogatives above the Electors of either ſort. He taketh place of the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburgh*, becauſe *Henry* the firſt *Palatine* was deſcended of *Charles* the Great; for which cauſe in the vacancie of the Empire, he is alſo Governour of the Weſt parts of *Germanie*, with power to alienate or give Offices, to take fealty and homage of the Subjects; and which is moſt, to ſit in the Imperiall Courts, and give judgement of the Emperour himſelfe.

The Land naturally is very rich, the Mountains are full of Vines, Woods, and ſuch exceſſive ſtore of red Deere, that *Spinola's* ſouldiers in the late warres had them brought to them

them like Beefe or Bacon. How famous the *Rhemish* Wines are, I need not say. Of Corne they have no want: Silver also is here digged up. Goodly Townes and strong it had such store, as if they had had nothing but Cities. All which are now divided betwixt the Emperour, the *Bavarian*, and the *Spaniard*. The Prince also was said to have two and twenty Palaces. But the chiefest ornament was the incomparable Library of *Heidleberg*; not for the beauty of the roome, (for it was but in the roofe of the chiefe Church, and that by a long wall divided into two parts) but for the numbers of excellent Manuscripts and printed bookes; with which it was then better stored, than *Oxford* yet is. The Princes Revenue arose first out of his owne Lands and Customes of his Manours. Secondly, out of the tenths and wealth of the Monasteries and estate of the Church confiscated: which perchance made up one quarter (if not more) of his whole estate. Thirdly, from the Toll of one Bridge over the *Rhine*, he yearely had about twentie thousand crownes. Fourthly, some say that one silver mine yeelded him threescore thousand crownes. All together the revennes of this and the Vpper *Palatinate* (lying next to *Bavaria*, and some thirty *English* miles distant from this Lower) were valued to amount unto one hundred sixtie thousand pounds sterling of yearely Revenues. Finally, of the three Temporall Electors goes this common proverb in *Germanie*, That the *Palsgrave* hath the honour, *Saxony* the money, and *Brandenburgh* the land: for *Saxony* indeed is richer, and *Brandenburghs* Dominions larger, than those of the Prince Elector *Palatine*.

The State of the Elector of Saxonie.

THe Dominion of the Dukes of *Saxonie*, containeth the Marquisat of *Misen*, the Lantgravedome of *Turinge*, *Voitland*, part of Nether *Saxonie*, (almost within two *Dutch* miles of *Maigdburg*) part of the Lands of the Earles of *Mansfielt*, pawned to *Augustus* for some summes of money, and a parcell of *Frankhenland*. The whole Country is seated *Saxonie.*

almoſt in the midſt of *Germanie*, on all ſides very farre from the Sea, except *Voitland*, very plaine and Champion, ſprinkled here and there with ſome few of them navigable. The chiefeſt of them all is the *Elve*, to which all the reſt pay the tribute of their waters. All of it together is imagined to bee in bigneſſe about a third part of *England*, or ſomewhat more.

Situation. The climate in temperature is not much differing from ours of *England*. It confineth on the South-Eaſt with the Kingdome of *Bohem*, and is parted with many high hils and great woods: on the South with the Biſhop of *Bambergs* Countrie, and on the South-weſt with the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*: on the North and North-weſt with the Counts of *Mansfielt*, the Princes of *Anhault*, and the Citie of *Maidburgh* (of which this Duke writeth himſelfe *Burgrave*, and the Marqueſſe of *Brandeburghs* eldeſt ſon Arch-Biſhop) yet is it not under either Iuriſdiction, but freely governed within it ſelfe: On the North-eaſt lyeth the Marqueſdome of *Brandeburgh* and the *Lanskrites*, who partly belong to the Marqueſſe, and partly to the Emperour.

Borderers. It is in peace at this time (as all *Germanie* beſide) with all the Neighbour-Princes. Betweene the *Bohemians* and them there is a great league, but betwixt the Emperour and their Dukes, great jealouſies under hand. The Duke of *Saxonie*, the Marqueſſes of *Brandeburgh*, and the Lantgraves of *Heſſe*, have many yeeres (they and their anceſtry) beene linked together, and both *Lutherans*, howbeit the Lantgrave is thought to favour of Calviniſme. The Biſhop of *Bamberge*, both himſelfe and his Countrie are all Catholiques, but of no power to hurt, though they were Enemies. The Counts of *Mansfielt* have a grudge to the houſe of *Saxonie*, becauſe moſt of their land being pawned to *Auguſtus*, is, as they pretend, wrongfully detained, the debt being long ſince ſatisfied: but they are ſo many, and ſo poore, as they may well have the will, but not the power to annoy *Saxonie*; in Religion, Catholiques.

Anhault. *Mansfield.* The Princes of *Anhault* (as alſo the Counts of *Mansfield*)

age

are homagers to this Duke, but of ſmall power or riches. In Religion, Calviniſts.

For home defence and ſtrength, this Dukedome is ſo ſtrong by nature, on *Boheme* ſide, and upon the frontiers, and within Land ſo well fortified by Art, with reaſonable ſtrong Cities, Townes, and Caſtles; ſo well peopled, and all places of ſtrength ſo well looked unto, and kept in ſo good order, that it ſeemeth provided to withſtand the Enemy, not onely of any one, but of all the Neighbour-Provinces. The greateſt and chiefeſt Citie within this Dukedome is *Erdford* ſeated in *Turing*, not ſubject to the Duke, but a free and Hanſe-towne; the next unto it is *Leipſique*, the Metropolis of *Miſen*; a Towne very well ſeated both for profit and pleaſure, yet of no great ſtrength, though it held out *Iohn Fredericke*, a ſiege of two or three moneths with ſmall diſadvantage: of building very faire and ſtately, moſt of the houſes of ſeven, eight, or nine Stories high, but all of Bricke and no Stone. It is greater than *Dreſden*, and hath many faire and large ſtreets, and yet inferiour in beautie and ſtrength: for the Duke will not ſuffer the Inhabitants neither to fortifie nor to repaire the walls, leſt they ſhould againe rebell, as in former times: within the walls are nine hundred Houſes; it hath three Churches, five Colleges, and about foure hundred Students; as alſo a faire Caſtle with a ſmall garriſon to keepe the Towne in obedience. To it reſort divers Merchants for traffique, and many Gentlemen to learne the Language.

Force.

Erdford.

There are beſides, divers other pretty and reaſonable ſtrong Townes, but above all, *Dreſden* the ancient ſeat of the Dukes of *Saxonie*: It ſtandeth in the Countie of *Miſnia*, round, and containing in compaſſe about the walls the circuit of two Engliſh miles. Theſe Walls are of faire and large ſquared ſtones, wel countermined with earth on the inſide, and wonderfully fortified with ſeven ſtrong Bulwarks, and as many great Mounts on the outſide. On the which (as alſo on the walls) are one hundred and fifty goodly peeces of Braſſe artilleric, with a garriſon of five hundred well appointed

Dreſden.

pointed Souldiers in continuall pay. This City within the walls hath eight hundred houſes, foure Churches, three Gates, two faire Market places, and a great Bridge of ſtone over the *Elve*.

The Mote which incompaſſeth the wall is deepe and cleere without any filth or weeds, and is on all ſides walled with faire ſtones to the bottome. The ſtreets are not many, but very faire, the houſes not very great, but of one uniformitie, and pleaſing to behold. In moſt of the ſtreets runneth from the River a ſmall ſtreame of water, and in many of theſe ſtreets are tubs placed upon ſleds full of water, alwaies ready to be drawne by horſes or men, whither occaſion of fire ſhould crave imployment. For prevention whereof, they maintaine men of purpoſe to walke every night in the ſtreets, and ſome to watch carefully on the higheſt Towers. The Palace of the Duke is of great beauty and majeſty: the Chambers are flowerd with coloured Marbles, and garniſhed round with Stags heads of extraordinary greatneſſe; many bed-ſteds and tables alſo are of divers coloured Marbles, moſt curiouſly carved and poliſhed. Within the Palace is an Armory for horſemen of unſpeakable magnificence, with a great number of horſes curiouſly framed in wood, and painted to the life, with as many woodden men on their backes, furniſhed moſt richly with all furniture fit for a horſeman to uſe in the warres. Amongſt theſe are the lively portraictures of many of the Dukes of *Saxonie* carved and painted to life, covered with ſuch robes, armour, and furniture for their horſes made of gold and ſilver, and ſet with precious ſtones, as they uſed to weare when they were living.

There are alſo thirty ſix ſleds for pleaſure of great beauty, and rare invention, with two carved and painted horſes to every of them, richly furniſhed with ſilver bits, and the bridles and capar ſons imbrodered with ſilver and gold, hanging full of ſilver bels according to the *German* cuſtome. Here are alſo many Chambers full of Masking garments, and other abiliments for triumphs and paſtimes both for

Land

Land and Water. In this Armory alſo are many coſtly weapons, both offenſive and defenſive; ſuch, ſo good, and ſo rich, as many can procure, or the wit of man invent.

Vnder this Armory ſtandeth a moſt princely Stable arched with ſtone, and ſupported with goodly pillars of Marble. Out of every of which pillars runneth ſweet and freſh water for the daily uſe of the Stable: The rackes are of iron, the mangers plated over with copper, the ſtalles for the Horſes of ſtrong carved timber; every Stall having a faire glazed window, and every window a greene curtaine. The ground betweene the ſtalles is paved with faire broad ſtones. In this Stable are an hundred eight and twenty horſes, and yet no wet nor filth to be perceived, nor dung to be ſeene or ſmelt.

Neere unto the Palace ſtandeth the Arſenall, wherein is ſeene ſuch plenty of great Artilleric, yellow as gold, ſuch ſtrange Engins, and ſuch wonderfull qualities of all kind of Armour and Munition whatſoever, neceſſary for the Wars, or a long ſiege, that for Land-ſervice it farre excelleth the Arſinall of *Venice*, or any other Storehouſe in *Europe*, able to arme 300000. Horſe and Foot at a dayes warning. And as the Armory and Arſenall excell all others, ſo the City for its quantity (in my judgement) is to be accounted the faireſt and ſtrongeſt of *Europe*, and that far ſurpaſſing *Noremberg*, *Anwerp*, or *Lubech*, at this day reckoned to bee the prime Cities of Chriſtendome. Beſides this Armory, all the Cities and Townes have their Armories very well kept and provided: neither are the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Country people unfurniſhed.

There are in *Saxonie* three Vniverſities, *Wittenberg*, *Liepſique*, and *Iene*. The firſt is ſuppoſed to be the prime Vniverſity of all *Germany*. It is about two miles compaſſe within the walls, being neither ſtrong nor faire. In it are only two Churches, and foure Colleges, being neither rich nor beautifull, and in them about a thouſand Students of all ſorts. It hath a ſtrong Bridge of Timber over the *Elve*, and a faire Caſtle or Palace appertaining to the Duke. In the Church

Vniverſities.
Wittenberg.

of

of this Caſtle are interred the bodies of *M. Luther*, and *P. Melanchthon*, under two faire Marble ſtones, with ſuperſcriptions of copper upon them, and their pictures from head to foot in great tables ſet up by them.

Iene. Leipſich. The other two have ſome ſix or ſeven hundred Schollers apeece; but in Colleges, Lectures, Order, Proceeding, and all things elſe, infinitely inferiour either to *Cambridge* or *Oxford*: There are all profeſſions in each of them, but *Wittenberg* is eſteemed the chiefe Seminary of Divines; *Iene* of Civilians; and *Liepſiege* of Philoſophie.

Fertilitie. All the Dukedome, but eſpecially *Miſen*, is one of the pleaſanteſt and fruitfulleſt parts of all *Germany*, and in truth much exceeding any that I ſaw, but onely the Dukedome of *Wittenberg*. It hath great ſtore of very good Corne of all ſorts, reaſonable good and convenient ſtore of moſt ſort of Cattell: of Horſes they have plenty, and thoſe ſtrong and tall of ſtature, but fitter to draw than to ſerve, yet very well fitting their manner of ſervice, being heavily armed (*viz.*) with a Petronell, a caſe of Piſtols, a Courtle-axe, and divers times with a Battle-axe; over and above all which, his Horſe muſt be able to carry two or foure bottles of Wine or Beere in his great heavy Saddle, leſt in any caſe his Maſter ſhould faint for want of liquor in his journey: But their beſt races they have out of the nether *Saxonie*, where there be exceeding ſtore. The Bullocks are but ſmall and nothing good. Of ſheepe they have in ſome places indifferent ſtore, eſpecially within theſe few yeeres; of body little, and but reaſonable good, yet ſo, as bearing indifferent good wooll; either the ſheepe themſelves, or their fleeces, are bought up by the *Netherlands*, and imployed in the making of cloth, to ſome prejudice of ours in *England*.

Riches. They have great ſtore of Mines of moſt ſorts, as Silver, Copper, Tin, Lead, Iron, and (as they ſay) ſome Gold. The chiefe places of the Silver Mines are *Tiberg*, *Aviberg*, *Mariaberg*, and other Townes at the foot of the *Bohemian* Mountaines. In *Voitland* there are alſo ſome Hills very rich in Minerals, eſpecially one called which being much

much celebrated for having ſome Rivers running out of it, Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South, is exceedingly ſpoken of for Silver and Gold Mines, inſomuch as in a Storie written of the Mines of *Saxonie*, called *Berg-Cronicon*, it is affirmed, that this Hill yeelded to the Dukes of *Saxonie* in eight yeares, twenty two Millions of Florens, only for the Tenths. Beſides theſe Mines, the Duke hath the Mine of *Mansfielt*, pawned to divers Merchants of *Norimberg* and *Auguſta*, and are thought to be worth yearely thirty thouſand pounds ſterling. It is held, that all his Mines of *Saxonie* (beſides thoſe of *Mansfielt*) yeeld the Duke one yeare with another ſeven hundred thouſand Florens, which is about an hundred and thirty thouſand pounds ſterling.

Other commodities of worth they have none, but flax, and a kinde of thicke courſe cloth, which by reaſon of the exceeding falſifying and deareneſſe of ours, groweth every day into more and more requeſt with them. Commodities.

The whole Dukedome, but eſpecially *Miſen*, is very populous, full of Cities, walled Townes, and Country Villages, and all of them very well peopled. It is certainly affirmed, that the Duke at twenty dayes warning is able to make an Armie of foureſcore thouſand men very well armed and furniſhed. People.

The people generally are reaſonable faire of complexion and flaxen haired, but not well favoured, either men or women: in behaviour as civill as any part of *Germanie* whatſoever; eſpecially the women, who taking themſelves (as they are indeed) for the faireſt and beſt ſpoken of all *Dutchland*, are in their apparell and entertainment indifferently gracefull. For their diſpoſition, (as indeed almoſt all the reſt of the *Germans*) it is very honeſt, true, and not ordinarily given to any notorious vice, but drinking; nor willingly offering any injurie, either to their owne country-men, or to ſtrangers, but when they are drunke; and then very quarrelſome, and (as it is ſaid) more valiant than when they are ſober. Wiſe in mediocritie, but not of any great ſharpneſſe or ſubtiltie of wit: Of body ſtrong, and big boned, eſpecially Manners of the people.

ally

ally the Countrey people, but of a kinde of lumpish, heavie, and unactive ſtrength, fitter for husbandrie, and other toilesome labour, than fighting.

In their chiefe Cities, ſome few give themſelves at their great and principall Feaſts, to a little uſe of their Peece, in ſhooting at a marke; but otherwiſe, by reaſon of their long peace, altogether untrained to the warres, or any warlike exerciſes. But the uſe of the pot ſerveth for all other paſtimes and delights; in which notwithſtanding they have very ſmall ſtore of wine, yet they are nothing inferiour to any other part of *Dutchland*.

Artizans. They have great ſtore of Artizans and Handy-crafts men of all ſorts, but in their ſeverall trades nothing ſo neat and artificiall as the *Netherlanders* and *Engliſh*, or thoſe of *Norimberg* and *Auguſta*. Of Merchants they have great ſtore, eſpecially in *Liepſiege*, and other chiefe Cities, and thoſe for the moſt part very rich; whereof this reaſon is yeelded, that though they have no commodities, ſave thoſe before mentioned, nor are neere the Sea, or any great Rivers, (by which they may have cheape and commodious importation or exportation of wares) yet *Germanie* is ſo ſeated in the midſt and heart of all Chriſtendome, and *Saxonie* in the bowels of it, as by continuall trafficking with *England*, *France*, the *Low-Countries*, *Italie*, *Poland*, and all the *Eaſterne Countries*, and by daily conveying all the commodities of each Countrey over-land to others that want them, they grow very wealthy.

Merchants.

For ſuch as give themſelves to the warres, and have no other profeſſion of living, though generally all the *Germans* are mercenary ſouldiers, (and ſo their ſervice accordingly) yet I heard of as few in this Province, as in any part of *Germanie*; whether it were that the wars of *Hungarie* imployed them all, or that other Princes growing weary of their ſervice, their occupation began to decay.

Nobles. Touching the Nobilitie, I can ſay nothing in particular of their numbers, names, titles, diſpoſitions, &c. only in generall, there be Earles and Barons. Some are meerely

ſubject

ſubject to the Duke; others are borderers, which are only but homagers; as the Princes of *Anhalt*; the Counts of *Mansfielt*, the Counts of *Swarzenberge*, &c. Of Gentils there are good ſtore, to the number (as it is ſuppoſed) of three or foure thouſand at the leaſt, by which meanes the Duke is alwayes in his warres well furniſhed with Horſemen, every one (one with another) bringing three or foure good horſes with him to the field.

The Nobilitie and Gentilitie generally thorow all *Germanie*, and particularly in this Dukedome, have great royalties and revenues. The lands, goods, and chiefe houſes are uſually equally divided amongſt all the children, reſerving but little prerogative to the eldeſt brother. The Honours likewiſe deſcend equally to the whole Familie; all the ſonnes of Dukes, being Dukes; and all the daughters, Ducheſſes: all the ſonnes of Counts, Counts; and the daughters, Counteſſes, &c.

They are exceedingly had (both Noblemen and Gentlemen) in extraordinary reverence and eſtimation amongſt the vulgar people, which both in their Gate and Seats in publike places, they very religiouſly maintaine. In time of Peace they are but little uſed in counſell or matters of State, being almoſt all utterly unqualified, either with wiſdome, learning, or experience; only contenting themſelves with ſhadow of honour which their anceſtors have left them. And if they have beene famous (as by the raiſing of their Houſes to that greatneſſe it ſhould ſeeme they have beene) they imitate them in nothing, but in only continuing their ſo long and ſo holily obſerved order of carowſing.

In time of warre (which hath beene for many yeares till the late warres of *Hungarie*, very ſmall, or rather none) becauſe of their greatneſſe both in Revenues and number of Tenants, their ſervice hath beene uſually imployed: but now by reaſon of their long diſuſe of Martiall matters, (which therefore ſeemed to make ſome amends, or at leaſt ſome excuſe of their other defects) they are become, if I gheſſe not amiſſe, not ſo fit for their greatneſſe, as unfit for

their

their want of knowledge every way, either in experience or contemplation. And truly I cannot ſo much as heare almoſt of any of them, either Noble or Gentlemen, that give themſelves to any Noble ſtudies, exerciſes, or delights, except now and then to the hunting of the wilde Boare; by which, and by accuſtoming their heads to the wearing of their heavie thrummed Caps in ſtead of a head-peece, they take themſelves to be greatly enabled for ſervice.

Valour. For the valour and warlike diſpoſition of the people of this Dukedome, I cannot commend them above the reſt of their Country-men; neither ſhall I (as I thinke) need to ſtand much upon that point, ſithence their actions ſhall plead their ſufficiencie in generall. The great matters which they have undertaken, and the little that they have performed, will produce ſufficient teſtimonie. What they did one againſt another in the time of *Charles* the fifth, is not much materiall to prove their courage; ſince without queſtion, Bulruſhes againſt Bulruſhes are very good Weapons. But in the ſame time, and under the ſame Duke and Captaine, they performed very little againſt the *Spaniards*, though with farre over-ballanced numbers, as in divers places of *Sleyden* manifeſtly appeareth. Touching their actions in the *Low-Countries*, in the Prince of *Orange* his time, & in *France* during the civill warres, and ſithence for the King, (if I miſtake it not) it hath alwayes beene praiſe enough for them, if they have helped to keepe their enemies from doing any great matters, though they have performed nothing themſelves. Of latter time they have rather increaſed than diminiſhed this opinion, in the warres ten yeares ſince in *Hungarie*, beſides many other times of notable diſorders amongſt them by falſe Alarmes. They fled moſt ſhamefully out of the Iſland of *Komora*, being charged by a few *Tartars*, who with infinite hazzard and inconvenience ſwam over a part of the *Danubie* to come at them. The Summer after, Count *Charles* of *Mansfield*, their Generall, had them in ſuch jelouſie, as when the *Turkes* only with ſome twelve or fourteene thouſand men came to victuall *Gran*, and paſt almoſt

cloſe

close by their Tents, and they being at least fifty thousand strong, he durst not set upon them till they retired, having performed the project of their journey, lest the *Germans* (who were by farre the greater part of his Armie) being lustily charged, might give backe, & so indanger the whole Campe. To omit many other particularities about this point, too long to dwell upon in this discourse, they are no more to be commended for their discipline, than for their valour: for though they be commonly very well armed, and keepe indifferent good order in their march, yet are they for the most part no more watchfull and provident in their Campe, than if they were safely intrenched in an Ale-house. Quarrelsome exceedingly, and in a manner given to drinking continually, and almost every common souldier carrying with him his she-baggage, besides his bagge and other furniture. Of their unreasonable spoiling and free-booting, the French Stories make sufficient relation; and it hath alwayes beene hard to discerne, whether those Nations that have called them to their succour, have received more detriment by them, or by their professed enemies. For instance of their spoiling humour, the Marquesse of *Turloch* taking in the Marquesdome of *Baden*, and being constrained to keepe some foure or five thousand men in sundry places in garrison, they all offered (though he gave them very extraordinary pay) to serve without any wages, so they might have free libertie of pillage. Therefore let it not seeme strange, that I produce these generall examples of this Nation; for though in divers Provinces they are much differing in complexion, in stature, and many other circumstances, yet for warre, especially for their vices in warre, they are in a manner all of the same aire.

Conceit of the *English*.

They have greatly affected the *English* Nation, but of late were they not a little distasted, upon pretence of injuries done them about prizes, Sea matters, and suppressing their privileges of the *Stillyard*; wherein though they themselves (as being Inland people, and trading little by Sea) are nothing interessed; yet their neighbours of *Hamborough*,

borough, *Lubeeh*, and divers other Hanſe-townes, making all theſe matters farre greater and worſe than indeed they are, have ſpread even into their minds the contagion of their owne grudge.

Councell. The Councell of *Saxony* are at this time few: Amongſt them there are ſome that are of the Nobility, Counſellours rather in name than effect. For in that they live in their Countries, they are ſeldome preſent at any conſultations, and meddle little in the ordinary government of the State. The reſt, after the manner of *Germany*, are moſt Civilians. The whole government of the affaires (as alſo the Court) is very private. Other particulars I cannot ſpecifie, neither in truth if a man conſider their outward portlineſſe, though otherwiſe I doubt not, but wiſe enough, doe they merit the ſetting downe of any. For being (as all *Germans* are) plaine and homely in their behaviour and entertainment, they are both in their retinue, apparell, and all things elſe very ſuitable; ſo that not onely in this Court, but in the Courts of divers great Princes of *Germany*, they goe uſually apparelled in blacke Leather, or Linnen died blacke, the chiefeſt having only an addition for ornament ſake, of the Princes picture in gold, or a chaine of one or two boughts, whereby they ſeeme ſuch leatherne and linnen Gentlemen, as, if they were in *England*, all men would take them for honeſt factors unto Merchants, or elſe ſome under-Clerke of an Office, rather than ſuch great and chiefe Counſellours, to ſo great Princes and Eſtates. But as it ſhould be great folly for a man to judge the precioufneſſe of a Iewell by the caſe wherein it is kept, and much greater to eſteeme it by the cover of the caſe; even ſo by the ſame reaſon, it were an equall indiſcretion, to eſtimate a mans worth either by their body or apparell, the one being but an earthen caſe of the heavenly minde, the other but the outward cover of that worthleſſe box. So on the other ſide, it is an undeniable certainty, that not only the common people and ſtrangers, but even wiſe men are moved and ſtirred up with outward ſhewes, and their mindes according to thoſe exterior matters,

ters, prepared to receive a deepe impreſſion, either of like or diſlike, favour or disfavour, of reverence, or careleſſe retchleſneſſe, and debaſed diſpoſitions.

The Revenues of this Dukedome are, as moſt men affirme, very great, and without compariſon the greateſt of any *German* Prince whatſoever. The meanes whereby it ariſeth to that greatneſſe, are divers; firſt the great quantity of Silver Mines, and ſuch like, whoſe profit notwithſtanding is very uncertaine, according to the goodneſſe or badneſſe of the veines: the great impoſitions upon all ſorts of Merchandize, and the aſſize upon Beere, which only in the Citie *Liepſiege*, being a little Towne of two Pariſhes, amounteth yearely to above twenty thouſand pounds ſterling. The tenths of all ſorts of increaſe, as Corne, Wine, &c. The Salt-houſes at *Hall*, and ſome other places, which being all to the Duke; beſides the Lands of the Dukedome being very great, and the Taxes and Subſidies aſſeſſed at their Parliaments or Diets, with divers other caſualties, which fall not within my knowledge. But above all, the greateſt is an impoſition which hath long time beene laid upon the people, towards the maintenance of the warres againſt the *Turke*; which notwithſtanding they have beene ſuſpended for a long ſpace lately, yet under colour of being ſufficiently provided and furniſhed againſt future neceſſities, they have beene continued, and the treaſure converted to the Princes private uſe, ariſing in all this time to that quantity, that if it had beene reſerved to the pretended uſe, the warres might be continually very royally maintained, (I ſpeake as much as is required on the behalfe of that Dukedome) and the people freed theſe many yeares from the impoſition; which notwithſtanding is not onely ſtill continued, but ſince the laſt warres increaſed. What the generall ſumme of all the revenues ariſe unto I have nothing certaine, neither indeed is it certaine in it ſelfe, a great part thereof (as aforeſaid) conſiſting upon caſualties, as the Mines and Tenths, &c. But for mine owne particular conceit, being not altogether unconfirmed by other mens Revenues.

opinions, I cannot imagine how that it can ariſe to leſſe than foure hundred thouſand pound ſterling yearely at the leaſt.

Thus have I briefly runne over ſome few particulars of the great and noble Dukedome of *Saxony*, worthy a much more ample diſcourſe, and a farre more worthier and better informed diſcourſer; being (all things conſidered) not onely the greateſt and mightieſt Princedome under the Empire, but even greater and mightier (I meane as it ſtood united in the time of *Chriſtianus*) than the Empire it ſelfe. For though the Emperour by his ſacred Imperiall Seat bee his Liege-Lord, and in greatneſſe of dominion farre ſuperiour, yet is he in revenue, in great love of his people, in warlike proviſion, and in *German* leagues and confederacies farre inferiour.

The State of the Marqueſſe Elector of Brandenburg.

THis Prince poſſeſſeth a larger tract of land than doth the other Electors, and hath more Nobleſſe, Gentry, and people, yet is a great deale of his land very wilde and barren, much of his people poore, and himſelfe though of great revenue, yet farre ſhort of that of *Saxony*. *Brandenburg* lies on the Eaſt limited with *Poland*, on the Weſt with *Saxonie*, touching upon *Luſatia* on the South. The compaſſe is about five hundred miles, wherein are reckoned fifty Cities great and ſmall, and threeſcore and foure walled Townes. The whole Marquiſate is divided into the *Old*, the chiefe Towne whereof is *Brandenburg*; and the *New*, the greateſt Citie therein being *Franckford* upon *Oder*; famous for the Mart and Vniverſity. The Princes Seat is at *Berlin*. This twofold diviſion is againe ſubdivided into eight Provinces, from which the Nobilitie take their titles; one of theſe (*Croſſen* by name) being a Dukedome. For in *Germany* (you are to underſtand) a Dukedome may be contained within a Marquiſate, yea, and a Duke come behinde a Count: for that in the Empire precedencie goes

not

not (as with us) by title, but by bloud and antiquity. The name of the present Elector is *Iohannes Georgius*, in whose line the title hath continued these two hundred and eleven yeares. Besides now the bare Country of *Brandenburg*, this Prince hath other dominions: many townes and lands both in *Lusatia* and *Silesia*; which with that of *Ounspach* by *Nurenberg*, goe commonly away to the younger of the family; all which write themselves Marquesses of *Brandenburg*. The three Dukedomes of *Cleve*, *Iuliers*, and *Berg*, have also beene united to this family; though now almost twentie yeares since the Duke of *Cleve* dying without issue, these three States are yet in controversie betwixt this Marquesse, and the Duke of *Newenburg*. Besides these, is hee Duke of *Prussia*, which is a great Country; into which the King of *Poland* is to give him investiture. So that hee and the Archbishop Elector of *Cullen*, be Lords of the greatest tracts of lands of all the Princes of *Germany*. The revenues out of *Brandenburg* are thought to amount to forty thousand pounds sterling; and certainly his profits out of all his other Estates cannot but double that summe: A sufficient rent for such a Prince, if you consider the cheapnesse of all things in his Country. He is Lord of much people, and therefore of many souldiers.

The Duke of *Brunswicke* hath a large dominion, well peopled, well furnished, and himselfe of a great revenue; but both in place much inferiour (being no Elector) being as of body the strongest, so also of minde the vilest natured people of all *Germanie*. In other things likewise he is inferiour to the Duke of *Saxonie*, a great part of his Country being barren, and his subjects poore. The Duke of *Brunswicke*.

The Duke of *Bavaria* hath a large, rich, and goodly Country, lying in great length on both sides the *Danubie*, a great revenue, and his subjects in good estate: but (as being almost the only Catholike great Prince of the temporalty) of no great party, and unfurnished of warlike provision, but much more of treasure, being exceedingly behinde hand, principally through the abuse of his Iesuites, by whom be- *Bavaria*.

ing wholly governed, he hath ſpent, and daily doth, infinitely in building them Churches, Altars, and Colleges, and endowing them with large revenues.

What is above written of the Duke of *Bavaria's* eſtate, was ſomething to the truth at the time of the former edition of this booke; for certainly the houſe of *Bavaria* is wholly Ieſuited, inſomuch as the father of this preſent Duke giving over the government, retired himſelfe into a houſe of Ieſuites: and this preſent Duke, beſides other his large bounties and buildings, hath already eſtated eighteene hundred pound ſterling a yeare upon the *Engliſh* Ieſuites, with condition, that it ſhall goe to the Vniverſity of *Oxford*, ſo ſoone as that ſhall be converted to Popery. So that the caſe is now altered with the Duke of *Bavaria*, hee hath gotten part both of the *Vpper* and *Lower Palatinate* into his hands; yea, and the Electorſhip it ſelfe is eſtated upon him. Thus (for the time) are the *Palatinate* and *Bavaria* fallen both upon one perſon againe, as they were before the yeare 1294. when as *Lewis* the Emperour, Prince of both of them, gave the *Palatinate* to his elder ſonne, and *Bavaria* to the younger: after which the *Palatine* marrying the heire of *Bavaria*, againe united them. But about 125. yeares ſince the Emperour *Maximilian* againe parted them, giving *Bavaria* to the Anceſtor of this preſent *Maximilian*. He is Vncle to King *Frederike*: himſelfe hath no iſſue; his ſecond brother is the Elector of *Cullen*, and a third brother he hath who is not childleſſe. *Bavaria* touches both *Auſtria*, *Bohemia*, and the *Vpper Palatinate*; too aptly ſituated for the late warres, both to diſtreſſe his nephew, and to aid the Emperour. What forces he is able to make, did then appeare; and his revenue muſt bee anſwerable.

Wirtenberg. The Duke of *Wirtemberg*, as in dignitie he is inferiour to all theſe, ſo doth hee (if I be not deceived) approach neereſt in moſt particulars of greatneſſe to the Duke of *Saxonie*: having a Country in circuit but ſmall, being not much bigger by gheſſe than *Yorkeſhire*, but very full of neat

Townes

Townes and rich Villages, very well peopled, and they generally very rich: The land is not so fruitfull as in other places, but farre excelling the best in *England*, that ever came under my view; abounding exceedingly (especially about *Stutgard*) with wine, and the Countrey so pleasantly diversified, as that the hils (whereof it is full) and River sides being only imployed to Vines, the plaines are every where full of corne of all sorts, of excellent meadow and pasture, with sufficient store of wood. The Duke himselfe is well loved of his people, very rich in treasure and yearely revenue, so that setting the mines aside, he is thought to be equall, if not superiour to the Duke of *Saxonie*. But for provision of warre (excepting powder, whereof there is some store) very meanly furnished, and for many respects not loved of his neighbour Princes. This Prince (as the *Palatine*) is also of the Order of *England*.

The rest of the Princes of *Germanie*, as the Duke of *Michelburg*, the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, the Marquesse of *Baden*, the Marquesse of *Anspach*, or any other whatsoever, being in all respects much inferiour to these already named, need not to be brought into competition with the Dukedome of *Saxonie*, which makes the case more lamentable, that so mighty a Princedome having beene many yeares wholly united in *Maurice*, *Augustus*, and *Christianus*, should now by the ill ordered custome of *Germanie*, be distracted and divided into parts, and likely in time to be more disunited by subdividing it againe to future Issues. *Michelburg.* *Hesse.* *Baden.* *Anbach.*

Endlesse it were to write of all the Princes of *Germanie*, which be about forty in all, besides seven Archbishops, and seven and forty Bishops; all men of great power and possessions. The Imperiall Cities be also Seigniories by themselves, each able to make Levies of men by Sea and Land. Thus much therefore for *Germanie*.

Geneva.

Situation. Circuit.

Geneva is alſo an Imperial City in *Savoy*, ſituated at the South end of the Lake *Lemanus*, hard by the Lake. It is in circuit about two *Engliſh* miles, reaſonable ſtrong by Nature and Art, as well for that it is ſeated on a hill, which on the Weſt is not eaſily acceſſible, as alſo for that it is in-

Strength.

differently well fortified with ravelings, Bulwarkes, and Platformes, beſides a deepe ditch. The Eaſt and Weſt parts thereof, ſtanding continually full of water: The South part remaining dry continually, and is well defended with Caſemats, the better to ſcoure the Curtaine: it is ſo much the ſtronger, for that it ſtandeth almoſt in an Iſland, having the Lake aforeſaid on the North, the River of *Rhoſne* upon the Weſt, and the River of *Arba* upon the South, being from the Towne halfe a mile, and by reaſon of the ſwiftneſſe of the currant, and great moveable ſtones in the bottome, which are violently carried downe the River, it is not paſſable but with great danger.

The River *Rhoſne* divideth the Towne into two parts, the one is called the high Towne, and the other Saint *Gervais*. Betweene the River (in paſſing) it divideth it ſelfe into two branches, making a little Iſland, wherein are ſome few houſes, and ſeven or eight mills to grinde corne. The weakeſt part of the Towne is upon the Eaſt-ſide, and out of the Weſt by Saint *Gervais* Church; and for that it might have beene ſurpriſed from the Lake, *Mounſier la Nove* cauſed a new Fort to be made in the mouth of the Lake, by reaſon whereof, that part is moſt ſecure. The Towne is well peopled, eſpecially with women; inſomuch as they commonly ſay, that there are three women for one man: yeelding this reaſon, that the warres have conſumed their men. They reckon ſome ſixteen thouſand of all ſorts. The Territo-

The Territories.

ries are ſmall, being no way above two leagues and a halfe; yet by reaſon the ſoile is fruitfull, being well manured, it bringeth graine of all ſorts, and great ſtore of Wine. There

is

is likewiſe plenty of paſture and feeding grounds; by meanes whereof, the Inhabitants are very well provided of all ſorts of good fleſh at a reaſonable rate: no want of good Butter and Cheeſe, and for moſt part of wild-fowle; as Partridge, Quaile, Pheſant, and Mallard, in great abundance.

There are all manner of good fruits, and eſpecially excellent Pearmaines: beſides, the River and the Lake afford divers ſorts of freſh Fiſh; as Pike, Roch, Carpe, Tench, &c. and above all, the beſt and biggeſt Carpes of *Europe*. The commodities of the Dukes Countrey, and of the *Berneſi*, with ten or twelve miles next adjoyning, are brought to this Tower, by reaſon the Peaſant can get no money in any other place, which maketh the market to be well ſerved. The Towne ſtandeth very well for trade of Merchandize, and if it might have peace, it would grow rich in ſhort time; for, the ordinary paſſage to tranſport commodities out of *Germanie* to *France*, eſpecially to *Lions*, and ſo back againe into *Swizerland* and *Germanie*, is by this Towne: beſide, all *Savoy*, in a manner, and a good part of the Countrey of the *Berneſi* reſort hither to buy their armour, apparell, and other neceſſaries, the Inhabitants being for the moſt part mechanicall perſons, making excellent good Peeces; as Muskets, Caleevers, &c. They likewiſe worke Satten, Velvet, Taffata, and ſome quantity of Cloth, though not very fine nor durable. There are many good Merchants, eſpecially *Italians*, who have great dealing: ſome others are thought to bee worth twenty thouſand crownes, and in generall, the Towne is reaſonable rich notwithſtanding their warres.

Fertilitie.

Handicrafts.

The ordinary Revenue of the Towne, is ſome threeſcore thouſand crownes, which ariſeth of the Gables of Merchandize, fleſh, demaine, and tithes: and if there might be peace, it would amount to twice or thrice ſo much.

Revenue.

There is reaſonable proviſion againſt a ſiege, the Towne being able to make ſome two thouſand men, and one hundred horſe, and furniſh them with all neceſſaries; and having the Lake open, they want no proviſion of corne, or any victuals. In the Arſenall there is Armour for ſome two thouſand

ſand men, with Muskets, Pikes, Caleevers, &c. Some twelve or fourteene Peeces of Ordnance, whereof there are about eight or nine Canons and Culverings: plenty of ſmall ſhot, bullets and fire-works, beſides ſome ſixty Peeces in the Bulwarkes. There was in former times proviſion of corne for ſix moneths, but of late yeares they have not beene ſo provident. The people generally are marvellous reſolute to defend their Towne, eſpecially againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, whom they hate exceedingly, and he them, not only in reſpect of the difference of Religion, but in matter of State: for the Duke counteth them Rebels, and pretendeth a Title to their Towne, alleaging, that till the yeare 1535. they were under the rule of their Biſhop, who was Lord both in Temporall and Spirituall matters, and the Biſhop acknowledged him for his chiefe Lord, and did him homage, till the yeare thirtie, at which time, and before, the money which was coined in *Geneva*, was ſtamped with the Dukes name and figure upon it. Beſides, till the time aforeſaid, the Duke of *Savoy* might pardon offenders that were condemned: and further, there was no ſentence of Law executed, but the Dukes Officer was made acquainted therewith, in whoſe power it was to diſanull, as hee liked beſt. Likewiſe in the yeare 1529. whenas thoſe of *Geneva* had leagued themſelves with *Friburge*, the Duke diſliking thereof, becauſe it was done without his privitie, cauſed the league to be broken, alleaging, that the Towne of *Geneva* could not conclude a matter of ſuch importance, without his allowance and approbation. Beſides, all theſe reaſons before remembred, this alſo is alleaged as moſt materiall, that Duke *Charles* comming to *Geneva* with the Ducheſſe *Beatrice* his wife, thoſe of the Towne preſented him the Keyes thereof, therby acknowledging him their chiefe Lord and Maſter. During the civill warres in *France*, the Towne was marvellouſly peopled, inſomuch as there were to the number of twelve or fourteene thouſand ſtrangers, the greateſt part whereof were Gentlemen: but ſince thoſe troubles began to diminiſh, the number likewiſe hath decayed, and at this inſtant there are not many

many beſides the Inhabitants, by reaſon whereof, the Towne is very much impoveriſhed.

The Towne is governed by a Councell of two hundred, called the great Councell, out of which is choſen another Councell, compoſed of five and twentie, and of theſe, foure eſpeciall men, called *Sindiques*, who have the managing of the whole Common-wealth, unleſſe it be in ſome great matters, wherein the whole State is deeply intereſſed, as in making of peace or warre, in leagues offenſive and defenſive, appeales, &c. Government.

The people are governed by the Civil Law: the Iudge whereof is called a Lieutenant Criminall, before whom all cauſes are tried, and from whom there is no appeale, unleſſe it be to the generall Councell of two hundred. When the Towne was beſieged in eightie nine, the *Venetians* did not only ſend them intelligence of ſundry practices againſt them, but alſo ſent them twenty foure thouſand crownes to maintaine their warres; and out of *England* they had thirteene thouſand crownes. The Great Duke of *Thuſcan* did likewiſe ſend them many intelligences at the ſame time: and heretofore when as the Pope, the King of *Spaine*, the *French* King, and the Duke of *Savoy*, have joyned their powers together, with purpoſe to beſiege them, the Emperour hath not only revealed all their practices, but offered to aid them with men and money: yea, and ſometime the Dukes of *Savoy* have lent them money to maintaine them againſt the others. For hee had rather the Towne ſhould remaine as it doth, than fall into any other mans hands than his owne.

Queene *Elizabeth* highly favoured it, and releeved it: ſo did all the Proteſtant *German* Princes, together with the *French* King. Who though hee be of a contrary Religion, yet hath he had it alwayes in eſpeciall protection.

The people are very civill in their behaviour, ſpeech, and apparell, all licentiouſneſſe being ſeverely corrected, and eſpecially dancing: Adultery is puniſhed with death, and the Women drowned in the *Roſne*; ſimple Fornication with nine dayes faſting, bread and water in priſon; for the ſecond Behaviour.

offence,

offence whipping out of the Towne, and the third time with baniſhment. The Towne lent unto *Henry* the third, King of *France*, a little before his death, 450000. crownes, and twelve Canons, which are not yet reſtored: the *Berneſi* ſeeme to be their friends, but thoſe of *Geneva* are very jealous of them, and dare not truſt them.

The Miniſters have a conſiſtorie, unto which they may call publike offendors, and ſuch as give ſcandall unto others, and there reprove them: and if the crime be great, and the partie obſtinate, they forbid him the Communion; if notwithſtanding hee perſiſt, they may excommunicate him. But the Miniſters cannot call any before them into the Conſiſtory, but by the authoritie of a *Sindique*, who muſt aſſiſt them; otherwiſe the Miniſters have power to ſummon any Man. They have their maintenance out of the common Treaſury, and meddle with no Tithes. Maſter *Beza* in eighty ſeven had ſome 1500. Florens for his ſtipend, which amounteth to ſome ſeven or eight and fiftie pounds ſterling, beſides twenty coupes of corne, and his houſe; All which will hardly amount to foureſcore pounds: the reſt of the Miniſters had ſome ſix or ſeven hundred Florens, twenty coupes of corne, and their houſes. The Miniſters in the countrie have three hundred forty and five Florens, and twenty coupes of corne. The Profeſſor in Divinity hath *per annum* 1125. Florens, and twenty coupes of Corne; The Profeſſor in Law 580. Florens; The Profeſſor in Greeke 510. Florens; The Profeſſor of Philoſophy 600. Florens, and twenty coupes; The Profeſſor in Hebrew 510. Florens.

All honeſt exerciſes, as ſhooting in Peeces, Croſſe-Bowes, Long-Bowes, &c. are uſed on the Sabbath day, and that in the morning, both before and after the Sermon, neither doe the Miniſters finde any fault therewith, ſo that they hinder not from hearing the word at the time appointed.

Swizerland.

Swizerland.

IN the daies of *Cæsar*, this Province contained two hundred and forty miles in length, and one hundred and foureſcore in breadth; which circuit or territorie ſeeming too narrow a roome to containe ſo valiant and a warlike people, that not long before had overthrowne *L. Caſſius* a *Roman* Conſull, ſlaine the Conſull himſelfe, and ſold the ſouldiers for bond-ſlaves; upon theſe apprehenſions, and the conceit of their owne valours, they began to entertaine a reſolution, by conqueſt to gaine a larger territory, correſpondent to the ambitious greatneſſe of their minds, and to forſake their owne country, which firſt gave them breath and being. In heat whereof they prepare for their departure, they provide victuals, ſtudy tillage two yeeres, buy carts and cariage beaſts, and leſt any mans courage ſhould decline with the time, they make a law, that every one ſhould be in readineſſe to ſet forward in the beginning of the third yeere. Being upon their way, and hearing that *Cæſar* (then Proconſull of *France*) had cauſed the bridge of *Geneva* to be hewne downe; and to debarre them of paſſage, had raiſed that famous fortification betweene the *Lake* and Mount *Iura*, they ſent ſome of their greateſt Commanders to *Cæſar*, to intreat a quiet paſſage thorow the *Roman* Province. At their appointed day of Audience hearing *Cæſars* deniall, they reſolve to open the way with the power of their forces. In triall of which project, after they had received divers defeatures, they againe ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*; to intreat an acceptation of ſubmiſſion, throwing themſelves at his feet; and with many ſupplications, craving ſuch favorable conditions of peace, as might beſt comfort ſo diſtreſſed a people, and beſeeme the glory of ſo mighty a conqueſt: which requeſts *Cæſar* upon delivery of pledges mercifully granted, injoyned them to returne to the Country from whence they came, and to build the cities and villages, which before their comming forth they had deſtroyed.

Ever.

Ever ſince which time they retained the reputation of their ancient glory, but never enterprized to forſake their limited habitations. The number of Men, Women, and Children, that were in that journey, was 3680000. whereof 920000. were fighting men: of them that returned, and ſaw the fortune of both their States, was 110000. Some hold opinion, that this Nation is utterly extinguiſhed, and that the preſent Inhabitants (whereof we now intreat) both for their reſemblance in manners and phraſe of ſpeech, are deſcended from the *Germans*.

Situation. It is almoſt all ſituated amongſt the *Alpes*, and therefore ſuppoſed to be the higheſt Region in *Europe*, and the rather for that the moſt famous Rivers of this part of the World, (*viz.*) *Rhone*, *Rodan*, and *Po*, falling from theſe high places, doe diſperſe their chanels thorow divers Provinces of Chriſtendome. It is called in Hiſtorie, *Confœderatorum Regio*, a State popular, and ſubject to no one Prince. And although it ſeeme to bee environed with ſteepe and barren Mountaines alwaies covered with Snow, yet in truth it is fertile enough, and intermixed with fruitfull places full of excellent Paſtures, wherein they bring up infinite numbers of Sheep and Cattell to their ineſtimable profit, by venting of Butter, Cheeſe, and other white meats to forren Nations. Of Wheat and Wine they have no ſuch plenty, but are glad to crave in aid of their neighbours to releeve their wants.

From the times before ſpoken of, untill the comming of the *Sarazens* into *Italy*, at what time the Pope ſent an honourable Embaſſage of Cardinals to intreat their favour and aſſiſtance, they ſeemed to live contented within their owne limits; and onely in reward of their many good ſervices (imployed for the defence of the Church and Chriſtendome) they deſired of his Holineſſe, that they might live in liberty in theſe places which they then inhabited, with the uſe of their owne Lawes and ancient Cuſtomes. Which the Pope not onely granted, but in token of their worthineſſe and valour he gave them a red banner, with the Image of

the

the Crucifix painted therein. After this service, they againe gave themselves to a quiet and peaceable life, to follow tillage, and to husband their granges, untill such time as certaine Noblemen their neighbours began to incroach upon them, and to exercise tyrannicall jurisdiction over them. Which kind of servitude (as people bearing in fresh remembrance their ancient and generous reputation) being unable to endure, and inured to give and not to take the law of their neighbours, opposed their forces against the insolency of this Nobilitie.

The Causes of their first Revolts.

The discontentment first burst out in the yeere of our Lord 1300. about which time the Counts of *Aspurgh* (afterward Dukes) had placed in one of their Castles of *Urania* in *Valstreet*, a Gentleman proud above measure, unsociable, and in lust insatiable. At first he was secret, but by custome imboldned, in Feasts and publike Banquets hee would boast, how he had now abused one Woman, then another: at last, amongst the rest, having ravished a very young and beautifull Damsell, he was slaine by her two Brethren. The *Count* agrieved hereat, offered to doe justice upon the offenders, but the Inhabitants of that Vallie valiantly resisted, overthrew two or three of his Castles in one day, and slew divers of his Officers. Which president the *Undervaldenses* imitating, committed the like outrage upon the Gentlemen of their Territorie, exclaiming that the tyranny of the Nobilitie had inforced them to this action. The first of the Confederates were, the *Suavi*, those of *Uro*, *Zurich*, and *Undervald*; who so well as they might in so sudden an innovation gave themselves to peace, and to respect the good of the league and the confederate Cities.

The residue of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, fearing if this example were left unpunished, the sore would grow incurable, as an evill which could bring forth no lesse a mischiefe than the utter losse of their jurisdiction, mustred all their friends and followers, determining either to tame or to raze these confederated Cantons. But the *Swizers* well acquainted with the difficult passages of the Country, easily frustrated

ſtrated the attempts of their enemies: thereby rather increaſing than diminiſhing their liberty.

Lupold Duke of *Auſtria*, enterprizing upon them with a mighty Army for the ſame quarrell, had the like fortune. So in ſucceeding ages had *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, by their ſervice undertaken and performed for the defence of *Rhene* Duke of *Lorraine*. They are men of large ſtature, and very ſeldome goe armed, but ſerve onely with the Pike or two-hand-ſword, becauſe they feare no other forces ſave the fury of the great Artillery, from which (ſay they) a breſt-plate or curace is not able to defend them. And becauſe of their order, they thinke it a matter impoſſible for any forces to breake them, or to enter upon them neerer than a Pikes length. In a pitcht field, without doubt, they are excellent good Foot-men, but to invade a Province they have little courage, and leſſe to defend it; and commonly, where they are not able to maintaine their accuſtomed order of fight, they availe nothing; as in the warre of *Italy* was plainly manifeſted, eſpecially when they were put to aſſaults (as at *Padoa*, and other places) wherein they gave but weake teſtimonies of valour: whereas when they fought it out in open field at the Pikes length, they carried themſelves valiantly; inſomuch that at the battell of *Ravenna*, if the *French* had beene without their aſſiſtance, they had queſtionleſſe loſt the glory of that daies victory. For before both Armies came to handy-ſtrokes, the Spaniſh had already overthrowne the *French* and *Gaſcoine* Foot-men, and if the *Swizers* had not ſeconded them, they had beene all ſlaine or taken. So in the warre of *Guien* it plainly appeared, that the *Spaniſh* were more afraid of one band of *Swizers*, whereof the King had waged ten thouſand, than of any of the reſt of the French Regiments. Thus by the reputation of theſe and their former exploits, they wonne unto their Nation ſo glorious a perpetuity of their Armes and valour, that ever ſince they have beene called unto the aide of divers Princes, and in continuall action under ſome one State or other bordering upon them; but eſpecially under

under the Kings of *France*, of whom they entertaine sometimes more, and sometimes lesse. Sithence the reigne of *Lewis* the 11. they have beene in perpetuall league, and in their pension; to whom they give yearly fortie thousand Florens, twentie thousand to the Cities, and twentie thousand to particular persons. They againe are divided into thirteene Cantons, eight whereof are Catholike, the residue of the Religion. But those of the Religion are much greater; and out of these it is that the Kings of *France* are supplied: the residue are in pension with the King of *Spaine*.

When the French King demandeth any forces out of their Cantons, they call a Diet, the charge whereof, as likewise the souldiers wages, the King defrayeth. These forren bands, more or lesse, to whom he alwayes committeth the battell, and the guard of his Cannon, (as for entring of breaches, and giving assaults, they doe expresly capitulate to be exempt) with the five Regiments before spoken of in the discourse of *France*, are his maine moderne forces on foot: but when he would have greater numbers, he giveth his Captaines Commissions to take up souldiers thorow the whole Realme, not by presse, as with us, but by striking up the Drumme, when if any come voluntarily, and take pay, they are inrolled, and injoyned to serve, otherwise not. Levying of souldiers.

The government of these thirteene Cities, with their dependances, (which they terme Cantons) is meerely popular: for though the members seeme to be separated, yet live they as one body firmly knit and united, having a chiefe Magistrate over every Territorie chosen by the commonalty of every particular Citie, and every Citie hath his particular Councell and place of assemblie, save only when they are to sit upon matters of importance, and such as concerne the generall estate, then they appoint a generall Diet, and that to be held in some one of the Cities which they thinke most convenient; whereunto foure or five of the most principall of every Citie are bound to resort. In their consultations, for the most part, they are conformable one to another; and because one Citie is as free as another, having no one chiefe Government.

Governour ſuperiour to any other, in caſe the cauſe (be it peace or warre) concerne the univerſall State of all the Cantons, looke how the major part of voices ſhall ſway in the Senate, ſo it prevaileth, and that which the greater number reſolve upon, is without more adoe put in execution. The benefit which they gaine by a common warre, is divided in common: but if ſometimes two or three united Cantons purchaſe any bootie by their peculiar Armes, of that purchaſe the reſidue can claime no ſhare. Yet hath it happened, that the reſidue thinking themſelves injured in not participating generally, have raiſed divers controverſies; and becauſe (as aforeſaid) they are equally free, and as great is the ſoveraigne authoritie of one Citie as of another, both parties have appealed unto the French King, who upon hearing of the cauſe in queſtion, gave judgement, *That a particular gaine appertained to particular perſons.* And ſo the reſt.

Therefore when they are either occaſioned or determined to make any particular warre, the united Cantons erect lights and make bone-fires: but when they are to raiſe forces in generall, (as ſuppoſe they ſhould for the French King) firſt they ſtrike up their Drumme, then all the Cities doe preſent as many perſons as they thinke good, which may be to the number of five and thirtie or fortie thouſand, of whom after the Captaines have culd out their limited portions, the reſidue are licenſed to depart to their owne homes. Every Citie hath his principall Standard, with their peculiar armes and devices therein, to diſtinguiſh one people from another.

Their Soveraigne Magiſtrate.

And becauſe no politike body can ſtand without a head, although in no caſe they will tolerate one abſolute Governour over the whole, yet are they contented to ſubmit themſelves to the government of one particular Magiſtrate in every particular Citie: him they terme *Vnama.* The election of which Officer is on this manner: On the firſt Sunday in May, the principall of all the houſes and families thorow every Canton, of all ſorts and qualities, aſſemble themſelves either in ſome meadow, or elſe in the chiefeſt ſtreets of their Citie, where all of them taking their places in order, the

Vnama,

Vnama, whose time of office is now expired, seating himselfe in a place somewhat above the rest, after some stay, riseth up and maketh a speech to the people, excusing himselfe in good termes of his insufficiencie to discharge the weight of the office committed unto his charge, and craveth pardon of that which he hath through ignorance or negligence committed, to the prejudice of the common good, and therewithall offereth to resigne his determined office into the hands of the people. Immediately upon this resignation, with a loud voice hee nominateth the partie, whom in his judgement he thinketh worthy to succeed in his place. He that is nominated, commeth forth before the multitude, and presenting himselfe before them, after some speeches, nominateth a second, & the second (with like ceremonie) a third. The nomination being ended, the chiefe of the companies demand of the people, which of these three thus nominated, they are willing to elect: So naming them anew, one by one, the multitude lift up their hands at the naming of him whom they desire to be their Governour. And oft-times it falleth out, that he that hath beene once *Vnama*, in desert of his justice and good carriage towards them, hath beene chosen againe the second time. This election finished, they proceed to the choice of other Officers.

This Officer continueth in his place three yeares, and although he be the chiefest amongst them, yet goeth hee but little better attired than the meanest, only attended with five or six persons. He dwelleth in his owne house, because they imploy the publike places for the holding of the Diets, the keeping of their Munition and Artillerie, and other furniture belonging to the warres. In criminall causes he can doe nothing without the counsell of the fifteene, but in civill matters he hath larger limitation.

Next the *Vnama*, is that Officer of Iustice, who is as it were the Chancellor, and the second person in that State. After him are certaine Counsellors, men well experienced in affaires of Princes, and occurrence of Provinces. Then the Chamberlaine, and his is the charge of the Munition and

publike Treasure. Next to him are the foure Deputies, in authoritie greater than the Counsellors, and may doe many things in absence of the *Vnama*, so as the Chancellor be present. These with the *Vnami* make the fifteene, which governe the State as well in peace as in warre, and are ever present at the hearing and deciding of all occurrences arising within the Territorie of their owne Canton.

These are from yeare to yeare confirmed by the people, although (as doth the *Vnama*) they continue their office for three yeares. These send Governours to the Castles on the Frontiers, and (to decide inferiour matters) they allow ten persons chosen out of the meaner sort; but the parties in controversie may appeale to the fifteene: other Iudges, or further appeales (as in the Civill Law) they have not to flie unto. For their chiefest care is their tillage and warfare, coveting to live simply and plainly, and not to intrap one another in quarrels and suits of Law. The partie evicted is severely punished. Neither will they suffer any of their people to appeale out of their owne Countries; and if any offend therein, he is grievously chastened.

Thorow the whole world Lawes are not observed with lesse partialitie; for they are never altered according to the humours of the inconstant multitude, nor violated without due penaltie inflicted: for as of those five sorts of popular governments which *Aristotle* discourseth of, there is none more dangerous than that wherein the will of the people beareth sway above reason, and standeth for Law, as *Zenophon* writeth of the *Athenians*; so no forme of government can be compared to that wherein the Commonaltie without distinction live subject to the censure of the Law: in regard of which policie, wee ought not to marvell, if this Common-weale have flourished now these two hundred and fiftie yeares, in great reputation of valour.

For by two meanes hath this estate beene preserved, *viz.* by unpartiall administration of justice, and frequencie of neighbourly feastings; whereas the scornfull ambition of great men hath heretofore ruinated the popular estates of the

the *Megarians*, the *Romans*, the *Florentines*, the *Syennois*, and the *Genoese*. Of which sort, the *Switzers* have none at all, or if there be any (as there are but few which escaped the generall massacre) yet are they contented (without laying any claime to their ancient gentility) to range themselves with the residue of the basest commonalties, and can but seldome be admitted to the chiefest magistracies, being commonly bestowed upon Butchers, and such like Mechanicall Artizans.

Italy.

ITaly, (according to *Plinie*) the most beautifull and goodliest Region under the Sun, the Darling of Nature, and the Mother of hardy Men, brave Captaines, and valiant Souldiers, flourishing in all Arts, and abounding with Noble wits, and men of singular spirits, is situate under a Climate most wholesome and temperate, commodious for Traffike, and most fertile for Corne and Herbage: containeth in length from *Augusta Pretoria* unto *Otranto*, one thousand and twenty miles, and in breadth, from the River *Vara* in *Provence*, to the River *Arsia* in *Friuli*, (where it is broadest) foure hundred and ten miles; and in the narrow places, as from the mouth of *Pescara*, to the mouth of *Tiber*, an hundred twenty six miles. So that to compasse it by Sea from *Vara* to *Arsia*, are three thousand thirty eight miles, which with the foure hundred and ten by land, maketh the whole circuit three thousand foure hundred forty eight miles.

Situation.

Length and Breadth.

Thus it appeares to bee almost an Iland in shape of a legge; bounded on the East with the *Adriatike* Sea, on the South and West with the *Tirrhene* Seas, and on the North with the *Alpes*: the which, for that it is described by others, we will but point to, and so much the rather, be-

cause there is no Country in the world better knowne, and more frequented by strangers.

Natures and manners of the people.

Inheritances there descend to the children, as Lands holden by *Gauelkind* with us in some parts of *England*, so that one brother hath as good a share as another, and if the elder be borne to the title of a *Conte*, so is the younger, and so called; yea, if there be twenty brethren; (except it be in the Estates of Princedomes, as *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Vrbin*, and such like, which evermore descend to the eldest entirely.) By this meanes it commeth to passe, that often times you shall see Earles and Marquesses without Lands or goods, yet most strictly standing upon descents, and the glory of their names, for themselves and their issues for ever. But the Gentlemen which have whereof to live, are reported to surpasse the Gentry of any other Nation in good carriage and behaviour, and for the most part professe Armes, and follow service. And to bee discerned from the vulgar, they all in generall speake the Courtisan, which is an excellent commendation, considering the diversitie of Dialects amongst them. For leaving the difference betweene the *Florentine* and the *Venetian*, the *Milanois* and the *Roman*, the *Neapolitan* and the *Genois*, (which may well be likened to the difference betweene a *Londoner* & a Northerne man) yet by the tongue you shall not lightly discerne of what part of the Countrey any Gentleman is. No more different are they in manners and behaviour; honourable, courteous, prudent, and grave withall, that it should seeme each one to have had a Prince-like education; to their superiours obedient; to equals respective; to inferiours courteous, to strangers affable, and desirous by kinde offices to winne their love. Of expence and lone of his mony, very wary, and will be assured to be at no more cost than he is sure either to save by, or to have thanke for. In apparell modest, in furniture of household sumptuous, at their table neat, sober of speech, enemies of ill report, and so jealous of their reputations, that whosoever speaketh ill of one of them, if the party slandered may know it, and finde opportunitie to performe

forme it, the party offending ſhall ſurely die for it.

The Merchants likewiſe for the moſt part are Gentlemen: For when of one houſe there bee three or foure brethren, lightly one or two of them give themſelves to traffike. And ſometimes, if they chance not to divide their Fathers ſubſtance and patrimonie, (as many times they doe not) then doe they which profeſſe themſelves Merchants, travell for the welfare of their brethren, joyntly participating of loſſe and profit. But in outward ſhew, theſe carry nor like reputation to the Gentlemen afore ſpoken of: for they profeſſe not Armes, but deſire to live in peace, and how to vent their wares, and have new traffike into ſtrange Countries; yet have no leſſe reputation of Nobility for their trade of Merchandize, but by reaſon they ſtay at home, and uſe the richeſt Farmes, and follow Husbandrie by their Bailiſes and Factors, they become the beſt and wealthieſt Merchants in all Chriſtendome. Merchants.

Their Artificers are thought the beſt workmen of the world, and are ſo well paid, that many live by their labours as well as many doe by Revenues; yea, and grow very rich, and within two or three deſcents to the reputation of Gentry. Artificers.

The poorer ſort are the husbandmen, for they are oppreſſed on all hands, & in the Country liveth no man of wealth. The Gentry and wealthier ſort dwell in Townes and walled Cities, leaving the Villages, fields, and paſtures to their Tenants, not at a rent certaine, as we doe in *England*, but to halfes, or to the thirds of all graine, fruit, and profit ariſing of the ground, according as it ſhall be, either barren or fertile. And this the poore Tenant muſt till and manure at his owne charge, ſo that the Lords part commeth cleare without diſburſing one penny; yet ſhall you ſee many faire houſes in the villages, but they are onely for the owners paſtime in Summer: For then they leave the Cities for a moneth or two, where under the fragrant hedges and bowers, they ſolace themſelves in as much pleaſure as may be imagined. And for the moſt part, every man hath his Husbandmen.

Mist resse with instruments of musicke, and such like pleasures as may serve for recreation and delight. Thus much of the manners and nature of the inhabitants: now will wee speake of the estates of the Country.

Sharers.

The King of *Spaine* hath the greatest part for his share, as *Naples* and the Duchie of *Millaine*.

The King of *Spaine*.

The Pope hath the Citie of *Rome*, *Campagnia*, part of *Maremma*, part of *Tuscan*, the Duchie of *Spolet*, *Marca d' Ancona*, *Romagnia*, and the Citie of *Bononia*.

The Pope.

The *Venetians* have for their part the Citie of *Venice*, with the townes in and about that Marish, called *La contrada di Venetia*, *La marka Trivigiana*, a great part of *Lombardie*, and part of *Istria*. They likewise are, and have beene Lords of certaine Islands, some whereof the *Turke* hath wonne from them.

The *Venetians*.

The Common-weale of *Genoa* hath the territorie about them, called at this day *Il Genovosato*, and anciently *Liguria*.

Genoa.

Tuscan, once *Hetruria*, is divided into divers Seigniories, whereof the Bishop of *Rome* holdeth a small part, but the greatest is under the jurisdiction of *Florence*.

Florence.

Then are Common-wealths of *Sienna* and *Lucca*, whose Territories are not great. 13. The Duke of *Ferrara* hath part of *Romagnia*, and part of *Lombardie*. 14. The Duchie of *Mantua* lieth wholly in *Lombardie*, and the Duchie of *Vrbin* betweene *Marca d' Ancona* and *Tuscane*. 15. The Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* are in *Lombardie*, and holden of the Church.

Sienna.
Lucca.
Ferrara.
Mantua.
Vrbine.
Parma.

Of these Princes and Common-wealths every one holdeth himselfe in his owne Territorie absolute Prince and Governour, and maintaineth his estate upon the custome, taxes, and impositions of the people. For lightly they have little or no Lands of their owne.

The Bishop of *Rome*.

THe Estate of the Pope is twofold; the one consisteth in Temporall Dominion, the other in Spirituall Jurisdiction. His Temporall Dominion is likewise divided into

two

two kinds; the one profitable, and as a man may terme it, an hereditarie: the other immediate, and holden in fee of the Church. As touching his Temporall Dominion, hee is Lord of a great part of *Italie*; as of all that lieth betweene the River *Fiore* and *Cajetta*, betweene *Preneſt* and the *Truentian* ſtreights (except the Duchie of *Vrbin.*)

In that compaſſe are incircled the Provinces of *Bonnonia* and *Romandiola*, *Marchia*, *Vmbria*, the Duchie of *Spoleto*, *S. Peters* patrimonie, *Tuſcan*, and lately *Ferrara*. It is ſeated in the heart of *Italie*, ſtretching from the *Adriatike* to the *Tirrhene* Sea; and in regard of ſituation, as alſo in plenty of proviſion, as corne, wine, and oyle, it is comparable to any State of *Italie*: For *Romandiola* imparteth great ſtore unto their neighbours, the *Venetians* and *Sclavonians*; And yet have the Inhabitants ſufficient for their owne proviſion.

Marchia reacheth from *Tronto* to *Foglia*, betweene the *Apenine* and the Sea; it is divided into little hils and plaines. It is rich of Wine, Oyle, and Corne, having divers great Townes and Caſtles therein. The Citie of greateſt trading is *Ancona*, by reaſon of the Haven to which many Eaſterne Merchants doe repaire. The faireſt is *Aſcoli*, the moſt powerfull *Fermo*, becauſe of many Fortreſſes ſubject unto it. *Macerata* is a new Citie, and becauſe it lieth in the middeſt of the Province, it is the Governours ſeat. In ſome yeares it hath ſupplied the *Venetians* wants, with many thouſand meaſures of Corne and Oyle. And although *Vmbria* is not ſo plentifull of graine, as to ſpare for their neighbours, yet is it able to maintaine it ſelfe without buying of others, and in ſtead thereof it is abundantly ſtored with Wines, Cattell, and ſome Saffron. *S. Peters* Patrimonie, and *Tuſcan*, often releeved *Genoa*, and at ſome ſeaſons *Naples*. This territorie bringeth forth fierce and warlike ſouldiers; and herein it is reported to excell all the reſidue of the *Italian* Provinces. *Bonnonia*, *Romania*, and *Marchia*, are able to levie twenty thouſand foot-men, and the other Provinces as many. In the time of Pope *Clement*, *Marchia* alone *Marchia.*

alone aided him with a thousand souldiers. The chiefe Seat is *Rome*, once the Lady of the World, and at this day inhabited with two hundred thousand soules, but two parts thereof consisting of Church-men and Curtizans. The second *Bononia*, wherein are eighty thousand of both sexes. Next to these are *Perugia*, *Ancona*, *Ravenna*, and some fiftie others. The defensible places are the Castle and Borough of *Rome*, *Ovietta*, *Teracine*, &c. It is a great credit and commendation to this State, to have many Noblemen therein so excellent in Negociation of Peace and Warre, that the residue of the States and Princes doe most commonly choose their Leaders and Lieutenants out of these Provinces. If the Prince hereof were secular, both for people and power, hee might very well be compared with any State of *Italy*.

Besides these Dominions, the Pope hath the Territory of *Avionon* in *France*, wherein are foure Cities, and fourscore walled Townes. In *Naples* he hath *Benevent*.

Romagna. *Romagna* extendeth from *Foglia*, *Panora*, and from the *Apenine* to the River *Po*. For temperature and fertilitie, it is like to *Marchia*, but hath generally more famous Cities, as *Rimini*, *Cesana*, *Faenza*, *Ravenna*, *Turly*, *Imola*, *Sarsina*, *Cervia*, *Bertinoto*, once a Bishops Seat, but now translated to *Forlimpoli*. The Noblest of all these is *Ravenna*, where some Emperors have kept their Courts, and after them their *Exarches* or Lieutenants. When *Pipin* having expulsed *Astolpho*, put the Church in possession thereof, this Territorie comprehended *Bologna*, *Regio*, *Modena*, *Parma*, *Piacenza*, *Ravenna*, *Sarsina*, *Classe*, *Forli*, *Forlimpoli*, and made one estate called *Pentapoli*, which indured an hundred eightie three yeares, even to the yeare of our Lord 741. in which yeare, it ended by the taking of *Ravenna*, by *Astolph* King of *Lombards*. So that first the *Roman* Emperours, especially *Honorius*, and after him the Kings of the *Gothes*, and then *Exarches*, amongst all the Cities of *Italy*, chose this for the Seat of their Courts, which from amongst other respects, I suppose to proceed by reason of the plentifull Territory, (now covered with water) and the conveniencie of the Ha-

ven,

ven, which at this day is likewise choaked. This Province was first called *Flaminia*, but *Charles* the Great, to raze out the remembrance of these *Exarches*, and to make the people willing to obey the *Roman* Prelats, called it *Romagnia*.

As touching his immediate Soveraigntie, he is Lord Paramount of the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicil*, and the Duchies of *Urbin*, *Ferrara*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and many others.

Where his authoritie is maintained, he hath supreme government of all religious Orders, and bestoweth the Ecclesiasticall Benefices at his dispose. Having many strings to his Bow, he hath many meanes to raise money, so that *Xistus* the fourth was wont to say, *That the Popes should never want Coine, as long as their hands were able to hold a pen.* *Paul* the third, in the league betweene him, the Emperour and the *Venetians*, against the *Turk*, bare the sixth part of the charges of that warre. Against the Protestants, and in aid of *Charles* the fifth, he sent twelve thousand foot-men, and five hundred horse-men, bearing their charges during the warre: this was he that advanced his house to that honour, wherein it continueth to this day in *Florence*. *Pius* the fifth, aided *Charles* the ninth, King of *France*, with foure thousand foot-men, and a thousand horse. *Xistus* the fifth, in five yeares and a halfe of his Pontificacie, raked together five millions of crowns, and spent bountifully notwithstanding, in bringing Conduits and Water-pipes into the Citie, and in building *Pyramides*, Palaces, and Churches. Riches.

So that it should seeme, that the *Entrado* could not but amount to much above the value of ten hundred thousand crownes *per annum*; for *Newman*, a late Writer, would have this surplusage to be raised upon use money, yearely laid up in the Castle of Saint *Angelo*. And this to arise of his ordinary Revenues within his Territories of *Italy*. Since those times it cannot but be much more augmented by the addition of the Dukedome of *Ferrara*; as also for that in those dayes, the monethly expence of the Court (being thirtie thousand crownes) is in these times defalked unto five thousand.

A

The State of *Rome.*

A State, wherein you ſhall ſee Religion metamorphoſed into policie, and policie meditating nothing but private greatneſſe: the Man-ſeeming-God affecting Honour, Majeſtie and Temporall riches, with no leſſe ambition and effuſion of bloud, than any the mercileſſe Tyrants of the former Monarchies.

The College of Cardinals.

As for the College of Cardinals; It ſtretcheth out the Weſterne Churches on the Tenter-hookes of Vain-glory and Authority; ſuffering no man, no not ſo much as in thought (if it were poſſible) to depreſſe, or queſtion, the privileges of religious perſons: who (according to their meanes) live in great State, keepe Curtizans, travell in Caroſſes (though but for a quarter of a mile) to the Conſiſtory, ſolemnize feaſts and banquets, make ſhew of ceremonies, and are, in truth, of no Religion. So that, if a man were an Atheiſt, and had no conſcience to beleeve that God muſt one day call us to account for our tranſgreſſions, I had rather live a religious man in *Rome*, than be a Nobleman in *Naples*; who of all men living waſh their hands moſt in careleſneſſe, being never diſturbed with worldly cares or incumbrances.

The great Duke of Tuſcanie.

Tuſcan.

IT lieth betweene the *Apenine* and the Sea: and containeth (from *Magra* to *Tenere*) above two hundred threeſcore and ten miles. It hath larger Champians than *Liguria*, becauſe the *Apenine* ſtretcheth not ſo neere the Sea, and ſo inlargeth the plaine. In it are many large valleyes, populous, and rich in commodities. But to ſpeake of particulars: when we are paſt *Magra*, *Sarazana* offereth it ſelfe to our view, a Citie holden by the *Genoiſe* with great jealouſie, by reaſon of the neighbour-hood of the great Duke, and a little higher lieth *Pentrimoli*, a Caſtle belonging to the King of *Spaine*, of great account, and ſituated not farre from the Sea; then *Maſſa* and *Carrara*, places famous for their quarries of white Marble. *Lucca* ſtandeth on the River *Serichio*, *Piſa* on *Arno*,

no, and beyond the Citie of *Florence*. To the State whereof belongeth *Piſtoia*, *Volterra*, *Montepulcino*, *Arezzo*, *Cortona*. Thoſe of *Lucca* doe ſtand upon their guard for maintenance of their liberties. The Citie is three miles in compaſſe, ſtrong in ſituation and wals, and well ſtored with Artillery and Munition. On the North it confineth *Carfagnana*, a fruitfull Valley, and well inhabited with ſerviceable people, on the other parts it is incompaſſed with the Territories appertaining to the Great Duke. *Piſa* was once of ſuch wealth, that *Piſa.* at one inſtant, the Citizens thereof held warre againſt the *Venetians* and the *Genois*. They grew great by the overthrow which the *Sarazens* gave to the *Genois*, in the yeare 1533. the remainder of which defeature, was received into the protection of their Citie; and declined by the ſlaughter of their people, and alſo of their Navie given them by the *Genois* neere to the Iſle *Giglio*. For thereby they became ſo weake, that not able to ſuſtaine their wonted reputation, they were forced to ſubmit themſelves under the protection of *Florentines*, againſt whom (when *Charles* the eighth invaded *Italy*) they rebelled. But being againe reduced to their former obedience, the Citie notwithſtanding was in a manner left deſolate, becauſe the Citizens (impatient of the *Florentines* government) paſſed into *Sardinia*, *Sicil*, and other places to inhabit. So that the place wanting Inhabitants, and the Countrey people to manure it, the ſituation thereof being low and mooriſh, by reaſon of Fens and Mariſhes, it became infectious. *Coſmo* the great Duke, undertooke to re-people it againe, and to further his intention, he builded there a ſtately houſe for the receit of the Knights of Saint *Stephen*, gracing it with many privileges, which yet to this day remaine unaltered. As alſo by founding an Vniverſitie, by eaſing the people of many taxes, and by dwelling himſelfe amongſt them two or three moneths in the yeare. *Florence.* *Florence* is the faireſt Citie in *Italy*, it is in compaſſe ſix miles. It is divided into foure and fortie Pariſhes, and into one and twentie Companies. It hath in it threeſcore and ſix Monaſteries, and ſeven and thirtie Hoſpitals. The Citizens bought their

their freedome of the Emperour *Rodolfe* for six thousand Crownes, as they of *Lucca* theirs for 10000. In whose time and ever since it hath flourished in great prosperity. For upon occasion, the City is able to arme 30000: men, and the Country 60000. It is strongly walled, the situation thereof being low, especially on the North side: but on the other parts is somewhat subject to the command of certaine hills which overlooke it, the inconvenience whereof they have prevented by fortifications. It hath a Citadell built by Duke *Alexander*, and after inlarged by *Cosmo*. The streets thereof are straight, large, and very cleane kept. There are to be seene the most artificiall buildings of all Europe, both publike and private. *Charles* Arch-Duke of *Austrich* was wont to say, that it was a City not to be showne but on Holidaies. No soile is tilled with more art, diligence, and curiosity: for you shall see one little peece of ground to bring forth Wine, Oyle, Corne, Pulse, and Fruits. Notwithstanding it will not afford sufficient victuals for a third part of the yeere: to remedy which scarcity, it was not without good reason that they spent two millions of Crownes for the recovery of *Pisa*. The last Duke became an earnest Petitioner to the Pope, that he might be created King of *Tuscanie*; but the Pope not brooking so lordly a Title in so neere a neighbour, answered, that hee was content that hee *should bee King in Tuscanie, but not King of Tuscanie*; which scholler-like distinctions great Princes cannot well digest.

Manners of the *Florentines.*

The qualities of the *Tuscans* appeare by the excellency of the *Florentines*, whom Nature above all the Provinces of *Italy* hath adorned with sharpnesse of wit, frugality, providence, industry, and speciall insight into the Negotiations of Peace and Warre; yea, their continuall dissentions and hazzards, wherein they have almost lived from the first foundation of their city, I doe, to nothing so much attribute as to the sharpnesse of their wits. So the civill discords of the *Pistolians* did not onely ruinate their owne estate, but therein likewise ingaged *Florence*; yea, and as a man may say,

say, drew all *Tuscanie* after it by the factions of the *Neri* and *Bianchi*: for thus it happened; Two young men descended of Noble Families falling out, the one of them chanced to be lightly hurt: the Father of the other to extinguish all sparkes of malice, and that no further inconveniencie should arise upon that quarrell, sent his sonne to aske forgivenesse of him that was hurt, but the effect insued contrary to his expectation: for the Father of the wounded Gentleman caused his servants to lay hold on him, and cut off his hands, and so sending him backe againe, willed him to tell his Father, that *wounds were not cured with Words, but with Weapons.* Hereupon grew betweene those two Families a mortall and cruell warre, which drew the rest of the Cities into the quarrell, and was the cause of great effusion of bloud: yea, the *Florentines* in stead of executing due punishment upon the principall authors of the faction, received the banished on both sides into their City; where the *Donati* undertaking the protection of the *Neri*, and the *Chersi* of the *Bianchi*, all the City became to bee divided into *Neri* and *Bianchi*, this sedition was not of long time after pacified.

Arezzo, being by long dissention amongst themselves almost brought to wracke (as the other cities of *Tuscane* likewise were) was sold to the *Florentines* by *Lewis* of *Anjou* for forty thousand Florens of gold, and not many yeeres after *Cortona*, by King *Ladislaus*. *Arezzo.*

With the State of *Florence*, doth confine that of *Sienna*, a City builded by the *Senoni*, and of late time become subject to the house of *Medici*. It is five miles in compasse, strong by situation, and whereunto *Cosmo* the great Duke adjoyned a Citadell. From *Florence* it is not above thirty three miles distant; but the people thereof are much differing in Manners, as also disposition, they sparing, slow, and unsociable towards Strangers; these bountifull, and of kinde entertainment: they loth to part with money, and provident; these liberall, and onely caring for the present: they grave, melancholie, and alwaies expecting their profit; these plaine and of cheerefull countenance: the one inclined to traffique *Sienna.*

and.

and gaine; the other content with their Revenues, and the fruits of their Farmes. *Sienna* hath a large and fruitfull Territory, wherein are contained in the Cities of *Pienza*, *Montalcino*, *Chiusi*, *Soana*: and in *Maremma*, *Massa*, and *Crossetto*, the ports of *Orbetello*, *Portercole*, with twenty six other walled Townes. The coast beginneth at *Capiglia*, and extendeth to the little River of *Fiore*, being all good soile for Corne, but the aire is so infectious, that none live long therein. The ports doe all belong to the King of *Spaine*, together with the Hill *Argentino*, a place famous by the discourse which *Claudius Ptolomeus* made thereof, for the excellency of the situation fit for the building of a royall Citie. Next this Province beginneth the patrimony of Saint *Peter*, bequeathed to the Church by the Countesse *Matilda*.

His forces at land.

These may be partly ghessed at by the numbers of people: which (not to over-reach with the *Italians*) are valued 800000. soules, or perchance a million in all his dominions. So then out of every 16000. people to allow three hundred souldiers (which is the proportion of the Muster-books in *Prato*) then will 800000. people allow 15000. souldiers: and though the Duke (as some writers affirme) hath sometimes confessed that he hath thirty or 36000. souldiers: yet I suppose you shall doe him no wrong not to allow him above 20000. in ordinary; seeing a Captaine of their owne at once confessed but 15000. These are trained once a moneth, except in *Florence*, where they are not suffered to weare Armes; the liberty to weare which causes divers to sue to be souldiers; those in ordinary pay are bestowed in his Garrisons. Thirty Castles and Forts he hath, and in some of them fifty, in others but fifteene souldiers. Sixteene Cities with Garrison also he hath, in some of which he keepes not much above the said number, though in others two or three hundred. He hath in ordinary for his Guard one hundred horse, at six and thirty shillings nine pence apeece a moneth; and foure hundred light horse more, at fifteene shillings nine pence; one other troope of horse he hath, for what

what ſervice, and in what pay I know not. The Garriſon Souldier hath one and twenty ſhillings a moneth, the traine Souldier nothing.

His Force at Sea he never recovered ſince the defeat given by the Turkes, where hee loſt two of his beſt Gallies, and one Galleon. His whole Fleet is about twelve Gallies, and five Galleaſſes; for honour and increaſe of his power by Sea, hath hee inſtituted the Knights of the Order of Saint *Stephen*, who are his Commanders. His chiefe Port and Arſenall is *Porto Ferraro*, in the Ile of *Elba*. Of great Ordnance were told in the Caſtle of *Livorno* threeſcore and foure, and in that of *Florence* one hundred and fifty, by which may be gheſſed that hee hath no want of munition. The charge of his Gallies for theſe ſix moneths, in which they be commonly at Sea, is about 18000. gold Crownes, each Crowne worth ſix ſhillings ſterling. At Sea.

There is not ſo much as a root, nor the dunging of an Aſſe, for which ſomething is not paid to the great Duke: Victuals, Lodging, Weddings, Bargaines, Law-ſuits, ſetting up of young Tradeſmen, all muſt be paid for. So that his ordinary and knowne revenue is valued at 1100000. Ducats, which comes to 279000. pound ſterling a yeere, beſides his extraordinaries. A wonderfull ſumme for a petty Prince, eſpecially in ſuch a thrifty place, where all expences defrayed, he may in times of peace put up one halfe, if not two thirds of his intire Revenue; Ordinaries and Extraordinaries ariſing to one thouſand pound a day. His neighbour Princes are all jealous of him, hee of them, and all watchfull one over another. But the greateſt eye-ſore his greatneſſe is to the State of *Lucca* which lies in *Tuſcany*, and all the whole length (being fifty miles) ſurrounded by this Dukes dominions. This makes them at great and continuall charge of Garriſons, and to put themſelves under the protection of the Spaniard, the feare of whoſe power ſtaves off the Duke from attempting upon that State; which might hee once obtaine, hee might truly then write himſelfe *Great Duke of Tuſcany*. Whereas now having but part His Revenues.

of it, he may be answered as the Pope did his Predecessor. So he may write himselfe the Greatest Duke of all *Tuscany*, rather than The Great Duke of all *Tuscany*.

The State of the Kingdome of Naples.

THe chiefe place hereof in ancient time was *Capua*, the pleasant situation whereof was the overthrow of *Hannibal* and his army. *Cicero* writeth, that the *Romans* were Lords of three imperiall Cities, *Carthage*, *Corinth*, and *Capua*. The two first being farre off, they utterly ruinated: of *Capua* they long consulted; in the end they concluded that it were extreme tyrannie to spoile so noble a city of *Italy*. But for their better security, they confiscated the Territories thereof, and deprived it of all forme and Majesty of Common-wealth. They let the buildings stand to serve for receit of those which should till the ground. *Naples* is now the chiefe seat not onely of *Campagnia*, but of the whole Kingdome, and is indeed a princely City: it is in compasse seven miles, but narrow: of late times it is much augmented, and would increase continually, if the King of *Spaine* had not forbidden a further increase by building; whereunto he was moved, partly by the complaints of the Barons (whose Tenants to injoy the liberties granted to the *Neapolitans*, did forsake their owne dwelling to seat themselves there:) partly by the danger of rebellion, which in so mighty a City cannot easily be repressed. It is strongly walled, and hath in it three Castles, the chiefe whereof is Castle-*Novo*, builded by *Charles* of *Angeow*. The haven is not large nor safe, but that inconvenience is somewhat eased by an artificiall key. It hath likewise an Arsenall, wherein all Instruments of warre are forged.

Naples.

Amongst other religious places (of which sort there are many, and those well maintained) there is the house of *Piety*, called *Il monte della pieta*, which by ordinary Revenues and gifts, may dispend yeerely 60000. Crownes, wherewith (amongst other charitable workes) it maintaineth thorow

House of Piety

thorow the Kingdome two thousand Infants.

Calabria.

It is one of the regions belonging to the Kingdome of *Naples*; It is bounded with the River *Iano*, and the *Terrhene* and *Ionian* Seas; it is in compasse above five hundred miles, and is divided into two Provinces; the one lieth on the *Terrhene* Sea, where in ancient times the *Brutians* did inhabit, and that part is properly called *Calabria*; the other lieth on the *Ionian*, and called *Magna Græcia*. It is divided into the higher and lower. Of the higher, the chiefe seat is *Cosenza*, of the lower *Catanzara*. *Cosenza* is a large Citie, *Catanzara* a strong. Betweene the Cape of the Pillars, and the Cape *Alice* is *Corone*, a place of very wholesome aire. Vpon this territorie, *Anno* 1551. the Navie of the Great *Turke* landed and made some stay: which was the cause that moved *Charles* the fifth to fortifie this Citie. It is a thing worthy to be noted, how much the Inhabitants of this country in former ages, exceeded the numbers of this present: for in those dayes this Citie sent more men against the *Locrians*, than the whole Kingdome of *Naples* is now able to afford, being numbred to an hundred and thirty thousand. A little above that doe inhabit the *Sabarits*, who were alwayes able to arme thirty thousand.

Compasse and confines.

Calabria superior.

At *Tarent* beginneth the Country of *Otranto*, in ancient times called *Iapigia*. It containeth all that corner of land almost invironed with the Sea, which lieth betweene *Tarent* and *Brundusium*. In it (as *Strabo* writeth) were once thirteene great Cities, but in his time onely two, *Tarent* and *Brundusc*. The aire is very healthfull, and though the superficies of the soile seeme rough and barren, being broken with the plough, it is found to bee excellent good mold. It is scarce of water, nevertheless it yeeldeth good Pasture, and is apt for Wheat, Barley, Oats, Olives, Cedars, excellent Melons, Oxen, Asses, and Mules of great estimation. The people are in their manners dangerous, superstitious, and for the most part beastly. The Gentlemen lovers of liberty and pleasure, scoffers at Religion, especially at that which we terme the reformed: and yet them-

ſelves of their owne great blaſphemers. For outward ſhew they live in great pompe, and make the City more ſtately, becauſe they are not permitted to live in the Countrey: yet (as they dare) they bitterly grone under the Vice-royes controll; who exerciſeth the *Spaniſh* pride amongſt them, ſo that in theſe dayes they come nothing neere their native glory, nor cuſtomary wantonneſſe. In this Country is bred the *Tarantola*, whoſe venome is expelled with Fire and Muſicke, as *Gellius* reporteth out of *Theophraſt* his Hiſtory of living creatures. There are likewiſe bred the *Cherſidi*, ſerpents living both on the land, and in the Sea: yea, there is no part of *Italy* more cumbred with Graſhoppers which leave nothing where they come, but would utterly conſume in one night whole fields full of ripe corne, if Nature by ſending the birds called the *Gaive* into thoſe quarters, had not provided a remedie againſt this miſery. The place at all times of the yeare endureth much dammage by Haile: Thunder is as uſuall in Winter as in Summer.

Situation. This Province is ſituated betweene two Seas: The Citie is ſeated in an Iſland like unto a ſhip, and joyned to the Continent with bridges, where the tide fetteth violently; on the other ſide, the two Seas joyne together by meanes of a treach cut out by mans hand, and is of largeneſſe ſufficient to receive a Gally. Where the Citie now ſtandeth was before a rocke, and is holden to be the ſtrongeſt fortreſſe of the Kingdome. From thence along the ſhore lieth *Caſaria*, now ruined by them of *Gallipoli*. *Gallipolis* is ſeated on a ridge of land, running into the Sea like a tongue; On the furtheſt point whereof ſtandeth the Citie, and is of great ſtrength by reaſon of the ſituation, being fenced with unacceſſible rocks, well walled and ſecured by a Caſtle; with which motives of encouragement in the warres, betweene the *French* and the *Arragons*, the citizens thereof to their great honour, continued ever faithfull to the fortunes of the *Aragons*. It hath beene counted one of the chiefeſt Cities of *Italy*; it is now by their civill diſſentions almoſt deſolated, the cauſe, as I take it, wherefore the aire thereabouts

Caſaria.

Gallipolis.

is.

is become so unhealthfull: an influence incident to all great Cities. For as nothing doth better temper the aire than the frequencie of Inhabitants, because (by husbandry and industry) they drie up Fennie and unwholesome places, prune such woods as grow too thicke and obscure; with their fires purge noysome exhalations, and with their high buildings extenuate grosse vapours: So on the contrary, there is nothing apter to breed infection than desolation: for so the places are not onely deprived of the aforesaid helps, but even the houses and their ruines are receptacles of infection, and matter of corruption. Which appeareth to be true by the ruines of *Aquilea*, *Rome*, *Ravenna*, and *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*. For which inconvenience, the *Grecians* never built huge Cities; *Plato* would not that his should exceed 500. families, and *Aristotle* wished that all his people might at once heare the voice of one Crier.

Apulia.

This Province extendeth from the confines of *Brunduse*, to the River *Fortore*. It is divided into two territories; the one at this day called *Bari*, and by the Latines *Peucetia*; the other *Puglia*, and by them *Dawnia*, divided each from other by the River *Lofanto*. The extent.

Capitanato.

In the second part it comprehendeth *Capitanato*, containing in it many great Cities, places of trade, and Fortresses of good account. Amongst the number whereof is *Manfredonia*, built by K. *Manfredi* in a high place, & healthfull, with a convenient and safe harbour. It lieth under the hill *Gargano*, at this day called *S. Angelo*, because of the appearing of *S. Michael*, who is honoured there with great devotion. It should seeme that in this hill all the riches of *Puglia* are heaped together: it hath plenty of water, an element rare in this Province. The *Sarazens* finding the opportunitie of the situation thereof did there fortifie, & therein maintained themselves a long time: for in truth there is no place better to molest the Kingdome, and to command the *Adriatike* Sea. *Puglia* is another Province of this Kingdome; it is bounded with the River *Fortorie*, and the River *Tronto*: in which circuit are contained many people.

Manfredonia.

Puglia and Abruzzo.

Towards the Sea it is a fruitfull Country, in the middest rough and mountainous, and the coldest Region in the Kingdome. The wealth thereof consisteth in Cattell and Saffron.

Malfi. The Country of *Malfi* is divided with the River *Pescara*, the Governour thereof resideth in *San-Severino*. This Province hath no famous place upon the Sea-coast, but in the Inland. *Benevento* was given to the Church by *Henry* the fourth, in recompence of a tribute which *Leo* the ninth did release to the Church of *Bamburgh*, which in those daies, being by divers casualties often usurped, was at last restored againe to the Church by the Armes of the *Normans*.

Benevento.

It was the habitation of the *Lucans*, extending from the River *Sarvo*, to *Lavo*: it is a territory rough and mountainous. Towards the Sea-coast are *Nico*, *Sorento*, *Massa*, *Almasi*, and *Salerne*, the aire whereof is very temperate; in the upland are *Cava*, *Nocera*, *San-Severino*; and more neere the Sea, *Peste*, where Roses blow twice a yeare; *Agropoli*, *Possidoniat*, now *Licosa*, *Policaster*, *Capace Nova*, *Venosa*, *Accella*, and *Melsi*, holden second to *Naples*.

Naples.

Naples was first the receptacle of *Philosophie*; secondly, of the *Muses*; and now of Souldiery; the moderne inhabitants having their eares daily inured to the sound of the drum & fife, and their eyes to the management of Horses, and glittering of Armours. For the ambitious *Spaniard* now governeth this Kingdome by a Viceroy, directed (upon occasions) by the Councell appointed for *Italy*, which innovation hath principally befallen them, by their dependancie upon the Popes; who knowing (by reason of the brevitie of their lives) not otherwise to govern than by spleene, passion, and private respect, have continually disquieted the estate, untill a third man hath bereaved both parties of their imaginary greatnesse. And this is the *Spaniard*, who making right use of former defaults, hath secured

ſecured the peece: firſt, by taking all power and greatneſſe from the Nobility, (more than titular;) and ſecondly, in ſuppreſſing the popular throughout the whole Kingdome by forren ſouldiery.

A regiment conſiſting of foure thouſand *Spaniards*, beſides ſixteene hundred quartered in the maritime Townes and fortreſſes. To theſe one thouſand great horſe, and foure hundred and fifty light-horſe are inrolled.

They ſay, through the whole Kingdome, two hundred thouſand, five hundred and threeſcore perſons (able to beare armes) may bee levied and trained; but are not in pay, nor raiſed but in time of ſervice; and then but in part, according to occaſion. Forces at Land.

To make good this proportion, every Hundred, fires (or families) are charged with five foot-men, & there are foure millions, eleven thouſand foure hundred fifty and foure fires in this Kingdome. Over whom Captaines are appointed, who have their entertaiments as well in times of peace as of warre.

Their ſtrength at Sea conſiſteth of thirty ſeven Gallies; yet more than trouble and title the King of *Spaine* reapeth not from this Kingdome. At Sea.

The revenue, and donatives, (now made revenue) with impoſitions, amount yearly to two millions and fiftie thouſand ducats, one million and thirty thouſand thereof are ordinarily given away in penſion and other largeſſes; the remainder cannot ſuffice (by much) to diſcharge the Garriſons, Gallies, Horſemen, and the reſidue of the Souldierie. Revenue.

The body of their Nobilitie conſiſteth of fourteene Princes, five and twenty Dukes, thirty Marqueſſes, fifty foure Earles, and foure thouſand Barons: too too many to thrive one by another; for as they increaſe in number, ſo great Princes will be ſure they ſhall decreaſe in authoritie. No office is allotted them, neither any command aſſigned them, whereby they might aſcend to eſtimation. Every Officer is countenanced againſt them, all their miſdemeanours lookt into, ſeverely examined, and juſtice rigorouſly inflicted. Nobilitie.

Their ancient vaſſals (their ancient honour and confidencie) are now alienated from them, and being backt againſt them in their pretenſions, are growne neglectfull of them. They have loſt their ſtings; and being either deſperate of their libertie, or farre degenerated from their ancient glory, dare not expreſſe, much leſſe put in hazzard, any action tending to redemption. Indeed they have no likelihood of forren aſſiſtance, all the Princes of *Italie* in theſe dayes either fearing, or flying into the protection of the *Spaniard*. A pregnant preſident of the many calamities incident to all Kingdomes governed by Deputies.

Riches. The riches of the Kingdome are eſpecially ſilks, wrought and unwrought, and wines. The taxes now impoſed upon theſe wares have ſo inhaunced the prices, that the forren Merchant néglecteth to trade, to the no ſmall impoveriſhment of the Tradeſman and Merchant, whoſe eſpeciall livelihoods conſiſt in workmanſhip, and the quicke returne thereof. What rates may be impoſed hereon, as alſo upon victuals and wines, let reaſon judge, when upon herbs only ſpent in *Naples*, foure thouſand pounds ſterling are annually levied by way of impoſition. As for Wines, twelve thouſand Buts are reported to bee tranſported from thence at every ſeaſon.

Calabris. Among all men that profeſſe Chriſt, there is not a more uncivill creature than the *Calabrian*. Over land there is no travelling, without aſſured pillage, and hardly to be avoided murder, although you have not about you (& that to their knowledge) the worth of a dolar. More ſilke is made from the ſilke-worme in this Province, than in all *Italy* beſides.

The State of the Duchie of Millaine.

NOt to doe the *Spaniard* wrong, we will adde his Duchie of *Millaine* to his Kingdome of *Naples*. The circuit of this State is three hundred miles of good, fruitfull, and well watered land; under which are nine good Cities, and in them two Vniverſities, *Pavia* and *Millan*. This latter.

latter a goodly Citie and a rich, almoſt ſeven miles in compaſſe, and inhabited by two hundred thouſand ſoules, induſtrious and of the beſt Artizans of *Italy*. It claimes to be the firſt Duchie of *Europe*. In the weakneſſe of the Empire, *Millane* withdrew its obedience, *An.* 1161. Fiftie ſix yeares after that, the *Viſonti* uſurped upon the common libertie. For want of heires the *French* claimed and conquered it. But King *Francis* being taken priſoner by *Charles* the fifth, was faine to releaſe *Millane* to gaine his owne libertie: And thus came it to the *Spaniard*. His certaine Revenue out of it (beſides Eſcheats and gratuities) are eight hundred thouſand Ducats: but the maintenance of it coſts him much more than that ſumme: and the *French* for that reaſon were glad they were rid of it: For the *Spaniard* is at continuall charges of three thouſand foot, one thouſand light-horſe, and ſix hundred men at Armes, beſides the expences upon the Forts; whereof the Caſtle of *Millane* is held to be one of the ſtreſt peeces in the world. The natives are proud, and the *Spaniards* are proud too; and it was never yet knowne that two proud perſons loved one another: and this makes the *Spaniard* to curbe them with Forts and Garriſons. But ſince he is Maſter of the *Valteline*, he can quickly bring *German* forces into *Millane*, if he perceived any inclination to inſurrection. The Governour is Generall of the Forces; and hee alwayes a *Spaniard*. Law-matters are decided by ſixteene Doctors of Law, and other chiefe men of the Clergie and Nobilitie.

The State of Genoa.

THe places of moſt note therein are *Nizza*, having a Caſtle of great account; *Villa franca*, a Haven of great receit, but dangerous; *Monaco*, a notable fort; *Ventimilia*, a good Citie. The Champion of *Arbenga* is fertill, but the aire infectious. *Finale* is a famous Lordſhip; *Noly* hath a convenient Harbour for ſhipping, but *Savona* had a better, if the jealous *Genoiſe* had not choaked it. *Genua.*

The

Manners of the *Ligurians.*

The people are witty, active, high minded, tall of ſtature, and of comely perſonage. They build ſtately: At home they live ſparingly; abroad magnificently.

Genoa is now the Metropolitan Citie of the Province, and by reaſon of ſituation was holden to be one of the Keyes of *Italy*. The people thereof were once very famous for their manifold victories, and great command by ſea, inſomuch that wraſtling with the *Venetians*, they had almoſt bereaved them of their eſtate, and taken their Citie: But (Fortune favouring the *Venetians*, and croſſing the *Genoiſe*, even to their utter undoing) ever ſince this Citie hath declined, and that not only in regard of their former defeature, and their continuall and civill diſcords, but alſo, for that they have given over their trafficke and care of their publike good; and have betaken themſelves to live by uſury, retaile, and mechanicall Trades, altogether regarding their private benefit; whereupon, not being of puiſſance, as in former ages, to make good their actions, they were forced to put themſelves under the protection, ſometimes of the Kings of *France*, and ſometimes of the Duke of *Millaine*, and now under the *Spaniſh*.

This hath ſometimes beene much more potent; and Miſtres not only of divers lands in *Tuſcany*, as alſo of the Ilands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, upon the Coaſt of *Italy*; but of *Leſbos*, *Chios*, and other Ilets in the *Greekiſh* Seas: of *Pera* likewiſe hard by *Conſtantinople*, & of *Capha* and other places in the *Taurica Cherſoneſus*. Theſe laſt places they have loſt to the *Turkes*, *Sardinia* to the *Arragonians*; their poſſeſſions in *Tuſcanie*, to the great Duke; nothing is now left them but *Liguria* and *Corſica*. *Liguria* is on the Eaſt, divided from *Tuſcanie* by the River *Macra*, touching the *Apenine* hils on the North; and on the South open to its owne Sea. The length is about foureſcore miles, the breadth threeſcore and five. It hath ſome halfe dozen or eight good Townes beſides *Genoa*, which Citie being ſix miles in compaſſe, is for the wealth and buildings called *Genoa the proud*. The people are many: whereof eight and twenty Families of Gentlemen,

men, out of whom the Councell of foure hundred is choſen. The men noted for haſtie chopping in of their meat, are therefore of bad complexions; the women better; and in this freer than the reſt of *Italy*, that they may be made Court unto; whence the proverbe, *Genoa hath a Sea without fiſh, Mountaines without graſſe, and Women without honeſtie.* They are governed by a Duke; but hee is no other but a Maior, choſen every yeare, and directed by a Councel of 16. Their ſeveral factions have brought them to this paſſe. They are great Bankers and mony Maſters: and ſeldome is their Protector, the King of *Spaine*, out of their debt. Their Merchants hold up one another by Families. Their Revenues are about 430000. crownes. Their force is nothing ſo great as when they conquered *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and the *Baleares*; or as when they were able to maintaine ſeven Armies in the warres of the Holy Land; or ſet forth an hundred threeſcore and five Gallies in one Fleet. They muſt by law have alwayes five and twenty Gallies in their Arſenall: foure of which are ſtill to ſcoure the Coaſts. In *Genoa*, they have a Garriſon of the Ilanders of *Corſica*, and there, of *Genoiſe*. Some troopes of horſe they keepe to guard their ſhore. But their beſt ſtrength was five yeares ſince ſeene to be the King of *Spaine*.

The State of Venice.

IN the very bottome of the *Adriaticke*, called at this day, the Gulfe of *Venice*, is a ridge of Land, reaching from the Lime-kils, called by them *Fornaci*, to the mouth of the River *Piane*, in forme of a Bow; and containeth in length thirty five miles, and in bredth two where it is broadeſt, and in ſome places no more than what an Harquebuze can ſhoot over. This ridge is parted and cut (what by the falling of Rivers, & the working of the Sea) into ſeven principall Ilands: the Ports of *Brondolo*, of *Chiozzo*, of *Malamoco*, of the *three caſtles*, of Saint *Eraſmus*, the *Lito Maggiore*, or great ſhore, and the *Treports*. Betweene that part of this ridge, which is called *Venice.*

called *Lito*, and the Continent, ſtandeth the Lake of *Venice*, in compaſſe ninety miles. In this Lake is ſeated the City of *Venice*, upon threeſcore and twelve Ilands, diſtant from the ſhore two miles, and from the firme land five; divided with many Channels, ſome greater, ſome leſſer. It was begunne to be built in the yeere 421. the five and twentieth of March about noone.

The increaſe thereof.

It increaſed in people with the report of the *Hunnes* comming into *Italy*, and more afterwards by the deſolation of *Aquily*, and the bordering Cities; as *Padoa* and *Monſelice* deſtroyed by *Agilulfus* King of *Lombardy*. Some are of opinion, that anciently the Lake reached up as high as *Oriago*, which ſtandeth upon the *Brent*: which being true, then was *Venice* ten miles diſtant from the Continent.

The deſcription.

The City, amongſt many other Channels which doe incircle it, is divided by one maine Channell (for his largeneſſe called the *Grand Canale*) into two parts, whereof the one part looketh South-weſt, the other North-eaſt. This Channell in his winding maketh the forme of the letter S. backward: And it is the more famous for the admirable proſpect of ſo many moſt curious and goodly Palaces, as are built all the length of it on either ſide, to the aſtoniſhment of the beholders. Some report, that the Channell was the bed of the old River *Brenta*, which it made before the courſe thereof was turned, by making the banke of *Leccia fuſina*, and ſo broke out and emptied it ſelfe by the mouth, which is called the *three Caſtles*. On the middle of this Channell ſtandeth the bridge of *Rialto*, built firſt of wood, but in our time re-edified and built of ſtone, and that with ſuch excellency of workmanſhip, that it may juſtly bee numbred amongſt the beſt contrived Edifices of *Europe*. This Bridge joyneth together the two moſt and beſt frequented parts of the City, the *Rialto* and Saint *Markes*. Many leſſe Channels fall into this, which are paſſed over either by Bridges or Boats appointed for that purpoſe. The City hath in circuit ſeven miles, and yeeldeth an ineſtimable Revenue. About the City, eſpecially North-ward, lie ſcattered here and

and there in the Lake ſeventy five other Ilands, the chiefe whereof are *Murano* and *Burano*, both for circuit, building, and number of Inhabitants: Eſpecially *Murano*, abounding all over with goodly Houſes, Gardens, and a thouſand other objects of delight and pleaſure. Here are theſe ſo famous Glaſſe-houſes, where ſo many admirable inventions in that kinde are made in Gallies, Tents, Organs, and ſuch like; whereof the quantity yeerely vented, amounteth to 60000. Crownes.

Murano.

The Glaſſe-houſes.

Now the City of *Venice*, which from her Infancy hath maintained her ſelfe free, and as a Virgin, for one thouſand and three hundred yeeres, and that hitherto hath beene untouched with any injury of War or Rapine, amongſt other advantages required in the ſituation of a City, hath thoſe two which are required in a well ſeated City, whereof having already diſcourſed in the ſite of *England*, wee will here ſurceaſe further to dilate of. The ſafety then of this City groweth from the Waters, and the ſituation thereof in the Water, where neither it can be well approached or aſſaulted by Land, for the interpoſition of the Water betweene it and the Land: nor yet by Sea, for that the ſtreames are not navigable, but by Veſſels of the leſſer ſize onely: for greater ſhips riding out of the Channels (where the Water is ſomewhat deepe) would drive; and riding within the Channels, with every turning water ſhould bee on ground. So that a Navie of leſſer ſhipping would doe no good, and greater ſhipping cannot well there be mannaged. In concluſion, theſe Waters are rather made for the places and entertainment of peace, than for motions of warre. We may adde to theſe difficulties (which nature and the ſituation doe preſent) another as great, which ariſeth from the power and proviſions of the City, which are ever ſuch as will better inable the Inhabitants to offend another in thoſe Waters, than any man can invent to offend them. All which young *Pepin* taſted to his loſſe:

Venice.

The ſite thereof, and hardneſſe to approach.

Who with his ſhips and men fild all the Coaſt,
From the Fornaci *to the greater ſhore,*

And

And Laid a bridge to passe his vemrous boast
From Malamocco *all the Channell ore,*
Even to Rialto : *yet for all this boast*
Hee's faine to flie with shame : the Seas doe drowne
His men : His bridge the waves have beaten downe.

And, lastly wee may adde the continuall Art and care which the Seigniorie doth use, ever to augment something to the fortification of this their Citie and State.

Division of the State of *Venice.*

The whole Dominion of the *Venetian* Seigniorie is divided into firme land and Sea. By the firme land we understand all that which they possesse in *Lombardie*, in *Marca Trevisana*, and in *Friuli*; for that all those parcels doe make one continued country, passable from one to the other, without helpe of Sea. Wee will terme that Sea, which confineth with the Lake Sea-ward, or that which cannot be approached without passing by Water. This State is againe divided into Continent and Island. On the Continent they have *Istria*, *Dalmatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Albania*, or at least some parts thereof: The Islands stand partly within the Gulfe, not farre distant from the Continent; and part of them are without the Gulfe; which are *Corfu*, *Cephalonia*, *Zante*, *Candia*, *Cenigo*, *Tine*, and other in the *Adriatique*.

The State of the firme Land containeth one of the Marquisats of *Italie*, to wit, *Trevisa*, which besides the head Citie, whereof it taketh its name, hath also in it the Cities of *Feitre*, *Belluno*, and *Ceneda*. It hath moreover two of those Cities which are of the first ranke of the Cities in *Italie*, namely *Venice* and *Brescia*. Nor let it seeme strange to any man, that I reckon *Brescia* amongst the said Cities, considering that for largenesse of Territorie it giveth place to no Citie thorow *Italie*, containing in length one hundred miles, and in bredth fiftie; considering also the number of Inhabitants, and the entrade it yeelds to the Seigniorie; besides the private revenue of the Citie it selfe: In all which, few other Cities come neere it.

There is also in the firme Land the Citie of *Verona*, called so for its supereminent conditions, as *Verè una*: and is the first

first of the second ranke of Cities of *Italie*.

The Citie of *Padoa*, which for goodnesse of soile exceedeth *Bologna* it selfe. There are also the Cities of *Bergamo*, *Vicenza*, and *Crema*. There is againe the State of *Friuli*, with two honourable Cities, *Vdine*, where the Lieutenant of the State resideth, and *Cividal*; besides a number other populous Townes, little inferiour to Cities. Lastly, there is the fruitfull *Polesine*, with the noble Citie of *Rovigo* therein, with other places of good respect.

If wee consider the water, there are few States of *Italy* that have more abundance in that kinde, either for standing Waters, or Rivers. In the Territorie of *Bergamo* is the Lake of *Iseo*; in the Country of *Brescia*, the Lake of *Idro*. In the *Veronese* and *Brescian*, is the Lake of *Guardo*. It is also watered with many great Rivers, that not only serve to make the fields fruitfull, but also to fortifie the place. And those Rivers are *Oglio*, *Chiese*, *Navillo*, *Mincio*, *Seri*, *Mela*, and *Garza*, which indeed is rather a Mountaine Bourne, than a River, &c. The Countrey of *Polesine* and *Padoa* are so stored with Lakes and Rivers, that therein is no Burg or place which standeth not within five miles of some fresh Water. And all this Countrey of the firme Land (whereof I have spoken) is also for aire exceeding wholesome and temperate, as the complexions and cheerefull countenances of the Inhabitants can well witnesse, together with the quickenesse of their apprehension and wit, as well for matter of Armes as Learning.

Touching the Land, this State hath in it many parts that are very diverse in qualitie; some-where exceeding happy and fruitfull, but lesse industrie in the people; other-where the people are exceeding industrious, but the ground defective. Againe, some parts there are, where both the people are exceeding carefull & industrious, and the soile also good.

Of the first sort is the Territorie of *Crema*, of *Padoa*, of *Vicenza*, of *Trevisa*, and the *Polesine*.

Of the second sort is the Countrey of the *Bergomasche*, the *Veronese*, and *Friuli*.

Of

Of the third ſort is the Country of *Breſcia.*

And touching the firſt, it is almoſt incredible what the riches and increaſe is of thoſe grounds; what freſh Meadowes, what fruitfull arable, what abundance of Cattell, of Fleſh, of all things that come of Milke; what plenty of Corne, of Pulſe, of Fruit, Wood, Flax, Linnen, and Fiſh. Amongſt all which particularities, the *Padoan* doth notwithſtanding excell; which for goodneſſe of ſoile, doth carrie the praiſe from all the reſt of *Lombardie.* The wealth of this Territory may hence be conjectured, that it hath the richeſt Biſhopricke and Prebendaries of *Italy.* It hath one of the richeſt Abbeies of Saint *Benet* in *Italy*, which is Saint *Iuſtina.* It hath one of the moſt beautifull Convents of the ſame order, *(viz.)* that of *Praxa.* It hath the richeſt Monaſtery belonging to the *Auſten-Friers*, which is that of *Gaudiana.* It hath two of the greateſt Churches that may bee found in *Italy*, which are Saint *Iuſtina*, and Saint *Anthony*, with one of the greateſt Cuſtomes of ſalt in *Europe.*

In the time of the *Roman* Common-wealth, no City of the Empire had more Knights of *Rome*, than had *Padoa.* For that (as *Strabo* teſtifieth) there were ſometimes counted five hundred of them at once. Which muſt needs proceed from the extraordinary goodneſſe of the ſoile, and the greatneſſe of private livelihoods. But at this day, the greatneſſe of the *Venetian* Nobilitie, hath in great part diminiſhed the Nobilitie of other Cities. Amongſt which *Aquileia* in old time tooke in compaſſe twelve miles, and made an hundred and twenty thouſand Citizens. And *Ravenna*, which was ſituated in a Lake (as *Venice* is) was once of ſuch reſpect, that it was thought fit, and choſen firſt by *Honorius*, and afterwards by the *Gothes* and *Exarchs* for the ſeat of the Empire. In our daies by the conjuration of *Cambraie*, it was beſieged by *Maximilian* with ſeven hundred French Launces, a thouſand two hundred men at Armes, *Italians*: 18000. *Dutch* foot: ſix thouſand *Spaniards*: two thouſand *Italians* in pay: and ſix hundred Adventurers of divers Nations, with a huge quantitie of Artillery, and all other Munition.

Munition. Against this force the Seigniory opposed as great a force for defence, and put into the Citie six hundred men at Armes, fifteene hundred light-Horse, as many *Carabines*, under very expert Commanders: And for foot they had above twelve thousand *Italians*, ten thousand drawne out of the Gallies, a great number of Gentlemen of *Venice*, and Peasants of the Country without number; together with an Army of inestimable quantity of Munition and victuall: with which quantity of men and provisions, the greatnesse of their workes and fortifications well answered. Now there being about and in *Padoa* two so great and populous Armies, one to assault it, another to defend it, and that this infinite number of Horse on both sides did never cease from boot-haling and forraging the Country about, setting fire on all that they could not carry away, and that the Peasants had also conveyed away as much as they could into the Citie, and the adjoyning holds, yet did neither of these Armies ever want victuals during all that siege.

And yet as fruitfull as is *Padoa*, the Country of *Crema* is no whit behinde it for all things; for store and fineneſſe of flax beyond it. Of *Polesine* it shall only suffice to say, that it holdeth the like proportion with *Padoa*. The Country of *Vicenza* hath the Champian exceeding fat, and for that part thereof which is hilly, few Countries come neere it for pleasantnesse. It leaneth its shoulders upon the *Alpes*: it hath on the right hand the new River, on the left *Bronta*, in the middest of it runnes *Bacchilion*, *Remon*, &c. it is the Garden of *Venice*.

The Territory of *Trevisa*, as it cannot bee reckoned amongst the fertillest, yet it is numbred amongst the pleasantest.

Now the Countries, where the industrie of the people is more than the goodnesse of the soile, are those of *Verona*, *Bergamo*, and *Friuli*. For in the *Bergamask* there is more than forty miles of mountaine: the *Veronese* hath many miles of champian, altogether barren and sandy. The like

hath *Friùli*, whence it commeth that these parts are much subject to dearths, and scarcity of corne; but what they want in Bread, is recompenced in Wine abundantly; so that as I understand, the Island alone of *Scala*, which is one great Village in the *Veronesse*, doth rent in this commodity to the number of five thousand crownes yearely. Nor are they destitute of very good Wooll, whereof they of *Verona* doe weave Cloths and Felts: The *Burgamask* an infinite quantity of Dornix, besides Broadclothes and Kersies, which they vent partly into *Lombardie*, and partly into *Almaigne*.

The fruitfulnesse of the soile, and industry of the people together, is notably discovered in the territory of *Brescia*; insomuch that I beleeve that no part of *Italy* in these two points can be compared thereto for opulencie and plenty, in those two parts which for goodnesse of soile wee count to be fertill. There is no private mans Garden for art and gracefulnesse of compartment or order, more exquisitely cast, or more diligently planted, or more neatly kept and dressed than this whole territory.

Now touching that part of the *Brescian* territory that is unfruitfull, impossible it were to declare the diligence and art that is there used, for ploughing of mountaines, and for planting of Vines throughout the said mountaines. But a sufficient testimonie thereof will bee, that the barrenest part of this territory is no lesse well inhabited than is the best. In the towne of *Cordove* alone it is knowne, that if need require, they are able in one day to make two hundred Harquibusshes at all points out of the Masse, although there be no Harquebush that goeth through lesse than ten hands at the least. No Iron is brought in more than groweth in the Country, and yet little goeth out inwrought: Some is sold made into barres, but most into wares. In the City of *Brescia* are accounted more than two hundred Smiths shops, of which fifty at least are Cutlers.

There are also some Iron Mines in *Val Camonica*, which yeeld

water

water for six furnaces, and six mills, in which they make plate for Armour. In the Citie of *Cordove* are made in great quantity, Swords, Daggers, Halberds, Knives, and other like weapons: In the Marquisate of *Treviſa* great quantity of excellent steele, and so in *Alphaga Soldo*, and in *Cador*; exceeding good Swords are wrought in *Belluno*, *Feltre*, and *Seravalle*.

Of the Continent.

The dominion which the *Venetian* hath by Sea, is of two kinds, as hath formerly bin said; partly *Continent*, & partly *Islands*. The greatest territory of the Continent is *Istria*, and the best; unlesse it were for that the ayre thereof is naturally unwholesome, or rather to speak freely, contagious and pestilent, especially about *Nola*. For which cause that it grow not to be disinhabited, the Seigniory alloweth to all men that will dwell there, a certaine quantity of land, with divers immunities and privileges besides. It yeeldeth great abundance of Oyle, Fish, and Salt.

Dalmatia, *Sclavonia*, and *Albania* afford excellent wines; and in these quarters, partly by the commodiousnesse of the Sea, and partly by reason of the entertainment and pay that runs there amongst the garrisons, with the carefull industry of the Inhabitants, the people live indifferently well there.

Of the Islands of the Gulfe.

The Islands belonging to this State, and lying within the Gulfe, are not many. The names of them are *Veggia*, *Arbe*, *Brazza*, *Pago*, *Lieſina*, *Curzola*, *Liſſa*, with the Islands of *Zara* and *Seſa*. They all yeeld in generall Wines of reasonable goodnesse. *Cherſo* with some other doe exceed for plenty of Cattell, Milke, Meats and Wooll. *Pago* hath Salt-pits, and yeeldeth great profit. *Veggia* hath store of Pulse, light Wines, Wood, and Horse, though small. They are all beautified with Havens, excepting *Arbe*, which defect is there recompenced with the naturall pleasantnesse of the Country. They have very rich Fishings, especially *Leſina*, whose Sea yeeldeth Pilchers in great abundance. The greatest of these Islands is *Leſina*, containing in compasse fifty miles. The best peopled is *Curzola*: The most

delicious *Arbe*: and both, with the parts of the Continent over against them (whereof wee spake before) doe yeeld great number of serviceable men for the field and the Gallies.

Of the Islands out of the Gulfe.

It remaineth to speake of the Islands out of the Gulfe. Of which the first in order is *Corfu*, for commodiousnesse of situation of great account: For it lieth in a manner in the very centre of all the Sea-dominions belonging to this State, betweene the *Adriatike* and the *Ionike* Seas, equally distant from *Venice* and *Candie*. In which respect it standeth fitly both to hinder an enemie that would assault the Islands and Continent within the Gulfe, and to releeve *Candie*, if it were distressed. It also lieth fitly to defend all the Westerne parts, and to molest the East. It standeth in so excellent a Seat for the defence of *Italy*, that it may properly be termed the *bastion* thereof. It standeth well also for the conquest of *Greece*, bordering upon it, as it were a strong mount or Cavallier. It standeth opportunely for the receit, releeving and uniting of the Forces and Navies of Christendome against the Infidell. And albeit the Island be not very plentifull in graine, yet thorow the vicinitie thereof to *Puglia*, and *Epyre*, and the facile transportation it hath to *Venice* and *Sicill*, it cannot want any necessaries. The experience whereof hath beene manifested both in the time of the *Romans*, and in our dayes also. The *Roman* fleet made head alwayes at *Corfu*. There also in the civill warres betwixt *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, did ride *M. Bibulus*, *Pompey's* Generall. And in our memorie the forces of the league concluded by *Paul* the third, and *Pius* the fifth, did there assemble, and from thence set forward.

The Island was of so powerfull an estate, that it armed 60 Vessels to Sea. It aboundeth with excellent Oyle, Wine, Wax, Hony, and fruits of all sorts. All which commodities it hath in that goodnesse & proportion, that better in the same kind, are not to be found through the whole earth. It hath in length 60 miles, 20 miles over, and in circuit an hundred and twenty. It hath three places of great importance; to wit,

the old Citie neere the old Seat of *Pagiopili*; the new Fort, and thereto adjoyning the Caſtle Saint *Angelo*, beſides ſixty eight Townes.

Next in order is *Cephalonia*, containing in compaſſe an hundred threeſcore and ſix miles. It hath two hundred Townes, with Havens belonging unto them: Two whereof, *Argoſtoli* and *Gurſcardo* are moſt famous; the third is *Nallo*. It yeeldeth ſtore of Graine, Oyle, Sheepe, Cheeſe, Wooll, Honey, and Currans, and theſe in ſuch plenty, that thereby it receiveth great and yearely Revenues. *Candia* is likewiſe one of the moſt renowned Iſlands of the *Mediterranean*. It containeth in length two hundred ſixty miles, in breadth fifty, and in compaſſe, in regard of the many promontories, it maketh almoſt ſix hundred. It yeeldeth great plenty of Wine, with us called *Malveſies*, Cheeſe, and Honey. It is ſeated ſo conveniently, and with ſuch advantage for marine occurrances, that *Ariſtotle* cenſured it to be Lady of the Sea. His reaſon, becauſe it lieth very neere the middle, betweene *Europe* & *Aſia*, and betweene *Greece* & the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, which in a manner Court her as their Miſtreſſe and Soveraigne. It lieth from *Conſtantinople* three hundred and fifty miles, from *Alexandria* and *Soria* five hundred, from *Caramania*, *Epire*, and *Cyprus*, three hundred, from *Afrike* two hundred.

There remaine behinde two other Iſlands, *Cerigo* and *Tine*. Of which *Cerigo* containeth in compaſſe ſixty miles. In ſituatian it is mountainous, having one good City ſeated on the top of a Hill. It hath two Havens, the one called *Delphino*, the other *Tine*: That looketh North, this South. It hath beſides divers creeks, but narrow, and unſafe: with the ancients it was of good eſteeme; for *Leon* of *Sparta* conſidering well the ſeat and quality of the place, wiſhed that either it had never beene, or being it had beene drowned as ſoone as it had beene made. Which wiſh, as things afterwards fell out, wrought him a great opinion of wiſdome and foreſight. For *Romaratus*, who baniſhed from *Sparta*, and ſojourned with *Zerxes*, counſelled him to

bring up all his Navie unto this Iſland, if hee meant to impatronize himſelfe of *Greece*; as hee might eaſily have done, if hee had followed that counſell, as in few yeares after did *Nicias*, Generall of the *Athenians*, in the warre of *Peloponneſus*. In our time it is called the Lanthorne of the *Archipelago*.

Tine is in the middeſt of *Archipelago*, ſix miles from *Delos* (round about which *Delos* lie the *Cyclades*, in number fifty three:) It hath in circuit forty miles, with one great and populous Citie; and by reaſon of the Site which is on a Hill very ſtrong, very many Townes it hath beſides. And herewith endeth the Sea-Dominion of the *Venetian*: In all which, there are little leſſe than three hundred and fiftie thouſand ſoules. Which number perhaps is greater, than a man at firſt would beleeve, eſpecially if he conſider withall, how ſome of theſe parts, as *Sclavonia*, are not very fruitfull, and many of the Iſlands are barren; beſides the terrour of the *Turkiſh* incurſions: Inſomuch, that if their Countries were under any other Lord than the *Venetian*, they would ſurely be deſarted. But the Seigniory, with entertaining peace with all their Neighbours, with building of Forts, maintaining of Garriſons in places of neceſſitie, and with exceeding expence of money, keepe and maintaine their people in this ſort, as at this day we ſee them inhabited.

Riches. *Fame* reporteth the *Venetians* to be exceeding rich: But beſides opinion, there is great reaſon, why they ſhould be ſo indeed. Firſt, they are Lords of a large Territory, both by Land and Sea; but chiefly on Land: where they have Cities of the beſt ranke of *Italy*, with large and opulent Territories adjoyning unto them, and full of people, induſtrious and thriftie. They have alſo rich Biſhoprickes, wealthy Abbeyes, with the fatteſt and moſt commodious benefices of *Italy*: Families both for Nobilitie and Revenue worſhipfull; and Buildings, for State and Magnificence ſingular: Beſides which, they have alſo very wealthy commonalties. Amongſt which, to omit many, *Breſcia* alone hath eighteene thouſand crownes of yearely Revenue: and *Aſola* which is but a

Towne

Towne, ſubject to *Breſcia*, ten thouſand.

Another reaſon, is the great advantage which the *Venetian* hath for Trafficke, both in drawing unto himſelfe other mens commodities, and in venting his owne. I call his owne commodities whatſoever is growing, or made within the State: or whatſoever Trade beſides he hath ingroſſed, or by preſcription of time appropriated to himſelfe. This advantage is marvellous great throughout the whole State of *Venice*, for that the firme Land on every ſide, is full of navigable Rivers and Lakes. Beſides, it is for the greater part a plaine Countrey, ſo that the conveyance of all ſorts of Merchandize by Cart or by Horſe, is very eaſie. They are alſo in poſſeſſion of the Valleyes and paſſages of the *Rhetian*, *Giulian*, and *Carmian Alpes*, by which lieth all the Traffick betweene *Italy* and *Germanie*.

The State of the Sea is full of excellent, large and ſafe Harbours, eſpecially *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia*. The Iſlands have the like, eſpecially the greater ones, as *Corfu* and *Candia*. But the flower of gaine and emolument to this State, is the Trafficke of the great Sea of *Soria* and *Ægypt*, which the *Venetian* had altogether in his hand; eſpecially ſo much of the ancient Trafficke for ſpice, which hath beene, and yet is of reaſonable good conſequence unto them. In ſumme, all the Overland trade of Cloves, Nutmegs, Ginger, Cinamon, Pepper, Wax, Sugars, Tapeſtries, Cloths, Silkes, and Leather, with all the commodities of the Eaſt doe paſſe this way, and are uttered from hence into the greateſt part of *Italy*, and a good part of *Germanie*. The greatneſſe of this Trade, may the better be perceived by the greatneſſe and multitude of private ſhipping, belonging to Citizens and other Strangers, Merchants of *Venice*, and other Haven Townes belonging to the State: As alſo by the multitude and wealth of the ſaid Merchants, and of the great ſtirring and bartering, that is there every day. In which kinde the Merchants only of the *Dutch* Nation in *Venice* doe diſpatch as much, as were thought ſufficient to furniſh a whole world. To which purpoſe I may not omit to note, that Cities of

Of the Sea.

Trafficke have three degrees of difference; For either the Trade lieth by the Ware-house, that dispatcheth by grosse; or by open shops that doe retaile, or by both. Of this first sort, are *Lisbon*, *Civil*, *Antwerpe*, *Amsterdam*, *Hamburgh*, *Danske*, *Noremberg*; and in *Italy*, *Naples*, *Florence*, and *Genoa*. Of the second sort, are all the other Cities of *France* and *Germanie*. And amongst the Cities of *Italy*, *Millan* is herein the chiefest; where there are to be seene shops of all wares so rich, and well furnished, that they may well serve for *Magazins* to many Cities. In both sorts, *Venice* goeth beyond all the Cities of *Italy*: For there are open shops of infinite number, and the Ware-houses there doe farre passe all other in *Italy*. So that this Citie doth Trafficke by way of shop, as much as any other Citie, and by Ware-houses, more. And to conclude, putting both together, it is the Citie of greatest Trafficke in *Europe*, and perhaps of the World. And over this, whereas wealth doth arise to every Citie, by three wayes; first, by profits of Dominion; secondly, by recourse from places, to Iustice: and thirdly, by Merchandize; *Venice* is by all these wayes continually inriched. First, the Revenue of the whole is brought to *Venice*, both of the firme Land, and of the Sea: Secondly, all Appeales and suits of importance through the whole State doe come thither; and thirdly, *Venice* is as it were the center of the East and West, the Store-house of all that is produced by Sea or Land, and in summe, the receit of the whole wealth of *Asia* and *Europe*.

To set downe precisely the Revenue of the State is no easie matter: but a man may be bold to say, that it is held to bee the greatest of any Prince Christian, except those of *Spaine* and *France*. But whatsoever it be, certaine it is, they doe lay up every yeare a great Masse, over and above their expences; notwithstanding their incredible charge they are at in the *Arsenall*, in the building of Gallies, in Fortifications, in Garrisons, and Stipends. To this, the *Venetian* hath beene for these many yeares in continuall peace with

with all Princes: during which intermission, they have set all their study to the augmenting of their Revenues, whereby it is now credible, that having some yeeres since discharged their debts, and disburthened themselves of the interests of the said monies, they have saved together great quantity of treasure. Besides which treasure in ready coine, they have another treasure of no small consideration, and that is the wealth of the City, and the private substance of particulars, with the Revenues of the greater Schooles, or as they terme them, Halls; which the Common-wealth in her need may use as her owne. For that in occasions, some doe give voluntarily, others doe lend frankly, or upon light use: And in the warre of *Cambray* they gathered five hundred thousand Crownes, upon the sale onely of certaine offices amongst them.

Now the *Venetian* Territorie, for the extent of it, hath in length somewhat above one thousand miles; and the breadth thereof answereth not to the length. But whensoever they are drawne unto service, they wage forren forces. And hereupon they have alwaies amongst them ten bands of *Albanesses* and *Croatians*: They keepe moreover in entertainment certaine Colonels of the *Swisses* and *Grisons*, with divers Captaines besides out of the State of the Church. In former times they have beene able to draw unto their service such a Potentate as a Duke of *Vrbine*, unto whom they committed the Lieutenancie and leading of their Armies, making as secure an use of his forces as of their owne. But above all things, they have alwaies made right excellent use of their leagues and confederacies with other States. In the league which they made with *Amadis de Lasme*, called commonly the Greene Count, and with *Theobald* Earle of *Champaine*, with *Lewis* Earle of *Blois*, *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders*, and *Boniface* Marquesse of *Montferrat*, they first recovered *Zara*, and then entred upon the protection of *Constantinople*: wherein they got for themselves three eights of the whole Conquest; and in particular, the Cities of *Gallipoli*, *Modoni*, *Corone*, and *Du-*

The strength of the State.

razzo,

razzo, with all the Ilands in those Seas, saving a few which lie before *Morea*. Amongst which Ilands, *Candy* and *Corfu* fell to their shares, the greatest part whereof they infeffed to their private Gentlemen. The Citie of *Constantinople* it selfe remained to the Emperour, but not without a proportionable consideration made to the Seignorie.

In the league made with *Azzo Visconti* and the *Florentines*, against *Martin Scala*, they possessed themselves of *Treveg*i, *Bassane*, and *Castilbaldo*. Being confederated with *Mathias Corvinus* King of *Hungary*, and *G. Scanderbeg* Prince of *Albania*, they made head against the *Ottoman* power. In another league contracted with the *Florentines* against the *Visconti*, they inlarged their Dominions within *Lombardy*. Lastly, in the confederation which they had with *Francis* the first, King of *France*, they re-entred upon *Brescia* and *Verona*.

With their Money they have also not a little advanced their affaires. Of *Emanuel Paleologus* they bought *Lepanto*, *Napoli*, and *Malvalia*. Of *George Belsichius* they had the Towne of *Scùtary* in pawne of money lent him.

Neither have they beene wanting to helpe themselves with honourable pretences. In the warres which *Charles* the eighth, King of *France*, made upon *Italy*, the *Venetians* undertooke to stand Head and Protectors of the common liberty; and in that pretence made all *Italy* arme against him.

And because indeed this State may, and is rightly held for one maine Fort of *Italy*, and Christendome beside, against the Turkish invasions, therefore have they had also in their assistance from time to time the forces of the Church, and of the King of *Spaine*; of whom the danger hath alwaies beene accounted common, and as neere unto themselves.

Forces at land. Now, on the firme land they have a continuall Ordinance of twenty and eight thousand Foot, with Captaines, Ensignes, and all other Officers inrolled and paid. They have besides to the number of foure thousand Musketeers,

men

men well trained to that kind of Weapon. For which occasions they have also their times of Musters yeerely; partly to approve their experience, and partly to render such rewards as are due to the best deservers. Of this multitude and their valour, the battell fought at *Lepanto*, to the utter rowting of the Turkish Navie, is a sufficient Testimony. Besides these, they maintaine six thousand men at Armes, well mannaged and appointed, the like whereof is not to be found in all *Italy* besides.

Touching their sea-forces, they have on the firme Land ten thousand men inrolled to serve at the One: And of these kind of Men, all *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia* doth yeeld them what numbers they will besides; and that at a reasonable hand.

The City of *Venice* alone, armeth upon occasion fifty Gallies, and *Candy* forty. At Sea.

What their whole power and forces every way may amount unto, they shewed in the Warre of *Ferrara*: wherein they had on foot two severall Armies, one about *Ferrara*; the other on the Confines of *Millan*. They had at the same time besides two severall Navies; the one upon the *Po*, the other upon the sea, to observe the proceedings of *Naples*; and all this without associats. In the warre against *Lewis* the twelfth, King of *France*, their Armie was composed of two thousand men at armes, three thousand light-horse, and thirty thousand foot. In the yeare 1570. they armed forth one hundred and fiftie lesser Gallies, eleven great Gallies, one Gallion, and twenty five tall ships: all teit, that number by occasion of Pestilence happening in the Navie, was reduced to one hundred and twenty, and seven lesser Gallies, and fourteene ships, the other Vessels remaining untoucht; like as had befalne them before in the yeere 36. when as they had the name onely to make one part of three: but indeed they made a full halfe of all the Christian forces besides.

But because there is nothing that can give more certaine conjecture of the power of any State, than to have sustained

and

and gone through with great and perillous warres: it will not be unpleasant to set downe some of their most important actions, which in that kind they have supported.

Anciently they had warre with the Kings of *France*, and in that warre they discomfited *Pepin* sonne to *Charlemagne*. They warred afterward with the King of *Hungarie*, and tooke from them the Townes which they now hold in *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonie*. They fell at debate with the Emperours of *Constantinople*, and gat from them the Cities of *Salomithi* and of *Moria*. One the most dangerous warre that they ever had, was that which they managed with the *Genois*: and yet at length, such was the issue thereof, that howsoever having lost to the Enemy *Chiozza*, and were neere driven to their utter desolation, yet was the Enemy so far off from gaining an intire victory upon them, that in the pursuit thereof, he most of all destroied himselfe: insomuch that having for maintenance of that warre engaged the Revenues of the State of Saint *Georgo*, so by little and little through feebleneſſe growing upon them, they were compelled to throw the City within the armes and protection sometimes of *France*, and sometimes of *Millan*; so that to this day they could never recover their pristinat fortunes.

Then had they to doe with the *Visconti*, Princes of *Millan*, who were at that time dreadfull thorow *Italie*: yet by that warre the *Venetian* not only gained profit, but honour also.

They opposed themselves against all the Princes of *Italie* in the prosecution of *Ferrara*, and that with such successe, that in fine they annexed to their owne Dominion all the *Polesine* of *Raviso*. And after they had irritated the Princes of *Italie*, these letted not to draw upon themselves a warre, undertaken by all the Potentates of Christendome, combined against them in the confederation concluded at *Cambray*: which warre, as it was the most hapleſſe and despairefull that ever they managed, through the miscarriages of their Armies at *Carravaggio*, at *Brescia*, and at *Vicenza*; yet in the end they remained Lords still of their owne, and

of

of being conquered, at laſt remained with Conqueſt.

They have for many ages together waged warre with the *Turke*, eſpecially with *Amurath* the ſecond; *Mahomet* the ſecond; with *Bajazeth*; and with *Selim* the ſecond. They maintained a ſixteene yeares warres with *Mahomet* the ſecond, even him which had the fortune to have ſubdued two Empires, *Conſtantinople* and *Trapiſond*; to have deſtroyed twelve Kingdomes, and to have ſacked two hundred Cities: Which warre they finiſhed, although not altogether to their profit.

They held warres for ſeven yeares (without intermiſſion) with all the Princes of Chriſtendome, and went away winners: neither in all theſe occaſions were they deſtitute either of men or money.

In our memorie they warred with *Selim* the ſecond, and in that warre they diſburſed above twelve millions of money. The like exceſſive ſummes they ſpent in their warres with *Michael*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, in the enterprize of *Ferrara*, and in the warre undertaken of the confederacie at *Cambray*. All which ſo ineſtimable ſummes notwithſtanding at this day, whether they were parcels of their owne treaſure, or loanes of money from others, they have re-imburſed or extinguiſhed.

Of Neighbours.

The Princes that border and confine upon the *Venetian* are theſe, the *Turke*, the King of *Spaine*, the *Pope*, and the houſe of *Auſtria*.

The Turke.

As touching the *Turke*, whoſe State and power hath been ſo regarded in the worlds opinion, hee ſeemeth at this time rather to be impaired than otherwiſe. Whereof one great ſigne is, his protraction of the warre in *Hungarie* theſe many yeeres, with Armies of much better qualitie than any his Predeceſſors were wont to lead or ſend thither. Whereupon it hath happened, that not onely his forces have oftentimes beene broken and diſcomfited, but alſo the Prince himſelfe hath hardly eſcaped from being taken or ſlaughtered; if on our parts there had beene either better Chiefes to temporize with him, or more agreement in thoſe Heads

to

to assaile him. Notwithstanding hee hath there lost the Townes of *Filech*, *Lippa*, *Rab*, and *Strigonium*, places of great consideration: He hath also the second time lost *Iuvarine*. These losses doe more than countervaile the winning of *Agria* from us, being a fortresse of many knowne imperfections for site and building; besides the withdrawing of *Transylvania* and *Valachia* from his subjection, with the alienation of many rich Provinces in *Asia*.

The State of these presents considered, the *Venetian* for that part of dominion that confineth upon the *Turke*, had never more cause to thinke himselfe better secured from violence, especially having all Maritime Townes both by Sea and Land gallantly fortified: which strength is also the greater, by the facility the Sea affordeth to succour his owne, and to distresse his enemie.

The *Spaniard.* Touching the King of *Spaine*, upon whom they doe border as well in the *Adriatique* as in *Lombardie*, it is now more than threescore yeares that there hath beene any variance at all befallen them. Neither in truth can it turne the *Venetian* to any great gaine, to have warre with so powerfull a King; nor the King of *Spaine* to make warre in *Italy*, where by putting things in uprore and tumult, hee might perhaps hazzard some part of his owne. For that Warre (as *Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* was wont to say) hath something of the nature of Dice, which no man knoweth how they will runne.

The Emperor. I may say as much of the house of *Austria*, Princes that doe exceedingly cherish and affect quietnesse, wherewith they are become great, and with the same meanes doe maintaine their greatnesse.

The Pope. Of the *Church* it were alike superfluous to speake, for that neither Saint *Peter* can make any excuse to make warre upon Saint *Marke*, nor will Saint *Marke* seeke to trouble Saint *Peter* unprovoked.

In summe, the *Venetian* hath two maine advantages above all other Princes: The one is, that they have a counsell that is immortall, the other, that the heart of the State

cannot

cannot be pierced unto by any enemie. And ſo conclude, that the *Pope* and the *Venetian* at this time are more potent, and of greater antiquity in *Italy*, than ever heretofore they have beene; not only for that the Pope hath a more ample Territory, and that but little incumbred with petty Lordſhips; and that the *Venetian* hath his Dominion better fortified, and his Coffers fuller than in times paſt: but alſo in regard that the States of *Naples* and *Millan* are in the hands of a Prince, abſent and farre off, and therefore circumſpect to raiſe innovations.

Lombardie, anciently called *Ciſalpina*, extendeth from *Panaco*, unto *Seſia*, lying betweene the *Apenine* and the *Alpes*. *Marca Trivigiana*, ſometime called *Venetia*, lieth betweene the *Menzo* and the *Po*. Moſt commonly both Provinces paſſe under the name of *Lombardy*, becauſe there the Kings of the *Longobards* ſeated their dwellings, longer than in any other place of *Italy*. Beſides, the ſoyle, the ayre, and the Inhabitants hold ſuch correſpondencie, that they ought not to be diſtinguiſhed. This is the richeſt and civilleſt Province of *Italy*; For ſuch another peece of ground, for beautifull Cities, goodly Rivers, Fields, and Paſtures, for plenty of Fowle, Fiſh, Graine, Wine, and Fruits, is not to be found againe in all our Weſterne world; ariſing partly by the eaſe of Navigable Rivers, as *Teſino*, *Adda*, *Oglio*, *Menzo*, *Adige*, and *Po*: partly by channe's cut out of thoſe Rivers, and partly by the great Lakes of *Verbano*, *Lario*, and *Benaco*. No leſſe commodity ariſeth by the plaines paſſable for Carts, Mules, and other carriage. *Lombardie*.

The greatneſſe likewiſe of the Lords of *Lombardie* hath bin a great furtherance thereto. For while the *Viſconti* reigned, this State maintained wars of great importance againſt moſt puiſſant Princes. And for the Empirie hereof happened thoſe notable wars of our daies, betweene the Emperor and the *French* King. And no marvell, that two ſuch puiſſant Potentates contended with ſo great effuſion of bloud for this Dukedome: for though to many it ſhould not ſeeme great, yet in very truth, for the wealth of the Country, and the quantity,

quantity, it hath been of as great reputation as some Realmes of *Europe*: some Dukes whereof have possessed greater Territories enjoyed wealthier Revenues, and have beene more puissant in Warres, and more honourable in Peace, than divers Princes, graced with Kingly titles.

Milan. Amongst the Cities of these Provinces (accounting *Venice* amongst the Islands) *Millan* without controversie holdeth the precedencie. It is able to reckon upon two hundred thousand persons, and hath a large and populous Territory. A Citie (saith *Guicciardine*) most populous and rich in Citizens, plentifull in Merchants and Artificers, proud in pompes, and sumptuous in ornaments for men and women; naturally addicted to feastings and pleasure, and not only full of rejoycing and solace, but also most happy in all other nature of contentment for the life of man.

And however now the *Spaniard* one in the Citie, and another in the Castle, overlooketh both City and Country, yet is the bravery of the place very little abated: nor doth the Nobleman shrinke under the burthen, but carrieth his load lightly; however his inward grones are breathed, yet lifteth he up a face of chearefulnesse, as if he dranke wine, and fed on oyle, according to the properties of either: so good and bountifull is the Country.

Brescia. The second Citie of *Lombardie* is *Brescia*, not for compasse or multitude of people, for it is not able to make fortie thousand men, but by reason of the large jurisdiction thereof, comprehending therein many large Towns and populous Champians, therefore censured to be able in all to levie 350000. men. Among the Townes subject thereto, *Asalo* and *Salo* have the preheminence: amongst the Vallies, *Valcamonia*, being fifty miles in length, and therewith populous, and full of Iron Mines. *Bologna* (if it please you to account it in *Lombardie*) and *Verona* are alike populous: *Verona* is larger and of more beautie: *Bologna* more rich and commodious: as well for that it hath a larger Territory, as also for that there is no City that doth more absolutely enjoy her owne commodities; and doth more freely partake

Bologna.

of

of others, by the great resort of Courtiers, Clergie-men, and Officers dispersed through all the Ecclesiastike State. To which three things are much availeable: the Vniversitie, where all professions are practised; their wealth, which is equally divided; and lastly, their inclination and patience to take paines, and doe service.

Betweene *Verona* and *Padoa* there is no great difference in respect of circuit, but *Verona* hath double the people. Whereof the *Venetians* to supply that defect, doe as much as they may grace their Vniversitie, and the Schollers. As in this Province the Cities are great and beautifull, so are the fortresses many and impregnable. And whereas other Provinces have their places of strength on their Frontiers, in this, the neerer you approach the centre, the stronger shall you see the Country planted and fortified. *Verona.*

The Dukedome of Vrbine.

THis State, touching the *Apenine* mountaines on the South, and the *Adriatike* Sea upon the North, is on the two other sides high hemb'd in with the dominions of the Pope, whose Liege-man, or Feudatary the Duke hereof is, for severall bounties received from the Church. This State is threescore miles long, and five and thirty broad, containing seven Cities, and two hundred Castles and Villages. The land very good. His Revenue comes in two wayes: First, from his subjects, which (he being a gracious Lord) is not above an hundred thousand ducats a yeare. But secondly, he much helps himselfe by the Sea, and especially by his customes upon Wine and Corne exported; of which last there is a great trade in his ports. Of this Revenue he issues but 2200. ducats a yeare by way of tribute or acknowledgement to the Pope and the great Duke of *Tuscanie*, which last, sometimes writes himselfe Duke of *Vrbine* also. Both these gape for the Duchie, if the succession should faile: A pretty case lately hapned thereupon. It chanced that *Guido Baldus* Duke of *Vrbine* in his owne life

time resigning his Estate to the sonne, and that sonne dying without issue before his father in the yeare 1624. that both these pretenders being ready to seaze upon it, and yet one afraid of another; the old Duke was re-estated with both their consents. The great Duke of *Tuscania* hath as it seemes since released his claime to the Pope, who now solely after the death of this old man lookes for it: but many thinke his nose will be wiped of it, for that the Archduke *Leopold* (brother to this Emperour) hath in the yeare 1626. married the daughter and heire of this old Duke *Guido*: And this may happen to be the occasion of a breach betweene the Pope and the house of *Austria*, especially if the Duchie fals void in the life and height of this present Emperour, and that the *Spaniard* and he get the better of it in the wars of *Mantua*.

Modena. *Modena* is an hereditary Dukedome, full of riches and fashionable Gentry, after the best *Italian* manner, newly allied to *Mantua*, and reasonably well fortified against his dangerous neighbour in *Millan*, and inviteth you to the view of a very delicate Country.

The Dukedome of Mantua.

Mantua. MAntua is a late Dukedome erected of an ancient Marquisate in the name of *Gonzaga*. He liveth in better fashion of Courtship, than the other Princes, with a Guard of *Switzers*. The Citie is large, boasteth of *Virgils* birth, and the delicate streames of *Po*, over which for all the swiftnesse and largenesse, a gallerie-bridge transporteth both Coach, Cart, and Horse: under which are preserved many Courtly Barges, both for magnificent shewes and pleasure of the water in Summer time, as also for the necessities of the Inhabitants thorowout the yeare.

This State, abutting upon the East of *Millane*, hath the Marquisate of *Monsferrat* annexed unto it, and is now the field of warre in *Italie*. Rich men never want heires; weake titles, rather than no titles, are made use of. Thus comes

the

the quarrell. The Towne of *Mantua* was (as the reſt of *Italy*) ſometimes belonging to the Empire: from which all going away, the famous *Matilda* laid hold on this, which with the reſt of her eſtate ſhe bequeathed to the Church of *Rome*. Under the Popes, the name of *Poledroni* bearing great ſway, grew at laſt too ſtrong, and uſurped from their Lord about foure hundred yeares ſince; from whom *Gonzaga* at laſt ſnatcht it, who ſo well inlarged both the territorie and honour, that it grew to be a Marquiſate, and ſome hundred and five yeares ſince was it made a Dukedome by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, about which time Duke *Frederike* obtained the Marquiſate of *Montferrat* alſo, and that by mariage of *Margarita*. It ſo happened, that a younger ſonne of this Familie plants himſelfe in *France*; whoſe deſcendant, upon the late death of his couſin *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, (who having beene firſt a Cardinall before hee came to be Duke of *Mantua*, was unmaried, and thereupon died without iſſue) now puts in for the Duchie as next of the bloud. So that the Cardinall-Duke being dead without iſſue, the Pope claimes his ſhare, and hath it: The Emperour puts in for his title, pretending the Eſtate eſcheated to him for want of iſſue. The heire in the meane time haſtens out of *France*, gets poſſeſſion of *Mantua*, and of the good will of the people alſo. The Emperour he cals in the King of *Spaine* to trie his title by the ſword, and if not to hinder or regaine poſſeſſion, yet to inforce him to demand inveſtiture of the Emperour. The Duke craves aid of *France*: the King himſelfe leads an Armie thither, which this preſent yeare having paſſed the *Alps*, by the Duke of *Savoyes* ſtopping up the paſſage againſt him, miſcarries in *Piedmont*. The *Savoyard* is proved the Duke of *Mantuaes* enemie for the Marquiſate of *Montferrat*, which he pretends a triple title unto; all which were adjudged weake and inſufficient pleas by *Charles* the fifth, being made Vmpire by both parties. But what he could not obtaine by Law, he hopes in the weakneſſe of the new Duke, to doe by power, ſtriking in eſpecially with the *Spaniard*, with whom he is now made

friends upon it; the *Spaniard* restoring some Townes in *Montferrat*, which the *Savoyard* had seized upon in the last vacancie, *An.* 1613. but had beene taken from him againe in the late warres with *Spaine*. So that the poore Dukedome of *Mantua* is like to be undone by foure Pretenders; The Heire, the Pope, the Emperour, and the *Savoyard*. The Spanish forces of *Millane* are too neere unto *Mantua*, and the *Savoyards* to *Montferrat*: These be his neighbours, and enemies.

The Dukedome of *Mantua* is indifferent rich, and able to live of its owne. Seven good Cities it hath, whereof *Mantua* is one of the strongest in *Italie*, three sides being fortified with a wide River. *Montferrat* is larger than the Duchie of *Mantua*, containing about threescore good walled Townes, three of which be faire Cities. Both territories together containe as much land as the great Duke of *Tuscanie* is master of: yet his yearly Revenues come not to much above 500000 Ducats, for that he uses his subjects well, and wants the commoditie of the Seas. For his Forces, *Italy* hath not better Horsemen, nor any willinger to serve their Prince. Divers strong Townes he hath, and all little enough at this time.

The State of the Duke of Savoy.

THe State of this Duke lyes in two Countries, in *France* where *Savoy* is seated, and in *Italy*, where he possesses part of *Piedmont*. But what Nature and the Alpes have disjoyned, Marriage and Warres have united. His Dominions in *France* reach as farre as *Geneva*, the County of *Burgundie*, *Bresse*, *Provence* and *Daulphine*: on *Germanie* side they touch upon the *Switzers*: and in *Italy* are they bounded with *Millane*, *Montferrat*, and the State of *Genoa*. The length is three hundred miles; the breadth an hundred and threescore; the compasse nine hundred. To begin with *Savoy* from whence the Prince hath his Title: The fable (I see) passes currant, that these mountaine-passages being infested

with

with theeves, the Countrey was thereupon named *Malvoy*, which diſorders being reformed by a Nobleman, the Emperour rewarded him with the title of Duke, and named the Countrey *Saulvoy*, that is, the *Safe-way*. But hee that ſhall remember that the *Noticia* of the Empire mentions the very name of *Sabaudia*, will know it to be ancienter than the moderne *French* tongue, from whence this fable derives it. *Savoy* containes the Earldome of *Geneva*, the Marquiſate of *Suſa*, the County of *Mortenne*: the Lordſhips of *Tharentaiſe*, *Brengeois*, *Faucignie*, *Chablais*, and *Pays de Vaul*; with three Biſhoprickes, whereof the Duke hath the nomination. It containes foure or five good Cities, whereof *Chamberie* is a Parliamentary Towne, and the Seat of the Duke on that ſide: Situate it is in a rich and delicate Valley, full of Gentlemens houſes, and every way incloſed with high mountaines. The Valleyes be fruitfull enough, but the Mountaines very inhoſpitable, which is the occaſion that there be but five hundred thouſand ſoules in all *Savoy*. Many and large Lakes it hath, and thoſe very well fiſht. *Piedmont* is much the pleaſanter and the richer Country; though the common people be poore enough, as ſcorning to worke, and caring but to have from hand to mouth. The chiefe Honour or Title that the Duke here hath, is the Marquiſate of *Saluzzes*. The other part of *Piedmont* is taken up with *Montferrat*; but that belongs to *Mantua*. Though in all *Piedmont* there be reckoned one Duchie (of *Aoſta*,) Marquiſates fifteene, Earldomes fifty, beſides Baronies many: but theſe (alas) bee but petty ones; ſuch as have but Fiefs, being but Gentlemen holding Fees or Mannors of the Dukes favour: of which one writes, that ſingly they are not very rich; though all together they make a great noiſe. Three Counties are reckoned in it; and in them ſeven good Cities, beſides an hundred and fifty walled Townes. Whereupon a Gentleman of that Nation boaſted, that his Countrie was an intire Citie of three hundred miles compaſſe. *Piedmont* is ſaid no nouriſh ſeven hundred thouſand ſoules; whereof the leſſer halfe may be reckoned within this Dukes Domini-

ons: so that he may have some eight or nine hundred thousand subjects in the whole number. The Dukes chiefe Citie here is *Turin*, honoured now with an Vniversitie: A strong place, but made lesse than it was, when the *French* were Masters of it, that it might be the more defensible. *Salnzzes* is a Bishops See also.

The first Founder of this Noble Family, was *Beroaldus* of *Saxonie*, brother to *Otho* the third, Emperour; who flying hither for killing that brothers wife, taken in the act of Adultery, was first made Generall to the Duke of *Burgundie*; for whom he conquered *Maurienne* on *Italy* side; which Lands the Duke giving to him, hee became Lord of *Maurienne*: His sonne was first made Count or Earle of *Maurienne*; who marrying the daughter and heire of the Marquesse of *Susa*, joyned both those Titles together. His grand-childe inlarged his Dominion by the conquest of some of the neighbour Valleyes: and his sonne *Amadeus* was for service done to the Emperour, *Henry* the fifth, made Earle of *Savoy*. His grand-childe *Humbert*, marrying the Count of *Geneva's* daughter, made his father in Law to submit, and acknowledge obedience unto him. This Prince also upon the failing of the heires of the Princes of *Piedmont*; sets in for himselfe, conquers divers places, and takes *Piedmont* into his title also. His son gains further upon his neighbours. His grand-childe *Peter* winnes the Citie of *Turine*, and gets confirmations of *Richard* Duke of *Cornwall* (his kinsman, and then Emperour) in those Valleyes conquered by himselfe and his grand-father. His sonne *Philip* marrying the heire of *Burgundie*, was in her right made Earle of *Burgundie* and *Savoy*. His brothers sonne, *Amadeus* the fourth, gained the Countrey of *Bresse* by marriage also. His sonne *Edward* was made a Prince of the Empire, and his son *Amadeus* wanne something from the Count of *Geneva*: To whose sonne *Amadeus* the sixth, part of *Piedmont* yeelded it selfe. He instituted the Order of Knight-hood of the *Annunciada*. To his sonne *Amadeus* the seventh, did the Countrey called *Nizza en Provenza* freely yeeld. To honour

nour his ſonne *Amadeus* the eighth, did the Emperour *Sigiſmund* advance *Savoy* to the title of a Dukedome: Him did the Councell of *Baſile* chooſe to be Pope; which he afterwards quit, to compound the ſchiſme. His ſonne *Lewis* was in his fathers life-time firſt called *Prince of Piedmont*; which is ever ſince the title of the heire apparant: he alſo obtained to be called Earle of *Geneva*. *Charles* the firſt made the Marqueſſe of *Saluzzes* to performe homage.

Finally, this preſent Duke of *Savoy*, *Charles Emmanuel*, firſt got that Marquiſate of *Saluzzes* intirely into his hands: which *Henry* the fourth of *France* wrung from him; and made him releaſe the County of *Breſſe* to have *Saluzzes* againe. And thus by degrees and yeares came this Family to theſe poſſeſſions. Beſides all which, hee makes title and claime to the Marquiſate of *Montferrat*, the Earldome of *Geneva*, the Principalitie of *Achaia* in *Greece*, and the kingdome of *Cyprus*.

His ordinary Revenues are thus collected: His cuſtomes upon Salt fiftie thouſand crownes; from *Suſa* foure and twenty thouſand; forren Merchandize eighteene thouſand; from *Villa Franca*, &c. five and twentie thouſand; Ancient Rents, &c. threeſcore and ten thouſand: The ordinary tax of *Piedmont* two hundred threeſcore and three thouſand; from confiſcations, condemned perſons, commutations of puniſhments, and of the Iewes, &c. fifty thouſand. The totall is five hundred thouſand *French* crownes. What his extraordinaries may amount unto, cannot be knowne; but certaine it is, that in a few yeares he raiſed eleven millions of crownes out of *Piedmont* alone: So that we may well allow him one million of yearely commings in, one with another: out of which theſe ſummes are yearely iſſued upon certaine expences: Diet, wages, &c. of the Dukes owne Court, threeſcore thouſand crownes: Allowed to the Ducheſſe, twenty thouſand: The Duke of *Nemeurs* (his kinſman) penſion, fourteene thouſand: Standing wages to Iudges, Counſellors, &c. on both ſides the Alpes, foureſcore and ten thouſand: Vpon Embaſſadors, Intelligencers, &c. ſixteene thou-

sand: Vpon his Guard, Pages, Messengers, &c. ten thousand: Given away in Pensions and favours, twelve thousand: Expences of pleasure, ten thousand: Charges of his souldiery, ten thousand, and of his Gallies, two and twenty thousand. The totall is three hundred and eightie thousand *French* crownes. The rest goes into the Treasury. But in this former account, the expences upon building and repairing of Forts is not reckoned, which must needs amount to a masse of money; seeing that no Prince of *Europe* in so little ground (unlesse those of the *Low-Countries* perchance) hath so many fortified places, and few stronger in the world, either by Nature or Art; eight hundred Castles being reckoned in *Piedmont* alone. Of Land-souldiers his muster-bookes shewes him about twenty thousand, often exercised by their Captaines and Collonels; and three Gallies for scowring of the Coast.

And now for the State and termes he stands in with other Princes his neighbours; they be these. To the Papacie is his Family much beholding: the Pope having made his second son *Victor*, a Cardinall: and his third son *Philibert*, Admirall of the Gallies of the Church. A great dependancie hath he on the Pope besides: for whereas Cardinall *Aldabrandino*, Nephew to *Clement* the eighth, hath purchased *Raiensa* in *Piedmont* to the Duke: after whose decease that rich Territory must fall to the Church, unlesse the Pope be pleased to confirme it upon the Duke. With *Spaine* both the Duke and his elder son *Philip Emanuel*, have very neere alliance; A time there was, that the *Spaniard* with-held his Pension from the Duke, and he againe discharged his garrison of *Spaniards* in *Turine*, &c. but all being now piec't up betweene them, it concernes *Spaine* not to displease him; because hee may stop up the passages by which the *Spanish* forces might march out of *Italy* into *Germanie*. *Venice* and hee are in a common league and correspondencie. Divers States and persons of the *Switzers* take pension of him: and the Citie of *Geneva* is in bodily feare of him; so was *Genoa* in these late warres, and may be againe. With other Princes of *Italy*

ly he is in good termes (except with *Mantua:*) it equally concernes them all, to ſee that one another grow not too great, and eſpecially to looke to the *Spaniard*. The only feare is from the *French*, who will be revenged for the defeat of his Armie. How able the *French* is to hurt him, was lately ſeene, when *Henry* the fourth quickly overran all *Savoy*, and the ſecond time inforced him to releaſe *Breſſe*, for *Saluzzes*. Nor wants he pretences, ſeeing King *Francis* the firſt made nine yeares warre in *Piedmont*; and (notwithſtanding the Law *Salicke*) claimed *Savoy* in the right of his mother; who was ſiſter to *Philibert*, who died without Iſſue. Vpon which pretence, *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* was beaten of *Piedmont*: unto which his ſon was not reſtored, but upon marriage of the ſaid King *Francis* daughter; of which martiage this preſent Duke *Charles Emanuel* comes.

And here by the way let me adde an obſervation, concerning the *French* playing faſt and looſe with their *Salick* law. It is true indeed that *Margaret*, ſole daughter and childe of *Edward* Duke of *Savoy*, was in the yeare 1329. put by the Succeſſion, being excluded by the Lawes of the Empire, as mine Author notes. *Conſtantia*, daughter of Duke *Peter*, was alſo put by it; the next heire male both times ſucceeding: and yet notwithſtanding theſe Examples, and that Law, the *French* King claimes the Dukedome. Will not they give the *Engliſh* leave to doe as much?

Sicilie.

THis is the chiefe Iland of the Mediterranean Sea, and for the bigneſſe the moſt delicate of the whole world. For the abundance of Corne, it was called the Granary of *Italy*; their ſtore of Silke may be ſeene upon the backe of every Tradeſmans wife; Wines and Honey moſt plentifull and delicious; adde to theſe, Sugar, Oyle, Salt, and Saffron; yea, Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, (the Emerald and Aggats) and what would yee deſire more? if Fiſh and Fowle, the Sea and Rivers yeeld it them. Admirable were

the

the wealth that the Ilanders might attaine unto, could they but make the beſt of their owne, and worke their Silkes, Sugars, and other commodities. This made it ſo populous of old, that *Pliny* reckoned up threeſcore and twelve Cities, of which *Syracuſa* alone was two and twenty miles about; The Map and Hiſtory ſhewes it divided into three parts or Governments: *Mona*, *Noto*, and *Mazzaro*; in all which be eight or nine Cities and walled townes. It was of old times called *Trinacria*; of the ſhape which is like a long Triangle: and beleeved ſometimes to have beene firme land with *Italy*, from whence it is not at this day above one mile and an halfe diſtant; and from *Greece* an hundred forty and foure. In proceſſe of time and variety of fortunes, this little Iland hath ſucceſſively beene maſtered by fifteene ſeverall Nations. The thirteenth in order were the *French*: Theſe being inſolent and hated, the *Sicilians* willingly received, and as quickly crowned *Peter* of *Arragon* laying claime to it: whereupon the *French* Lord of it, *Charles* of *Province*, for avoiding the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, challenges King *Peter* to try their titles by a ſingle combat; the place to be *Burdeaux*, and the Iudge our *Edward* the blacke Prince, the flowre of Chivalry. *Peter* accepts the combat; but in the meane time one *Iohn de Prochita* ſhewes him a ſafer way to his quiet. The plot was this, a ſecret and ſure-bound agreement with the *Sicilians* to ſerve all the *French* upon the Iland, as the *Engliſh* ſometimes did the *Danes*, to kill them all in an houre: the common watch-word was the tolling of the Bels to Even-ſong; the feat was atchieved *Anno* 1281. whence like our *Hocking dates* for the death of the *Danes*, they begunne their proverbe of *The Sicilian Veſpers*. Thus *Arragon* got it: in the right of which Crowne the Spaniard holds it.

It is at this day governed by a Vice-Roy under the *Spaniſh* Councell for *Italy*, conſiſting of three *Spaniards* and three *Italians*, having for their Preſident the Conſtable of *Caſtile*; who by authority from the King, doe create Governours, Iudges, and Commanders, &c. It yeeldeth to the

Coffers

Coffers of *Spaine* yeerely six hundred thousand Ducats, but that drawne backe againe in rewards and paiments.

It feedeth and maintaineth about a million of soules; and what force out of that proportion it is able to raise, may bee conjectured by that levie which *Don Garzia* of *Toledo* made, onely out of the south angle of the Iland, at what time the Turke passed by it, to the invasion of *Malta*; consisting of three thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot. Number of Inhabitants.

For remonstrance of the populousnes of the ancient world, wonder you may, how this then-goodly Iland, in the daies of *Dionysius* the elder (being but Lord of *Syracusa* and the adjoyning territories) continually maintained ten thousand foot-men and as many horse-men for his guard, with foure hundred Gallies at Sea: of which, now in these times the whole Kingdome affordeth but eight. Moderne Forces.

A people they are standing much upon their Honour, yet excessively given to idlenesse; talkative, busie-headed, quarrelsome, jealous, and revengefull. Their commodities are exported by strangers; and withall, the profit: themselves little traffiking abroad, and therefore unexpert in the art of Navigation; selling their Sugars unextracted from the Cane to the *Venetians*, and buying it againe from them after it is refined: The Vpland sort so unhospitable to strangers, that without a sufficient guard there is no travelling without assured destruction by robbery and murder. Nature of the people.

The better sort (especially about *Messana*) live in all abundance and delicacie, having more than enough of food, of fruits, and of excellent wines. They are *Spanish* in attire, and the meanest Artificers wife is clothed in Silke: whereof infinite quantities proceed from the wormes, a part whereof is wrought into rude stuffes for their owne uses. Eight thousand Bails are yeerely made in the Iland, and five thousand fetcht from thence at the Mart-time by the Gallies of *Naples*, *Ostia*, *Ligorne*, and *Genoa*: their language is *Italian*, but corrupted with the *Greeke*, *French*, and *Spanish*. *Sicil.*

The Garrison appointed for the security of the South part of the Iland, consisteth of two hundred *Spaniards*, and three Garrisons.

three hundred horſemen of the Country adjoyning, who ſerve by turnes and nightly ſcoure and guard that Coaſt. So on the North towards *Calabria*, *Philip* the ſecond erected a very ſtrong Caſtle, and thruſt into it a guard of naturall *Spaniards*.

The whole Iland nominateth ſeven Princes, foure Dukes, thirteene Marqueſſes, fourteene Earles, one Vicount, and eight and forty Barons: The chiefe and ancienteſt of whom, rather of policy than free will, for the moſt part of their lives attend in the Court of *Spaine*: it hath alſo three Archbiſhops, and nine Biſhops under them.

The Iles of Malta, *or the Eſtate of the Knights of the* Rhodes.

THis Iland, being the ſame *Melita* where Saint *Paul* ſhooke off the Viper, lyeth in the *Lybian* Sea, iuſt betwixt *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, and the South-Eaſt angle of *Sicilie*; being diſtant from the former threeſcore leagues of Sea meaſure, and ſeparated from the latter threeſcore miles of *Italy*: the compaſſe alſo being threeſcore miles, and but threeſcore villages in the whole Iland: So that this Iland goes much upon the number of threeſcore. Many maſters hath this alſo had; firſt, the *Phenicians*, and then the *Greekes*; thirdly, the *Moores* of *Barbary*: from them the *Spaniard* tooke it after their expulſion out of *Spaine*. *Charles* the fifth laſtly gave it to the Knights of Saint *Iohns* of *Ieruſalem*, when the *Turke* had beaten them out of the *Rhodes*, *Anno* 1522. the length of it is twenty miles, and the breadth twelve. The countrey people both in language and attire much reſemble their old Maſters and Sires of *Affrica*; their *Arabick* Dialect being much corrupted with words crept in out of the ſeverall Countries from whence their Knights doe come: The women are handſome, and the men jealous: The Citizens be altogether Frenchified: The whole number of Inhabitants is about 20000. The weather is hot, and the ſoile barren; as being onely a flat Rocke with a pan of earth

earth a foot or two thicke. Trees hath it few, and Rivers none, watered only with fountaines and raine water. All their Corne is Barley; which and Olives, makes the beſt part of a *Malteſes* dinner. Plenty of Anice ſeed, Comine ſeed, and Hony they vent to Merchants: Here alſo growes the perfecteſt Cotton Wooll. The people are healthy, dying rather of age than of diſeaſes. The Religion Popiſh. Foure Cities be upon the Ile, quartered under the command of ten Captaines; whereof *Valetta* is both the faireſt and the ſtrongeſt, built 1565. and ſo named of *Valetta* the Grand Maſter, famous for his valour againſt the *Turks*. Founded upon a rocke it is, high mounted, wonderfully fortified cloſe to the Sea, and by land aſſaultable onely at the South end. Victualled continually it is for three yeares; new proviſion ſtill ſupplying the expence of the old, ſent in from *Sicily*, and by reaſon of the heat of the Country preſerved under ground. This ſmall City is neighbour to two others, *La Iſula*, and Saint *Hermes*, each diſtant but a muſket ſhot from other; neere to the Haven, and on the Eaſt end, and North ſide of the Iland: from which *Malta* (the fourth City) is eight ſmall miles ſeparated. Two Forts more it hath, Saint *Michael*, and Saint *Angelo*: So that all together, this Iland is thought the moſt impregnable place of the world.

The Knights of *Ieruſalem* (ſince called of the *Rhodes*) command all in all here, no man daring to contradict. Of theſe there bee five hundred continually reſident in the Iland, and five hundred more (a thouſand being their whole number) diſperſed in other Alberges or Hoſpitals in *Europe*. Of them at this day there be ſeven ſeminaries; one of *France* in generall, one of *Auvergne*, one of *Provence*, one of *Caſtile*, one of *Germany*, one of *Arragon*, and one of *Italie*; the eighth of *England* was ſuppreſſed by *Henry* the eighth. Theſe knights be all Friers by profeſſion; their Vow was to defend the Sepulcher of Chriſt; now it is to defend the *Romiſh* Religion and Countries againſt the Infidels. Of every one of theſe there is a Grand Prior, having goodly houſes

and

and Seminaries in divers Countries, living in great plenty and reputation. Such an house of theirs was that of Saint *Iohns* (commonly called Saint *Ioanes*) without *Smithfield*. The builder of which house was *Thomas Docwra*, Prior then; whose name lives in Esquires estate at *Offley* in *Hartford*shire, &c. A Knight of this order was to prove himselfe a Gentleman for six descents: over the gate therefore may you see that testified by so many Eschutcheons. There also is to be seene their Vow and Title expressed in the Motto, *Sarie* ✠ *Boro*. The word *Sarie* being accented with harsh aspirations, to brand the *Saracens* with a note of wickednesse. Both words with the figure of the crosse betwene, signifie thus much, *Defender of the Crosse of Christ against the wicked Saracens*. This is written in the *Saracen* tongue, the language of *Malta*: which words expressing their Vow and Title, is not much unlike to that of *Raimund*, the first Master of their order; whose Motto was, *The poore servant of Christ, and defender of the Hospitall of Ierusalem*. And thus much by the way out of *Docwra's* pedigree, for preserving of this antiquity.

Of these thousand Knights of the *Rhodes*, there be sixteene more eminent than the rest, called *Great-Crosses*, for that the white crosse upon their blacke cloake (which is the cognizance of their order) they are privileged to weare larger than the rest. Over all these there is one grand Master; for whose election two are appointed out of each of the eight Nations (two supplying the place of the *English* also) these sixteene make choice of a Knight, a Priest, and a Frier-servant, and those three nominate one of the sixteene Great Crosses to bee Grand Master: for which place the foresaid *Docwra* was once in competition. The stile of this Master is, *The illustrious and most reverent Prince, my Lord Frier, great Master of the Hospitall of Saint Iohns of Ierusalem; Prince of Malta and Goza.*

Revenues. The Estate of the Grand Master arising out of the profits of the Iland of *Malta* itselfe, is valued at ten thousand ducats, besides what he hath out of the Ile of *Goza*, (which the ancients

ancients called *Glaucon*, and *Strabo*, *Gaudon*;) lying but one mile to the South-west of *Malta*, and twenty miles in compasse. The rest of his *Entrada* is made up out of fat *Commendams* of Ecclesiasticall dignities in severall Countries, and of pensions from other Princes. He hath an allowance out of the publike treasury, the tenth of all prizes by Sea; as also the whole (or the cheife part) of whatsoever estate any of the officers, belonging to his owne person, shall chance to leave behinde them. The severall Knights are very rich, besides their temporall lands in severall Countries, enjoying divers *Commendams* and pensions also; of which they are capable after five yeares of their admission, and when they have made foure martiall expeditions. Their common treasury is maintained by the gifts of Princes, by the admissions of novices into their order, (each Knight paying an hundred and fifty crownes, and every Frier-servant an hundred at his first entrance;) and lastly, by the deaths of their brethren; for when any of the Fraternity dies, the whole order is heire, excepting onely of one fifth part.

These consist not so much in the number of the Knights, (for they are but five hundred upon the Iland at once, though the other five hundred are to come in upon summons) as in their valour and resolution: the whole Iland may perchance make six or eight thousand men able to beare armes, and *Goza* the third part of that number. The Ilanders are alwayes well trained for land-service: and how much they are able to doe, was seene by their repulsing the *Turkish* invasion. By Sea the religion maintaineth but only five Gallies, and one ship, (by report, so stinted:) each galley carrying seventeene peeces of Ordnance, and foure or five hundred men. More than these wise men peradventure will imagine, that a barren and small Iland living for the most part upon the neighbourhood of *Sicily*, can hardly maintaine. If more there are, they pertaine to private men. Besides which, certaine *Phaluccoes* they have, (vessels they be twice so bigge as a wherry, and rowed by five men) which they send out for scouts, and to discover

Forces by land.

By Sea.

the

the booty. The expeditions which they make are little better than for bootie, either in the night time landing on the maine of *Africa*, and ſurprizing ſome villages, or ſcowring along the coaſt, and taking ſmall and weake barkes, out of which they take the men and goods, and turne the hulke adrift with wind and weather.

Lorraine.

THis was once a Kingdome of it ſelfe, containing all thoſe Countries lying betwixt the Rivers *Rhine* and *Scheld*, and the mountaine *Vogeſus*, wherein are *Brabant* and *Gelderland*, *Lutzenburg*, *Limburg*, and the Biſhopricke of *Leige*. Theſe were at ſeverall times taken away from it; ſome given by the Emperours to the younger families, and ſome to the Church. That which is now left to the Duke was of his anceſtor *Lotharius*, called by the Latines *Lotharij regnum*; or as the *Germans* ſpeake, *Lotars-ricke*: is bounded upon the Eaſt with *Alſatia*; upon the South with *Burgundie*; towards the Weſt with *Champaigne*, and towards the North with the Foreſt of *Arden*. The length is foure dayes journey, and the breadth three. In it are many goodly Rivers, as the *Meuſe*, *Moſel*, &c. And fine Townes, as *Nancie*, where the Duke commonly reſideth; Saint *Nicholas*, and five others of good eſteeme upon the Frontier and Inland, whereof *Pont Muſſon* is an Vniverſity.

Bounded.

It yeeldeth Wine and Wheat ſufficient for the proviſion of its owne Inhabitants, and affordeth Cattell, Horſe, and River-fiſh in ſome good meaſure to the defects of their neighbours.

Fertility.

In manners and faſhion they reſemble their neighbours, the *French* and the *Germans*, both whoſe languages the moſt can ſpeake. In courteſie and civility they ſtrive to imitate the *French*; in drinking, the *Germans*. Yet not here the one ſo punctually as the *French*, nor the other ſo inordinately as the *Dutch*. They are good ſouldiers, free of diſpoſition, and rather ſubtill than politike. The Duke of

Manners.

Lorraine

Lorraine is of the beſt and ancienteſt bloud of *Europe*; as deſcended from *Charles* the Great. He alſo claimes to bee King of *Ieruſalem*. And for ſuch Courts as theſe petty Princes maintaine, you ſhall finde therein many fine Gentlemen. His counſels are moſtly directed by the Ieſuits, and his favourite *Count de Boulla*.

Surely his Riches cannot be great: for of commodities nothing of value can bee ſaid to ariſe therein, ſave certaine workes (or cups) of Caſſidony-ſtone; ſome horſes, linnen cloth and manufactures, and thoſe vented into *France* and *Germanie*. What to thinke of the ſilver mines therein, I cannot ſhew: Thoſe that have eſtimated with the moſt, have not related of above ſeven hundred and eight thouſand crownes of yearely Revenue ordinary; (*viz.*) five hundred thouſand of rent and royaltie, two hundred thouſand from the Salt-pans, and from the fiſhing of the Rivers and Lakes two thouſand pounds ſterling. But others more probably, allow him twelve hundred thouſand crownes, which might be more, would he put his people to it. Riches.

Nancie is exceedingly well fortified after the moderne faſhion, and inlarged of late by addition of a new Towne, and that alſo fortified. And in former ages, as it reſiſted the whole forces of *Charles* the Great, Duke of *Burgundie*; ſo this people alſo (but united with the *Switzers*) gave him three fatall overthrowes in the field. Of any great Expeditions which they ſhould particularly make of themſelves, I never read; neither that any of their Neighbours have much affrighted them. With the *Switzers* and the Houſe of *France*, they have alwayes held good correſpondencie and Alliance: So that if the Arch-Duke ſhould quarrell with them on one ſide, they have the *Low-Countrimen* their friends on the other. And as for the King of *Spaines* neighbour-hood, (by reaſon of the proximity of the *French* Countrey of *Burgundie*;) it may alwayes be ſuppoſed, that in regard of the Alliances (before ſpoken of) the one will bee loth to prejudice the other, to neithers boaſt of advantage. As for other petty Princes, they ſtand in as much need to take care for Forces. Neighbours.

their owne preſervations, as to invade anothers; for that in truth this Prince exceedeth moſt of them in meanes, forces, friends and circuit of Territory.

This Principalitie gives titles of honour, firſt to the Duke of *Barre*; (which is now united to the Dukes owne Family:) to ſix Counts or Earles, and to ſeven Lords or Barons.

Hungarie.

Hungarie is a Noble Kingdome. I call it Noble, becauſe whole volumes might be writ, and yet extenuate the worth, but not relate the troubles thereof; Externall, with the enemie of Chriſtendome; Internall, by reaſon of confuſed diſſention. For ſometime the glory of the Kingdome elateth them, ſometime private revenges divide them: ſometime the Nobility doth tyrannize over them, and ſometime the generall cauſe exciteth compaſſion.

For the plenty wherewith it aboundeth of all things, both for uſe and pleaſure, it may be numbred amongſt the moſt fertile Kingdomes of *Europe*. In it are found fruits of as much variety and goodneſſe, as in *Italy*: Corne ſufficient to ſuſtaine the Inhabitants; Wine to furniſh their neighbours (*Poland*, *Sileſia*, *Moravia*, *Bohemia*:) Fiſh in ſuch plentie, that ſtrangers borrow of their abundance from them, and out of *Valachia*, (before the loſſe of *Agria* in 96.) were Beeves driven into *Italy*, and all parts of *Germanie*, which now finde a preſent want in their former proviſion thorow the *Turkes* ſtopping of that paſſage.

The *Hungarian* Horſe by nature are not improper for warre, being couragious, ſtrong, hardy, and ſwift, but for want of management they fit no ſervice but travell, to which the *Italian* Hackney-men, and *Almain* Coach-men finde them excellent.

Diuiſion of *Hungarie.*

Hungarland is divided by the River *Danubius*, into two parts:

parts: the one mountainous; and therefore called the upper *Hungarland*, abounding in Gold, Silver and Copper-Ore; the other nether *Hungarland*, plaine, without hils, and called for the fertility thereof, the Store-house of *Italy*, and *Germanie*. The *Metropolitan* Citie of that part of *Hungarland* that obeyeth the Emperour, is *Possonium* or *Presburgh*, which the *Hungarians* call *Posonie*; little, and not very beautifull, no more than are *Strigonium*, *Cassovia*, *Nitria*, *Tervanio*, or any other Cities of *Hungarland*: a reason whereof may be, that the Gentlemen have their Houses in the Countrey, and the Citizens are more studious to build for use, than for pompe.

Bounded.

It confineth toward the North with *Poland* and *Moravia*: on the East lieth *Transilvania* and *Valachia*; on the South, *Bulgaria*, *Servia*, *Bosnia*, *Sclavonia*, and *Croatia*: and towards the West it is joyned to *Stiria* and *Austria*; two thirds of it possessed by the *Turke*. The Inhabitants be of stature and complexion not unlike the *English*, but in habit resembling the poore *Irish*; in Warre strong, valiant, and patient; covetous above measure, yet having rather desire than art to enrich themselves, permitting (of negligence) the *Germans* to inherit in their Cities, and to Trafficke their Merchandize; a cause why none of them rise by their owne industry to any great wealth. They never combate amongst themselves, but revenge injuries with words, except upon objection of cowardize, whereof the charged is never disburthened, untill he have proved himselfe in singular combate with a *Turke*. It hath beene an ancient custome amongst them, that none should weare a feather but hee who hath killed a *Turke*, to whom it was lawfull to shew the number of his slaine Enemies, by the number of feathers in his Cap. They punish Adulterie and Fornication with death: the Husband forcing his Wife, the Father his Daughter, and the Brother his Sister to the place of Execution. The Sonnes inhabit equally after the death of their fathers, occupying for the most part the possessions left them in common. The Daughters have the

value of the part of the Lands in money. They are desirous of warres above measure, they admit no unprofitable man into their Campe, but such as hold servants are served with men. They march in troopes both Horse and Foot, lodging apart, but not in that good order which is used by the *Germans*, who distinguish both their Companies and Regiments into streets, placing their baggage at their backs or flankes, according to necessity. They goe no round, neither in their Campes nor Townes, but in stead thereof one Sentinell whoopeth to another, as in like case doe the *Turkes*. The Horse-men in battell range themselves in files after the *German* order, as doe also their foot, placing all their shot on front. They give a furious charge, and the Enemie broken fall presently to spoile, leaving to follow the execution for any small booty: but being broken, they fly every man home without ever turning head, lying in wait by the way for their enemies, whom they rob in their flight counterfeiting for the more terrour the clamour of the *Tartars*, from whom they differ in the fashion of their Caps.

Government. The Government in the times of the Kings of *Hungarie* (which in these latter ages were still elective) was administred partly by the great Officers of the Spirituality, and of the Secular powers. The chiefe of the Spirituality was the Archbishop of *Strigonium*, who was ever to be the Lord Keeper or Chancellour, principall Secretary of Estate, and Primate of *Hungaria*. The other Archbishop was hee of *Colozza*: these two had fourteene Suffragan Bishops under them; all now swallowed up by the *Turke*, except *Strigonium*, *Nitria*, *Iaverine*, and *Vacia*. The chiefe Officer of the Secularitie is the *Palatine* of *Hungaria*, chosen by the States and Lords of the Kingdome: his authoritie is marvellous large, both in the Court of the King, the Courts of Justice in the ordinary *Diets*, and especially in the vacancie of the Throne. The Kingdome of *Hungaria* is now divided betweene three; First the *Turke*, who hath the greater part, and is Master of *Buda* it selfe, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome. Secondly, *Bethlen Gabor*, who possesses most of the

upper

upper *Hungarie*, lying betwixt *Tranſilvania* and the River *Tibiſcus*: and the third part is in poſſeſſion of the Emperour, whoſe ſonne was lately choſen King of *Hungaria*.

For the due adminiſtration of Juſtice under the Secular, the ancient Lords divided their Land into twenty Counties, appointing to every County a Baron for Governour, with one and twenty Doctors of Law to be his Aſſiſtants, reſerving ever to themſelves an Appeale for the redreſſe of Injuſtice, and preventing of extortion. Now ſince the Princes of *Auſtria* got the Crowne, their tyrannie ſo yoketh the Peaſants, that nothing may bee done without the Lords leave. Inſomuch that theſe people living in the true condition of ſlavery, want nothing but the name thereof. In the time of the ancient government, when the Kings would alter any thing in the adminiſtration of the Common-weale, undertake a forren warre, or conclude a peace, there aſſembled together at one place three degrees of Subjects, Barons, Biſhops, and Gentlemen: with conſent of the greater part whereof, the Kings had authority to confirme, abrogate, or inſtitute lawes, to denounce warre, to conclude peace, and to charge their Land with impoſitions fit for their neceſſities.

This aſſembly is ſtill in uſe, but the freedome thereof is altered, nothing being at this day propounded to the aſſembled by the new Governours but a contribution of money; to which demand at a day given, the Nobility give their reſolutions, which in the yeere 96. and 97. (when the Turkiſh Emperour threatned to deſcend himſelfe in perſon) was; That the Nobility would put themſelves in *Campania* with their Forces, and promiſed for their ſubjects (for ſo they terme their Peaſants) that every Houſholder ſhould ſend a man, and give two Dollars of money for entertainment of Souldiers: but the Turkiſh Emperour not comming in perſon, the Gentiles did not further bind themſelves, than that their ſubjects ſhould pay every houſe one Dollar; with which money were to be waged 20000. horſe and foot, the halfe of which never appeared in field, there being not at any

time in armes under the three Generals of *Tenfenbach* in upper *Hungarland*, of *Palfeis* upon the border of *Danubius*, and of *Zeriu* in nether *Hungarland* above nine thousand men: And at the battell of *Kereſture* in 96. where were aſſembled the greateſt forces that could bee made by the three Confederates, *Germany*, *Hungary*, and *Tranſilvania*: the Combatants amounted not to above 51000. (*viz.*) out of *Hungarland* arrived ſix thouſand horſe, and 10000. foot: out of *Tranſilvania* ſix thouſand horſe, and 12000. foot: out of *Germany* nine thouſand five hundred horſe and ſeven thouſand foot. The *Germans* were ſo well appointed (horſe and foot) as for quantity of Armes and goodneſſe of horſe nothing could be better deviſed; Of the foot, the third part were Pikes armed compleat, the reſt were ſhot, whereof three parts were Muskets: the Horſemen were all armed, many of whoſe Curaſes were Musket-proofe: ſome of them carried five Piſtols, moſt foure, all two. That which was indeed a want amongſt them was, that three parts were Servants, according to the *German* cuſtome, many of whom tooke pay for eight Horſes. The *Hungariſh* and *Tranſilvanian* foot were all naked, part of whom carried Fire-lockes of two foot, and the reſidue Pikes of nine foot long, either Armes of ſmall or no uſe, either in offence or defence, whether in Forts, Streights, or *Campania*. The Horſe-men carried hollow Launces of twelve foot long, which they brake by the helpe of a leather thong faſtened to their ſaddles: for the reſt, they were armed according to their meanes, the rich with Curaſes, the meane with Shirts, the poore with Sleeves of Male, and all with Caskes, which kind of arming, as it maketh them much defective in proofe, ſo are they of leſſe worth for their horſes, which (for their manner of riding, bridles and ſadd'es) are more forceable to doe execution upon victory, to make excurſions, and to diſcover, than they be either to give or to ſuſtaine a charge.

Forces at land.

Their forces by Water (or to ſpeake more properly the Emperours) were much impaired by the loſſe of *Iaverin* in

Forces by water.

94.

94. where of thirteene Gallies the *Turkes* tooke ten; that losse is not yet repaired, the Emperour not having at this time above five Gallies: which at the siege of *Strigonium*, durst not make head against three of the *Turkes* which came to releeve the Towne. There bee moreover ordinarily upon the *Danubie* sixteene small Barkes, twelve foot broad, and fifty foot long; these carry in the prow two peeces, a crogue three foot long, and one pound bullet; they are rowed by souldiers with twenty Oares on a side, having their halfe pikes standing by them, and their peeces hanging at their backes.

The Captaine governeth the rudder, and the Lieutenant attendeth on the peeces. These barkes (for that which I have seene) are fitter for the skout and guard of the Campe, when it marcheth or lodgeth by the water side, than commodious for fight.

Fortification.

The *Hungarians* presuming (more than reason) on their valour in *Campania*, have ever neglected to fortifie their frontiers: the last and best invented meanes whereby small States preserve themselves from being over-run by the great; which error being better lookt unto by the Princes of *Austria* (who about fifty yeeres since obtained that Kingdome) have used some diligence in this kinde, yet with so small judgement, as that no Fortresse in the Land can justly bee said to be strong, (except *Rab*) the rest being either onely strong by sight, as *Tockay*, *Villak*, *Strigonium*, *Comora*, *Altemburgh*, *Papa*, *Canisia*: or by art, as *Castlenovo* and *Novigrade*; or neither by art nor sight, as *Guents* and *Edenburgh*, (passages of importance in nether *Hungarland*) with almost infinite others. *Tockay*, *Altemburgh*, *Papa*, and *Canisia* are governed by the *Germans*: *Novigrade*, *Castlenovo*, *Strigonium*, and *Komara*, have *Hungarish* Governours, but the greatest part of their Garrisons be *Dutch*, a device peradventure as well to secure the Emperour of *Hungarland*, as to defend those places against the *Turkish* inrodes, to which service the *Hungarians* are more proper, if they were provided of like Armes.

These Fortresses were well provided of all sorts of Munition, Artillery, Powder, Bullets, Fire-workes, and Victuals, but not so well foreseene with defendants, as is convenient against so mighty an Enemy as the *Turke*; there being in the last recited fortresse not above fifteene hundred men, and in some not two hundred.

Plentie. How abundant this Province is in victuals, I say no more than hath beene mentioned in the beginning of this Discourse; that it is one of the most plentifulest Countries in *Europe*, furnishing the Inhabitants with abundance, without borrowing of any neighbour Province. For as for the Bread, Wine, and Oats which *Austria* ministreth, that is onely when the Campe is lodged by the River *Danubius*; which Merchants transport thither, rather for their gaine, than that their Armies suffer any scarcity in want thereof. Artillery is sent them from the Emperours Arsenall in *Vienna*, themselves neither finding great peeces nor making small; which likewise they have out of *Germany*, as also Powder and Shot; A note of their exceeding negligence, having excellent Metals for this purpose, which they transport unwrought into *Germany*.

Mines. The greatest fruit which the Emperour reapeth by the Crowne of *Hungarland*, ariseth by the benefit of Mines which yeeld him yeerely one million and a halfe of Gilders, which commeth cleerely into his Treasuries; the presidiarie souldiers being all paid with the contribution money, as is also his Lieutenant Generall 30000. Dollars yeerely for his provision. The Emperour *Maximilian* the second tooke into his hands the living of the Cathedrall and Collegiat Churches, giving to the Bishops and Canons small stipends; by which device he gained yeerely halfe a million of Gilders. The religious houses are almost all abandoned for the feare the Monkes and Friers have of the *Turke*, except those of the Gray-Friers, to which order he is very favourable. The Villages likewise are many, but some wholly desolate, the Peasants retiring themselves under the *Turke*, where they live with lesse agrievance than under the Empe-

rour.

rour. Their livings are confiscate, which hath much increased the yeerely Revenue of that Kingdome.

Now *Hungarland* being not in better termes to support it selfe against the irresistable power of the *Turke*, than appeareth in the premises; it may reasonably be demanded, what hath beene the cause that the *Turke* in an hundred and fifty yeeres space (about which time hee invaded that Country) hath not made an absolute conquest thereof: For having in this time not conquered above two third parts thereof, it is manifest that he must be defective in the meanes before spoken of, wherewith Princes augment their Greatnesse, (*viz.*) either in Treasure, Munition, Men, Armes, or (that which is principall) in judgement to embrace or prosecute occasions. For answer unto which, I say; first, that the *Turkish* Emperour hath not only above these foure hundred yeeres beene superiour to the Kings of *Hungarland* in Treasure and Munition, but also to any other Prince in the world: so is hee likewise in number of his Captaines and private Souldiers; but borrowing a conjecture from the managing of his actions, it is manifest that his councell of war (schooled above in the barbarous service of *Persia*) hath ever beene inferiour to that of Christendome, as it is at this present. Secondly, the Emperour hath of late served himselfe in all his occasions of worthy Chieftaines, as *Count Charles Maunsfelt*, the Marquesse *Sanseverino*, *Alexander Malospina*, *Francisco de Monte*, the Baron *Swarzenburg*, *George Basta*, *Ferrant di Rossi*, &c. All which, either by their experience in their Netherlandish warres, or diligence in Historie, or else paines in both, have long since obtained the names of great Souldiers; which providence of late times used by the Emperours, and heretofore by other Princes, hath in part prevented the *Turkes* designes in the intirenesse of this Conquest. Another hindrance hath beene the evill arming of the *Turkish* Souldiers, the greatest numbers whereof are naked: And which is as great a defect, none of them carry Weapons of much offence, except the *Ianizars*, who serve with Muskets of longer and bigger bore than the

Reasons why the *Turke* standeth at a stay in *Hungarie*.

the Christians: To which number of *Ianizars*, being 2000. tripled, if 20000. Pikes compleat were added, they would make an Armie of greater consequence for the Conquest of this Kingdome (which is secured by passages) than doth the multitude of Horses in which the *Turke* putteth so great confidence.

I must also confesse, that the *Turke* in all his attempts against *Hungarie* hath used irreproveable judgement, in making no inrode into that Country, but when hee had peace with his Neighbours, and the Christians at division amongst themselves, atchieving by such providence infinite victory; So, if he had prosecuted the least advantage with constancy and celerity, befitting the occasions; the Conquest of *Hungarland* had beene finished many yeeres since. Of all negligences in this kinde, none hath beene of greater note than that of *Mahomet* the third, superiour in the battell of *Kerestur* in 96. by which victory, not *Hungarie* alone, but all *Austria* stood in great danger. For the Christian Armie being irrecoverably overthrowne, and all the Townes disfurnished both of defendants and Munition, there wanted nothing (in mans judgement) to the gaining of that Kingdome, but the speedy prosecution of that absolute victory.

But whether with the learned wee may beleeve, that great Kingdomes have their periods, or that Greatnesse in it selfe produceth carelesnesse, whose true symptoms are pride, effeminacy, and corruption in Militarie Discipline: most certaine it is, that those Empires which formerly have fallen from their prime felicity, *have generally declined through the Alteration of their ancient Orders and pristinate vertues.*

Nor can it otherwise bee, but that as those Ordinances and Lawes which reason at first introduced, and experience afterward approved, doe settle and fortifie States: so the manifest neglect of the same should make them weake againe and crazie.

Which being duly considered, a Prince ought not in any thing

thing to be more watchfull and vigorous, than to keepe in life those Lawes by which his State at first became to bee exalted to that height, wherein he found it at the decease of his Predecessor: for let him be assured, that the same are still, and shall be the foundations and *Basis* of future prosperity.

Herein the *Ottomans* have by two meanes especially advanced their power, & have raised it to the height wherein we see it at this day. The one was their personall presence and travelling to the wars; the other, their making of great warres, and fierce to effect, but short. Their perpetuall expeditions produced many profitable effects; as first, that it kept in awe and attendance the great Servitors of the State: Secondly, that the *Ianizars* were thereby the better inured to obedience, patience, and practice of their Armes with the discipline of the field: Thirdly, it caused their whole forces intirely to attend them. Causes of greatnesse of Empires.

For better understanding whereof, it behoveth to know how that the Port (or Court) of the Great *Turke*, was anciently wont to make twelve thousand *Ianizars* monthly paid, and that without faile. Now that number by occasion of the warres of *Hungarie* is much increased, and their pay raised to five Aspers a day; to some, more in regard of desert.

Out of the number of these *Ianizars* are chosen two hundred, whose Office is to runne by the stirrup of the Prince, and three hundred Porters that receive twenty Aspers a day above their ordinary stipend: The Cavalry ariseth to a farre greater number. The *Spahi* are six thousand, marshalled in two troopes; whereof the one guardeth the right hand of the Prince, the other the left in all marches. Every one of these *Spahi* is bound to maintaine three or foure servants on Horseback for the warre: and these servants, either in valour or costlinesse of furniture, doe in little or nothing give place to their Lords. Their place of march is in reare of their Masters, but in distinct troopes.

Besides

Beſides theſe troops doe march two other ſquadrons, conſiſting of a thouſand horſe apeece: The one is made of certaine ſelect & ſtalled perſons, knowne for ſome one or other famous exploit. Into which troope doe alſo enter ſome *Ianizars*, and many ſervants, as well belonging to the Prince himſelfe, as to other of his principall Miniſters, that have approved themſelves by ſome notable endevour, to be worthy and capable of that degree.

The other ſquadron is all of naturall *Turks*, recommended to that honour, for ſome ſuperordinary skill at their weapon; for horſemanſhip, or ſome ſuch like quality.

The ſouldiers of theſe two troopes are not tied to keepe above two ſervants mounted at the moſt. So that theſe foure ſquadrons (whereof we have ſpoken) doe make in all as good as forty thouſand horſe, all excellently furniſhed.

Beſides theſe, there are alſo neere 20 thouſand men that are ſervants and attendants upon the ſupreme Officers of the State; as Judges, Treaſurers, Counſellors, and Commanders. Amongſt which, ſome there are that bring into the field two or three thouſand apeece; all well armed, and in like livery, being indeed tied for every five Aſpers, that they have of proviſion, to finde one horſe-man. So that what for pompe, and what for their owne ſafety, in this occaſion they doe ſet all their ſlaves being Renegadoes on horſe-backe. What ſhall I ſay of the infinite number of cariages of Mules and Camels accompanying this Equipage? Of which ſort *Bajazet* led into the field forty thouſand, and *Selim* in the enterpriſe of *Ægypt*, one hundred and thirty thouſand: This was the ancient proportion. Now all theſe forces (whereof I have ſpoken) from the Court doe accompany the Prince, ſetting forward to the warres. But if his Perſon move not, then doe theſe alſo ſtay idle at home, where the *Ianizars* (for their too much eaſe) doe often fall into mutinies, and the great Baſhaes buſie themſelves about nothing, but to diſgrace or overthrow one another through envie and ambition. Which is well witneſſed on the one ſide by the extreme rancors and partialities

ties that boyle amongſt them, and ſometime breaketh forth; and on the other, by their immoderate affection and ſwelling into titular dignities, which of neceſſity cannot be avoided; for that, as trees which are leſſe fruitfull doe thruſt forth moſt leaves & branches, to cover therewith the defects of nature: So doe men (in whoſe minds deſert and vertue is wanting) ſeeke nothing ſo much as with outward vanity of apparell, and ſhew of great deſcent to ſhadow their inward imperfections. Through which abuſe, it is not poſſible to imagine unto what number the titularie Officers of that State are augmented. The *Baſhawes* which in the flouriſhing dayes of this Empire were only two, one in *Aſia*, the other in *Europe*, are now ſeven in *Aſia* alone, (*viz.*) of *Natolia*, *Caramania*, *Amaſia*, *Anadule*, *Damaſcus*, and *Cairo*; who doe ſucke from the Prin es Coffers no leſſe than an hundred and thirty thouſand ducats yearely. And this is ſprung from nothing elſe, but that upon opportunity of the Princes keeping at home, the Miniſters of the State, eſpecially ſuch as lie fartheſt off, have by little and little preſumed to uſurpe and arrogate to themſelves more power and authority than was anciently belonging unto them. Beſides which, the Prince by his perſonall intervention in all expeditions, became by his experience better acquainted with the condition of his Armies, made himſelfe cunning in the cauſes that did envigour or corrupt his ſouldiers; ſo that by cheriſhing of the one, and redreſſing of the other, the diſcipline of the field was made more firme every day than other.

And in truth it can ſeeme to no man leſſe than a very miracle that in this houſe of the *Ottomans* ſhould follow a continuall ſucceſſion of twelve Princes together, that have been all men of great action, and extreme Warriers. But ſince the ſucceſſours of *Soliman* have diſuſed themſelves from the field, and to be perſonally abſent from the Warres, it is wonderfull againe to ſee, how much the power of that Empire is impaired. Cauſes of declination.

The firſt that gave paſſage to this diſorder was *Soliman* himſelfe, who howbeit he were a Prince of excellent cou-

rage,

rage and great ſufficiencie for State; and not only did put his owne perſon into many and hazardous attempts, but alſo did leave his life in one of them (which was at the ſiege of *Sigeth*) yet did he ſuffer his Sonne *Selim*, to lie ſhamefully rioting and conſuming himſelfe at Court. By which cuſtome once taken, he never after his fathers time would abandon the City, but managed all his affaires abroad by his Captaines and Miniſters.

The ſelfe-ſame courſe held *Amurath* alſo, *Selims* ſonne; *Mahomet* indeed his ſon hath not wanted to ſhew both ſpirit and valour enough by his perſonall going into *Hungarie*, and forcing of *Agria*. But for all that, whether through the indiſpoſition of their own perſons, or through the overdeepe rooting of diſorders growne in the Empire, he was neither able to recover the old reputation of his predeceſſors, nor to reforme the loſt diſcipline of his ſouldiers.

Beſides, ſince thoſe times men are now weighed by the abundance of their fortunes, not of their vertues; who buying their greatneſſe of the Prince, like Merchants, muſt make their profit of the people: which violent humor in the great Ones, hath bred diſobedience in the inferiours. So that the Princes commandement is no more eſteemed in any remote part, than it fitteth with the profit of him to whom it commeth. From hence have budded all theſe ſo great inconveniences.

For the *Ianizars* lying idle, and having nothing to doe, are ſwollen unto ſuch inſolence, that they make every thing lawfull for them (as it were) by preſcription, nor forbearing to ſacke and pillage the naturall Townes of the State, inſtead of the enemies: yea, falling into further fury and inſurrection, they were (theſe few yeares paſſed) the cauſes that *Amurath* was forced at their inſtance, to behead his beſt beloved *Baſſa, Hebraim*. In which mutinie they alſo fired above five thouſand houſes in *Conſtantinople*. And even the laſt day almoſt, at the importunate requeſt of the *Spahi*, he was faine to behead his *Capi Aga*, who was the greateſt perſonage for counſell, and the moſt deare Servitor he had

had in Court. Albeit indeed his death was afterward reaſonably well revenged, with the heads of three of the principall of the ſaid ſeditious *Spahi*. And of late yeares they proceeded to ſuch an height of inſolencie, as to murther their Emperour himſelfe, becauſe hee had a purpoſe to change their *Militia*, to correct the lazineſſe and cowardiſe of thoſe *Ianizars*, and to prove a Prince of activity.

And foraſmuch as through the want of exerciſe of Armes, and imployment of the *Ianizars*, their valour alſo is much abated. For (contrary to their firſt inſtitution) the *Ianizars* are now married, have families and trades in *Conſtantinople*, from which profit & pleaſure the Emperors will ſcarce ever againe be able to draw them to any hazardous, long, or forren expedition; they will mutiny, and fire the Towne rather: for recompence of ſuch defaults, they have beene faine to increaſe their number from twelve, to twenty and nine thouſand. Which number alſo being not able to bee made up of Chriſtian children, and the *Azamoglani* of *Europe*, they have beene faine to ſupply it with *Aſians* and *Mahumetans*, contrary to the firſt and ancient ordinance of the *Ianizars*.

Neither are leſſe the inconveniences and miſchiefes that doe ariſe from prolonging of warres; whereas by contrary uſages, the *Ottomans* were wont to reape two notable benefits. One was, that by leading a full force into the field, whether they wanne any Towne, or had the better of a field: they evermore in the ſame inſtant oppreſſed their adverſaries; and againe on the other ſide, by making ſpeedy and ſhort warres, they gave reſpit and leaſure unto the ſubjects of thoſe parts where their Armies lay, to repaire themſelves againe: unto which ſubjects otherwiſe the neereneſſe of the *Ottoman* Campe doth bring unrecoverable dammage: for it is obſerved, that the *Ottoman* Prince never doth conquer ſo much of the enemies Country, but that he deſtroyeth more of his owne. Nor can they otherwiſe chuſe, having no peaceable or orderly way of proviſion, but for want of neceſſaries they muſt make prey of all they can come by.

And

And the reaſon is, that becauſe the vaſt extent of that Empire, and the diſtance of the frontier parts from the head, they are faine to march more upon their owne ground, than upon other mens. And they paſſe it not once, but twice: firſt, in ſetting forth, and againe in the retreit. Whereby the people, and eſpecially the husbandmen, being pilled and ſpoiled of their ſubſtance, are conſequently conſtrained to forſake their tenures, and to leave their land unmanured.

Another benefit which they received by making great, but ſhort warres, was, that thereby they kept their owne ſouldiers in continuall practice and exerciſe of warre, without giving their enemie ſo much breath as to doe the like. For as ſoone as any one exploit was ended, their order was ſuddenly to bring the adverſary aſleepe by negotiating of ſome truce or peace; that done, as ſuddenly they transferred the warre upon another part and enemie, never giving time to their owne to lay downe, or to their neighbours to take up their weapons. With theſe practices they tooke from the *Venetian Cyprus*, and making peace with them, they preſently transferred the warre into *Africke*, where they ſurprized *Goletta* and *Tunis*: and that warre being finiſhed, *Amurath* himſelfe without intermiſſion put himſelfe into the expedition of *Perſia*. And this courſe is indeed in it ſelfe of ſo great conſideration, that *Lycurgus* amongſt the three Lawes only, which he left to the *Spartan* Common-wealth, left this for one: firſt, that they ſhould uſe no written Lawes; ſecondly, that they ſhould admit of no other architecture, but of ſuch as might be performed with an Axe and a Saw; and laſtly, that they ſhould never fight twice together with one enemie.

In this point *Philip* the ſecond amongſt many other errours committed the greateſt over-ſight, in protracting the wars ſo many years in the *Low-Countries*. For by meanes thereof the people of *Holland* and *Zeland* (who in former times had little or no experience in the warres) became one of the moſt warlike and ſouldier-like Nations of *Europe*. So *Amurath*, contrary to the cuſtome of all his predeceſſors, made

made warre in *Perſia* that laſted twenty two yeares or more. And albeit he tooke from the *Perſian* at that time a good peece of his State, yet doe I not thinke, but that the loſſe thereby received did more than counterpoiſe the gaine; not ſo much by fight and fortune of the field, as by length and tediouſneſſe of the journies; wherein, partly through want and diſtreſſe of victuall, with other ſiniſter accidents ariſing from the quality of thoſe Countries, hee loſt the flower and vigour of all his forces; namely, above two hundred thouſand horſe, and five hundred thouſand men: leaving the Country beſides ſo naked of Inhabitants, ſo poore and ruinous, that in one Province alone (*Armenia*) *Oſman Baſha* was forced to deſtroy and ſet fire on above two hundred thouſand houſes. Moreover, by occaſion of ſo long a warre, not onely the *Perſians*, but the *Georgians*, and *Arabians* alſo, betooke themſelves to the exerciſe of Armes, and therein attained to ſuch ability, that to this day they are ever and anon in tumult, and beginne to recover ſome of their loſſes. This was the true reaſon (as aforeſaid) that induced *Amurath* and his Counſellours, diſtruſting the obedience of that people, (againſt the Turkiſh cuſtome) there to erect many Citadels, as at *Chars*, *Naſſivan*, *Lori*, *Teſlis*, and at *Tauris*; whereinto they thruſt great Garriſons: as namely, into that of *Tauris* eight thouſand. The predeceſſors of *Amurath*, who repoſed the maine reputation of their forces to conſiſt in being Maſters of the field, made no account of theſe holds; maintaining this rule; *That who is ſtrong in the field needeth not the aſſiſtance of Holds, and who will maintaine many fortreſſes garriſoned, can never be very ſtrong in Campania.*

From theſe and ſuch like overſights, have ariſen all the corruptions whereof I have ſpoken in this relation of the *Turkiſh* greatneſſe. Whereby thoſe Armies, which were wont to amount to two hundred thouſand fighting men and upward; and their Navies accuſtomed to bee of two hundred ſaile and more, are now brought to a farre leſſe reckoning: They are now come to fifty thouſand, the proportion

that *Hebraim* brought with him not many yeares since into *Hungarie*: And to some thirty six Gallies, or thereabouts, with which *Cicola*, Admirall of that Empire, came of late into the *Levant* Seas.

By which diminutions it hath fallen out, that a poore Prince of *Transilvania* durst meet *Sinan Bassa*, and fight with him; and that the *Vayvod* of *Valachia* durst also make him the like opposition.

So likewise I say, that this one Kingdome and one Common-wealth hath done more in abatement of the ambition, and checking the fortune of the *Ottoman*, than all Christian States have done all together: For where all the rest of the Princes bordering anciently upon them, were in short time devoured & spoiled of their Estates; the *Hungarian* and the *Venetian* alone, have for the space of one hundred and fifty yeares and more, maintained themselves. And though both the one and the other have quitted unto the *Ottoman* some parts of their Territories, yet have they well warded and retained the residue; So that to speake truth, Christianity hath at this day no other frontier upon the *Turke* but what is theirs: which, how much it importeth, no man can rightly judge, who hath not by experience made triall, how dreadfull the *Ottoman* power is to all those that dwell neere it. And howbeit in these later yeares, the *Hungarian* hath had in his favour the continuall supplies of *Germanie*, and the *Venetian* hath beene assisted by the association of the *Pope* and the *Spaniard*, yet it is to be understood, that unlesse both those and these had had of their owne a sufficient body of warre, the cold assistance of others would finally have helped their sudden necessities.

The State of Bethlen Gabor *in* Transilvania, *&c.*

THis Country hath Nature it selfe at one time both fortified and honoured: for the woods and *Hercynian* mountaines doe round about inviron it, gathering it into the shape of a Crowne. The length is two hundred twenty five miles

miles *English*, and the breadth two hundred. The Ancients made it a part of *Dacia*; but the latter Writers from the lying of it beyond the woods, have called it *Transylvania*. The *German* name *Sienburgen*, or the new *Latine* name *Septem Castra*, it hath not from the seven Castles set to defend the Frontiers (as some mistake it;) but from those seven Quarters or Camps, into which the old *Hunnes* at their invasion divided their Army. Thorow these woods and mountaines there be but eleven *Avenues* or entrances out of other Countries into *Transylvania*. Tis inhabited by three severall Nations; the *Siculi* which be the ancientest, the *Hungarians*, and the *Saxons*. The Religions publikely professed are three also: The *Arrian*, the *Romish*, and the *Reformed*: and this last divided into the *Lutheran* and *Calvinisticall*. The *Popish* hath continued there of old. The *Arrian* heresie was first brought in by *Blandrata*, *Anno* 1556. It chiefly infected the Towne of *Clausenburg*, where even at this day the *Arrians* have a populous College and a free Church; though by the religious diligence of *Bethlen Gabor* scarce one fourth part of the City be now infected with this poyson. Both *Papists* and *Arrians* professe in great freedome; for that the Prince at his Inauguration is alwayes sworne to defend them, *As members politike of the Kingdome*. The *Saxons* use their own mother tongue, the rest speak the *Hungarian*. The number of *Seven* is much observed in *Transilvania*: for by this number is the whole Countrey variously divided. For first, both the *Siculi* and *Saxons*, and each severally have divided their portions into seven Countries or Seats, the Shire-towne (as it were) being head of the Villages about it; to which Townes those of that division repaire for matter of Justice. Secondly, there bee seven capitall Townes, unto which the Villagers round about are to bring their Taxes and Tributes; where being received by Auditors and under-Treasurers, it is afterward returned into the grand Exchequer. Thirdly, over and above all these is the whole land of *Transilvania* divided into seven larger Counties. First, *Coloszien*, whose Metropolis or chiefe City is *Clau-*

ſenburg. Secondly, *Szolnik*, whoſe chiefe Towne is *Deer.* Thirdly, *Dobocen-Landt.* The fourth Countie hath *Alba Iulia* or *Weiſenburg* for its chiefe; and that famous for the Reſidence and Palace of the Prince. The fifth is named *Thorden*, from *Thorda*, its Metropolis. The ſixth is *Keokeollea*, which takes name from the River *Keokeolleo*, and gives name to its chiefe Towne *Keokeolleovar.* The ſeventh and laſt Towne and County is *Hungad*, which gave birth and name to the famous Family of *Hungades.* Seven principall Cities it alſo hath: Firſt, *Hermanſtadt*, the ancient Metropolis of *Tranſylvania.* Secondly, *Cronſtat.* Thirdly, *Szas.* Fourthly, *Clauſenburg.* Fifthly, *Beſtercze.* Sixthly, *Seſpurg.* And ſeventhly, *Medroiſh*, in the middle of all the Countrey.

Riches. The whole Countrey is very fruitfull in one commoditie or other; Corne, Beeves, Muttons and Fiſh, Gods plentie; all cheape beyond imagination: a fat one being not worth above ten or twelve ſhillings *Engliſh.* So much Wine they have in ſome places, that at Vintage time it may be bought for an Engliſh farthing or halfe-peny a pinte. Very rich it is alſo under ground; as in Salt-pits, Stone-quarries (whereof ſome be pretious) and mines both of Gold and Silver, Iron, Quick-ſilver, and other metals: So that nothing is wanting for the life of man, either for nutriment or ornament; and (that which is part of a wonder alſo) though there be no where more ſtore of money, yet be there no where meaner prizes for their commodities.

For proofe of this, at the election of *Bethlen Gabor*, there were an hundred meaſures of Wheat ſold in *Clauſenburg* Market, for one Rix Dollar: and few Gentlemen there be, who yearely reape not ten, twenty or thirty ſtacks of Wheat as big as houſes, ſaith mine Author. Their droves and flocks be anſwerable alſo. This did *Trajan* expreſſe in his Coine or *Medaglia*, which had the Image of *Ceres* on the Reverſe, with this Motto, *Abundantia Daciæ.*

Revenues. From the Riches of the Countrey comes in the Revenue of the Prince. This is raiſed firſt out of his own Crown-lands: the Tenants (it ſeemes) paying as in *Scotland*, ſo many Chaldron

dron of victuals. So that one where or other in the Country, the Princes yearly parts come to a thousand mowes or stacks of wheat, foure thousand Beeves, and as many Horses hee hath still running, and of sheepe about thirty thousand. His second way of Revenues is by his Tenths out of the mines, &c. whereof *Transilvania* hath three of Gold, two of Silver, with Quick-silver among; three of Iron, some of Copper, Steele, and Antimony: Lastly, out of eight Salt-pits something comes to him also. The third way arises out of the yearely Tribute and ordinary impositions; besides his extraordinary Subsidies in times of warre. So that though we by reason of distance and information cannot certainly value his *Entrada*, yet verily hath it never beene read, that the Princes of *Transilvania* ever wanted either money or victuals for their Armies, either in warres offensive or defensive.

The neighbours unto *Transilvania* bee the *Moldavians* and *Walachians*, all three Confederates: who in a leaguer war have not only resisted the *Turks*, but freed their Countries of them; The *Turke* at this day being glad of a small Tribute for an acknowledgement from them; knowing, that if he should oppresse them, the Emperour would be glad to take them into his protection. His other neighbours be the *Tartars* and *Russes*; who being Boot-halers rather than Souldiers, he keeps them out of his Countrey by fortifying upon the eleven Gates or Passages. But the two neighbours most to be accounted of, are the *Turke* and the Emperour; able friends, but too mightie enemies for the *Transilvanian*: But this helpe he hath against them both; that if one proves his enemie, hee puts himselfe under the protection of the other. Thus *Iohn Zepusio*, beaten by *Ferdinand*, was restored by the Armes of *Solyman*: and *Sigismund* of *Transilvania* falling out with the *Turkes*, committed himselfe to the Emperour *Rodulphus*. Againe, for these last thirtie yeares, have three severall Princes of *Transilvania* thought it more ease and safetie to incline themselves unto the *Turkish* favour, than unto the Emperours. Neighbours.

Forces. The Forces that this Prince is able to raiſe, may be ſome five and twenty or thirty thouſand horſe and foot; and ſo many he may well lead out of the Countrey to a forren Expedition; but the whole ſtrength of the Land for the reſiſting of a common Enemie, have beene numbred to amount unto ninety thouſand fighting men; reſolute ſouldiers, able bodies, and ſtill inured, at leaſt to heare of the warres. But the maine ſtrength of *Tranſilvania* conſiſts in the multitude of Forts and Caſtles, built not only upon the eleven paſſages aforeſaid, for the keeping out of the Invaders; but aptly diſpoſed in ſeverall places within Land alſo; as two namely at *Alba Iulia*, lately erected by *Bethlen Gabor*, as very many other likewiſe have beene ſince the yeare 1614. that he came to the government: ſo that if hee continues but a few yeares, he will leave his *Tranſilvania* as well fortified as the *Low-Countries*. 18. or 20. principall peeces of ſtrength are in the Princes hand, all well garriſon'd; the Country being bound to finde the ſouldiers their proviſions. The Fort of *Fogaras* is one of the moſt impregnable places in the whole world: and not much inferiour unto that is the Caſtle of *Radnet*, where ſometimes *Bethlen Gabor* keepes his Court. I omit here the uſuall Guards of the Prince: which though they be ſouldiers in time of warre, yet are they but like our Gentlemen penſioners, and my fellowes of the Guard in time of peace.

Government. The Government and Religion both are wonderfully much amended ſince the time of the noble *Bethlen Gabor*. The people are growne more civill, and the Countrey leſſe infeſted with Robbers. As for the Religion, *Bethlen* himſelfe is a zealous *Calviniſt*, ſeldome going without a Latine Teſtament in his pocket. Churches are ſo well repayred and ſerved, that none wants an Univerſitie man for its Miniſter: *Bethlen* ſtill maintaining an hundred poore Schollers upon his owne charges in the Univerſities of *Germanie*. Colleges he hath built and endowed; whereof that one of *Clauſenburg* hath thirtie Fellowſhips: yearely Synodes and diſputations he appoints; himſelfe ſetting on, incouraging and feaſting

ſting the Divines and Diſputers. Thus reclaimes he the Hereticks, for he uſually cals it a marke of Antichriſt, By the ſword to inforce the conſcience.

The Eſtate of Gabriel Bethlen *or* Bethlen Gabor *in* Hungaria: *which came to him either by Election, or by Conqueſt atchieved from the Emperour: With a briefe Relation or Chronicle of his Birth and fortunes.*

Ranſilvania is (as the maps ſhew) on the Eaſt confined by *Hungaria:* in the deſcription wherof we told you of 11. famous gates or *Avenues*, thorow which the Paſſages lead out of one Countrey into another: Foure of which lie betwixt the poſſeſſions of this Prince in both kingdomes: and next to the firſt of them on *Hungaria* ſide, are his Counties of *Szolnok* and *Maramaros*; this latter being governed by *Stephan Bethlen*, brother unto *Gabriel Bethlen:* The chiefe Towne is *Szighet*. A rich Countrey it is, and watered with the famous *Tibiſcus*, which in this County hath its fountaine. Abutting upon the next Paſſage, is the moſt plentifull Countrey called *Szilagy*; and is divided into two Counties, *Craſtno*, and the other *Szolnok*. Upon the ninth Paſſage, along the River *Keoreo*, lyes the moſt delicate Country *Keöreos Videke*, the chiefe Towne whereof is *Varad*; whoſe Caſtle indured a ſiege of three hundred thouſand *Turkes*, in the yeare 1598. who yet roſe without it. Which Fort hath the famous *Bethlen* now re-edified from the very foundation, fortified it *alla moderna*, and built moſt ſtately Palaces about it. Adorned alſo it is with a College of five and thirty

Fellowes, an hundred Schollars, a Maſter and a publike Reader. It hath two hot Baths likewiſe. In this Countrey lyes the County of *Bihar*, ſo named of *Bihar* its Metropolis; and another County called *Ermellyeke*, whoſe head is *Dioſzegh*; and the chiefe Forts, *Somlgo* and *Szekelhid*. Upon the fourth Paſſage (which is the eighth in order of thoſe of *Tranſilvania*) lyes the Countrey of *Belenyes*, the head-Towne being of the ſame name alſo. This is the native ſoile of our famous *Gabriel Bethlen*; who was here borne in a Mannor houſe of his owne, called *Iktar*: hereabouts alſo is the Seat of *Kornis*, the Family of his mother. A Country it is plentifull in Woods, Cattell, Corne, Iron and Copper mines; and on the South part it reaches unto the Caſtle of *Illyem*, the Inheritance of his brother *Stephan Bethlen*: on another ſide touching upon the County of *Torontali*, which is under the *Turke*; who hath alſo incroached into a part of this Countrey. Here be the two ſtrong Caſtles, *Ieneo*, and *Baiom*; this latter is built in the middeſt of a Lake, and is in the Maps falſly called *Echyed*. And theſe be the Countries of *Hungaria*, which lying neere to the *Turke*, and further from the Emperor, did for their owne ſafeguard, voluntarily at firſt put themſelves under the protection of *Bethlen Gabor*, whom with the *Tranſilvanians* they alſo elected for their Prince.

And now follow thoſe ſeven Counties which the ſame Prince hath by the ſword and conqueſt taken from the *German* Emperour, which lie next in ſituation unto thoſe before mentioned. The firſt of theſe is that of *Szatmar*, lying neerer to *Tranſilvania*, and touching both upon *Maramaros* and *Szolnok* aforeſaid. The chiefe Towne gives name to the Shire; being a very ſtrong one, and ſerved by a moſt plentifull Country about it. The next Country ſo conquered is *Zabolczi*: whoſe Burrough Towne is *Debrecen*, ſituate in a large and moſt fertile levell of an hundred Engliſh miles long and broad, and adorned with a goodly College of Students. This County from the Southerne parts of *Hungaria* ſubject to the *Turkes*, reaches over the goodly River

Tibiſ-

Tibiſcus, fifty Engliſh miles right out, aſcending from the Eaſt to the South and Weſt; in which parts be the townes and villages of the warlike *Haydaks*, ſo famous in the Turkiſh Hiſtory; a free people they held themſelves; all Gentlemen, in ſervice of no Lord, but of their Leaders in time of warres; and thoſe are ſtill of their owne Nation, yet all bound to ſerve in the Armies of the Prince of *Tranſilvania*. They live by their owne private Lawes, and are moſt ſtiffe for the *Calviniſt* Religion.

Next come thoſe Counties which lie in the midſt of theſe aforenamed. The firſt of which is *Bereghez*, whoſe Metropolis is *Berekszas*: and this is the drieſt and barrenneſt Country of *Hungaria*. Here is the Fort of *Echyed*, ſo built in the midſt of Lakes and Bogs, that there is no approach to be made within foure miles of it, either by horſe or foot but by one bridge onely: This makes it have the name of the ſtrongeſt peece of all *Bethlen Gabors* Dominions (perhaps of the whole world) and therefore choſen by him to keepe the Crowne of *Hungaria* in, when he had it in his cuſtody, *Anno* 1622.

All theſe three Countries aforeſaid, conquered from the Emperour, together with theſe former which belong unto him by Election, lie ſituated in the forme of a ragged Triangle, betwixt *Tranſilvania* and the River *Tibiſcus*: the firſt line whereof is made up by the County *Maramaros*, out of which *Tibiſcus* flowes originally. The ſecond line is either made by the River of *Muros* (*Marniſius*) which falls into the *Tibiſcus* neere *Lippa*, a towne of the *Turkes* dominions: although the better and evener line be made by the County *Belenges*. The third line of this Triangle (towards the Weſt) ends at the Caſtle of *Tokai*, under whoſe walls the River *Brodogh* falls into the *Tibiſcus*. From this Caſtle we beginne to account the other foure conquered Counties, which lie on *Hungaria* ſide, and in reſpect of *Tranſilvania* are beyond the *Tibiſcus*. The firſt of which lying beyond *Tibiſcus* and *Brodogh* is called *Vgocz* or *Vngh* (of a River of that name) whoſe chiefe towne is *Vnghar*: the ſecond is

Hom-

Hommona, where the Ieſuites have a College.

This Country touches upon *Poland*. The ſecond of theſe conquered Counties (a member alſo of this latter) is called *Zemlen*, as its chiefe City alſo is. Its ſecond City is *Saros Patak*, where the *Palatine* or *Earle-marcher* of that part of *Hungaria*, ſubject to *Bethlen Gabor*, uſually keepes his reſidence. Ennobliſhed it is beſides with the greateſt College belonging to the reformed Religion in all thoſe parts: wherein (namely) are foureſcore Fellowes, three hundred Schollars, a Maſter and foure Readers, all maintained by their owne ſetled Revenues like ours in *England*, and all planted in a dainty aire, a rich and moſt delicate Country. The third conquered County is *Borſod*, whoſe Metropolis is *Tokay* aforeſaid; which with its Fort and Caſtle was in conſideration of 60000. pounds rendred by the Emperour unto *Bethlen Gabor* in the yeare 1628. *Auguſt* the 10. which its new Lord hath ſince re-edified. This towne is overlookt by that which they call *The golden Mountaine*, three Engliſh miles in height, and ſeven in compaſſe, which beares a wine of a more delicate and rich race than the *Canaries*, and ineſtimable plenty too, here and all abouts the Country. This Country confronts upon the Turkiſh Territories; and beyond *Rudabaneya* in the weſt parts begins the dominion of the Emperour. The fourth of theſe Counties of his beyond *Tibiſcus*, and the utmoſt bounds of his conqueſts, is called *Abavyvar*; whoſe Metropolis is *Caſſovia*, the faireſt and richeſt of all thoſe parts, and newly walled and fortified by the Conquerour. Inhabited it is by the *Hungarian* and *German* Nations, both of which here have their ſeverall Churches. Here likewiſe is a College, as there alſo bee at *Geonez* and *Sepſi*, two neighbour Cities. Here alſo is the Biſhopricke of *Leleſz*, which being popiſh, was upon requeſt delivered up unto the Emperours diſpoſing in that late treaty of Pacification.

And theſe be the goodly dominions of *Bethlen Gabor* in *Hungaria*; which on the Eaſt are bounded with *Tranſilvania*, on the Weſt with the Turkiſh parts of *Hungaria*, on

the

the North with *Poland*, and on the South with the Counties of *Heves*, *Torn*, and *Genevar*, &c. all subject to the Emperour. As for his two Dukedomes of *Oppelen* and *Ratibor* in *Silesia*, they being farre distant and chargeable to hold, hee made a faire surrender of them into the Emperours hands in that treaty of Peace concluded betwixt them, *Anno* 1624.

What Revenues and Certainties may bee raised from hence, is not to bee ghessed at in these troublesome times; in which seasons quiet possession is to bee accounted the chiefe part of the Revenues, seeing the subject is then rather to bee releeved than oppressed. The Forces which hee is able to raise from hence with his owne pay and money must needs be very great, seeing that with them hee hath not onely defended himselfe, and gained upon the Emperour, but so farre pressed upon him as to set so many townes on fire in *Austria* it selfe; that by the light of those Bonefires the Emperour might reade a Letter in his owne Bed-chamber in *Vienna*. *Bethlen Gabor* finally, both for his valour and fortune is more dreaded by the Emperour than any other Christian King or Potentate of *Europe*. And now for that this Prince hath so arrested the incroching greatnesse of the Emperour *Ferdinand* in those parts, that he may well be called, *The scourge of the house of Austrik*: he is therefore most mortally hated by all the Papists of Christendome, who are sottishly addicted unto that Family. Hence those scornes and slanders of him, that he was *basely borne*, that he was *a Turke in Religion*, yea *Circumcised*, and an hundred other *Iesuiticall* knaveries. And for that hee hath not still beene ready to doe as we would have him in *England*, since these infortunate warres of *Bohemia*, even we good Protestants have thought that hee hath hitherto done nothing. To rehearse therefore what hee is, and how his time and Armes have beene imployed, may against these calumnies serve for a reall Apologie.

This *Gabriel Bethlen* (whom we call *Bethlen Gabor*) now writing himselfe *Prince of the Sacred Roman Empire, Lord*

of

of some part of Hungaria, Duke of Oppelen and Ratibor, &c. was about the yeare 1580. borne of an ancient Nobility, in his owne inheritance of *Iktar* aforesaid. His Fathers name was the Lord *Wolfgang Bethlen*; his Mother was descended also of the house of *Kornis*, a Noble and an Ancient Sept or Tribe of the *Siculi*, which bee the eldest Inhabitants of *Transilvania*. His childhood was rather addicted to Armes than to Letters; & his Tutor had much adoe in keeping him from his delight of riding the great horses, &c. But comming to more maturity and discretion, he so well redeemed his time lost at schoole, that he attained to so much perfection in the Latine tongue, as he was able *extempore* to answer the Emperours Ambassadours Oration in that language, *Anno* 1622. Being afterwards brought up in the Court of *Stephan Bathori*, Prince of *Transilvania*, (whose house in those dayes was a very schoole of military knowledge and exercises) he so approved himselfe to that judicious Prince, as he first of all made him a Captaine; and to be briefe, he was by the next Prince *Stephan Boczkai* made Generall of his Armies. This honour, and his fortunate management of it, obtained him a wife of the noble Family of the *Caroli*, by whom he had divers children, though now all deceased. Prince *Boczkai* dying, the next Prince *Gabriel Bathori* continued him likewise in his military honour aforesaid, swearing him also of his Privie Councell. But this double greatnesse made him envied of the Nobility; and this following occasion rendred him hatefull to the Prince. It fortuned that in the yeare 1611. this *Gabriel Bathori* most unjustly bereaved the *Saxon* Nation of their chiefe City of *Hermanstadt*: whereupon complaint is made to the great *Turke* abroad, and at home that Nation makes choice of the favour and greatnesse of *Bethlen Gabor* to be their mediator to the Prince: Youthfull *Bathori* hereupon suspects him to be too popular, offers him both ill language and blowes to boot. *Bethlen* avoiding the Court escapes to *Buda*, and from thence to *Constantinople*, where hee was faine to stay two whole yeares. Meanes being made in the meane time for

the

the *Saxons*, they obtaine an Armie of the *Turke*, and requeſt him to appoint *Bethlen Gabor* for his and their Generall. Thus in *October* 1613. is he called backe to redreſſe the wrongs offered by a hated Prince, and to releeve the miſeries of his owne Countrie. So welcome he proves and ſo ſucceſſefull, that the States and Chiefes, both of the *Saxons* and the *Siculi*, run amaine to *Clauſenburgh*; in the chiefe Temple wherof they for three daies together hold a great Councell about the depoſing of their Prince. Whereupon *Bathori* making ſhew freely to relinquiſh that which he could not hold, did with a loud voice (in the hearing of our Author then 15. years old, and a ſtudient in the Towne) grant a free election; for himſelfe profeſſing in theſe very words; *That whatſoever Prince this Kingdome of Tranſilvania ſhall make choice of, I* (ſaith he) *am ready alſo to acknowledge for my Prince, upon condition, that he exerciſes no tyranny upon the three Nations of the* Siculi, Saxons, *and* Hungarians. Upon this reſignation is *Gabriel Bethlen* elected and ſworne Prince of *Tranſilvania*. *Gabriel Bathori* (a Prince neither lawfully elected, nor lawfully governing) retires himſelfe to his Caſtle of *Varadinum*: where he is ſhortly and treacherouſly murthered by his owne ſervants; for which they are executed by *Bethlen Gabor* the yeare following.

He being thus ſetled, firſt of all ſets upon the reparations of the Caſtles and Forts of his Countrey; re-edifies and inlarges *Varadinum*, lately diſmantled by the *Turkes*. Thus ſpends he his two firſt yeares, 1614. and 1615. The next yeare the *Turke* comes downe againſt *Poland* with 410000. men, and the *Polander* meets him with 250000. *Gabriel* foreknowing, that whoſoever gained the victory might afterwards turne his Armes upon him; goes with 25000. men into the neighbour *Moldavia*, where the other two Armies lay incamped: with this handfull of men he paſſes the River *Neſter*, puts himſelfe betwixt both Armies, mediates a peace, effects it, is ſtorm'd at by the *Turkes*, and much thanked by the *Polander*; but ill requited afterward, when in the yeare 1620. *Bethlen* was ingaged in his warres with the

the Emperour. Returning home, hee the ſame yeare 1616. (being his third) founds a College at *Alba Iulia*, takes order for ſolemne and frequent diſputations againſt the *Arrians* and *Papiſts*, converts many of the firſt ſort. The next two yeares he revives and betters the execution of good lawes; reduces Juſtice and Civil ty; and though the warres were hot, and the Reformed Religion much afflicted in *Germany*, *Bohemia*, &c. yet hee intends his owne Government, and intermeddles not: but intercepting at length ſome intelligence of the publike deſigne of the Princes leaguers of the Romiſh Religion, (which was utterly to root out the Reformed) and perceiving the Ieſuites and others more buſie and pragmaticall at home; and that the Emperours Armie pretended to be ſent againſt the *Turkes*, was now upon its march, and very ſuſpiciouſly advanced as farre as the frontiers of his *Tranſilvania*; he thinks it time to take the alarum; he armes, and with a ſmall company drawes neere to obſerve the motions of the Imperialiſts; ſtands ſtill upon the defenſive, and does no more. Not long after is his aid ſolicited by the Ambaſſadours of *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and *Sileſia*, his confederates, miſerably troubled by the Emperor for Religion: For them he firſt peaceably mediates to *Ceſar*, and being neglected hee in the yeare 1620. leads out his Armie, if not to releeve them, yet to countenance their cauſe, and to draw the Emperour to more moderate conditions. In their quarrell and Religions, he takes *Preſburg* from the Imperialiſts, *October* 13. 1620. Next yeare he paſſes the *Danubie*, and to be ſhort, is fairely elected King of *Hungarie*; and though hee had the Imperiall Crowne of *Hungarie* in his owne hands, yet refuſed he to be crowned with it. This temper of his preſerved him; for beſides the treachery of his owne Popiſh ſubjects, he had heard a ſuſpitious word let fall by the Emperour of the *Turks* to this purpoſe; *Now* (ſaith he) *that Bethlen Gabor is King of Hungarie, he muſt needs in the next place affect our Buda* (the ancient royall Citie) *to reigne in.* This word made him feare the *Turks*, and forbeare his owne Coronation, onely carrying the Crowne away

away with him. Thus ended the yeare 1621. The next yeare the Emperour remanding the Crowne, *Bethlen* assembles a Parliament at *Cassaw*, where the Popish party prevailes; the Crowne is sent backe; the title of King is laid downe; in lieu of which he receives these conditions from the Emperour: First, he is acknowledged a soveraigne and independent Prince: Secondly, he is made a Prince of the Empire; and thirdly, are the two Dukedomes of *Oppelen* and *Ratibor* in *Silesia* estated upon him. This yeare his wife *Susanna Katherina* leaves him a widower; and the rest is spent in Embassies and Treaties with the Emperour. The next yeare 1623. was passed over in peace; the Emperour sends him a diamond ring; which some conjectured was meant for a wedding ring, and that the Emperour was desirous to allie him to his house of *Austria*. *Ann.* 1624. was quiet and peaceable. *Anno* 1625. he by his Ambassadours wooes the Lady *Katherine*, sister to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*; whom in *February* 1626. he solemnly espouses in *Cassovia*: and is so potent and happy, that *July* 16. following, he procures her to be elected Princesse of *Transilvania* after him, (in case she survived him) and his owne brother *Stephan Bethlen* to be Regent under her. This yeare there hapned some more bustling against the Emperour; but a peace quickly concludes it. The next yeare 1627. the *Turkish* Sultan honours *Bethlens* Princesse with a solemne Embassie, to her principally directed; sends her a Scepter; requires her name also (as an absolute Princesse which one day might be) to be put into the treaty of a perpetuall league. The yeare 1627. he had peace on every side, which continued the next yeare also. When *October* 21. he solemnly buries his Predecessor *Gabriel Bathori* aforesaid. Finally, this yeare 1629. for thankfulnesse to God, and the good of his Church and Countrey, hee erects an University at *Alba Iulia*, which crownes and blesses all the fame of his former actions. He hath this Summer beene dangerously sicke; but we have heard newes of his safe recovery.

And thus ends the Chronicle of *Bethlen Gabor* the famous;

mous; a man much talkt of, but little knowne. Let this at last be answered to his Traducers: that he must needs be a brave fellow, who was favoured and preferred by so many Princes; that from a private fortune should upon his owne deserts be advanced by his Nation to the chaire of soveraignty: that was able to gaine so much upon the Emperour; to succour his friends, and compose a quarrell betweene two such potent enemies: that is in his owne person so dexterous both at Arts and Armes: that desires so much the good of his Country, as to fortifie all the passages; to adorne it with Palaces, Churches, Colleges, and Universities: that takes the right course to advance Religion; to incourage, countenance, and promote learning, & to doe that in beating down heresie by the Word, which the laws of his Nation forbid him to do by the Sword: that hath quickned Justice and good manners; is beloved of his loyall subjects, and feared by the disloyall: that being so dangerously situated hath the spirit and skill to defend his little Countrey from the power of the house of *Ottoman*, the ambition of the house of *Austria*, the might of the *Pole*, and the barbarous inroads of the *Russes* and *Tartarians*: that finally maintaines his subjects in abundance of safety, and abundance of plenty: and though perchance hated, yet feared, and highly honoured by his greatest enemy, the Emperour.

The most of this description of *Bethlen Gabor* and his dominions, wee owe unto Master *Petrus. Eusenius Maxai*, a *Transilvanian* borne, and servant to the illustrious Prince aforesaid.

Poland.

Poland.

THis Kingdome (inhabited of old by the *Sarmatians*) was never ſo ſpatious as at this day, the great Dukedomes of *Lituania* and *Livonia* being joyned therto. It ſtretcht from the flouds, *Notes* and *Orba* (which divide it from *Marchia*) and *Odera* (which ſeparateth it from *Sileſia*) to *Bereſay* and *Boriſthenes*, which two parteth it from *Moſcovia*. It reacheth from the *Baltike* Sea, to the River *Nieſter*, which divides it from *Moldavia*, and to the Mountaines *Carpathie*, which ſeparate it from *Hungarie*. By this limitation from the borders of *Sileſia*, to the Frontiers of *Moſcovia*, (betweene the Weſt part and the Eaſt) it containeth an hundred and twenty *German* miles, and from the uttermoſt bounds of *Livonia*, to the borders of *Hungarie*, not much leſſe. So allowing the forme thereof to be round, it is farre larger than a man would take it to be, as taking up ſix and twenty hundred miles in compaſſe. It containeth many and goodly large Provinces, as *Polonia* the great, and the leſſe, *Mazovia*, *Podolia*, *Podlaſſia*, *Samogithia*, *Pruſſia*, *Ruſſia*, *Volinia*, *Livonia*, and *Lituania*. Among theſe Provinces, *Poland* was the proper inhabitation of the *Polonians*: but *Pruſſe*, part of *Pomeran*, *Podolia*, *Volonia*, *Mazovia*, and *Livonia* have beene obtained and gained by Armes, as were the Dukedomes of *Oſwitz* and *Zator in Sileſia* alſo. *Lituania* and *Samogithia*, (Provinces of *Ruſſia*) were the inheritance of the Houſe of *Iagello*. For in the yeare 1380. *Iagello* then Duke of *Lituania*, tooke unto wife the Princeſſe *Hedwiga*, the laſt of the bloud Royall of *Polonia*, and was then inſtalled King on three conditions: the firſt, that he ſhould become a Chriſtian; ſecondly, that he ſhould cauſe his people to doe the like; and thirdly, that he ſhould for ever unite his principalities to *Poland*. The two former conditions

were preſently performed; but the latter not till within theſe few yeares: For the Kings of *Poland* ſtanding upon election, *Iagello* was loth to truſt his owne patrimonie upon the uncertaine voyces of the people; who if they ſhould chuſe a ſtranger, then ſhould his poſterity not only loſe the Kingdome of *Polonia*, but their paternall Dukedome of *Lituania* alſo. And this deferred the union all the time of *Iagello* and his deſcendants; but the race failing in *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*; and the *Lituanians* on the other ſide, fearing the force of the *Moſcovite*, they agreed to union and election. In times paſt *Livonia* was the ſeat of the Dutch Knights, and they had therein their chiefe Governour, whom they termed the *Great Maſter*: But in the yeare 1558. being ſpoiled of the greateſt part of their territory by the great Duke of *Moſcovie*, they fled to *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, who tooke them into his protection, and untill the raigne of K. *Stephen* 1582. the Province was never regained.

For the moſt part *Poland* is a plaine Country, and but for certaine mountaines (rather hils than mountaines) ſituated in the leſſer *Poland*, dividing it from *Pruſland*, all the reſidue of the Countrey ſtretcheth it ſelfe into moſt ample plaines, wherein are very many woods, eſpecially in *Lituania*. The greater and leſſer *Poland* are better inhabited than any other Province of the Kingdome. The like may be almoſt ſpoken of *Ruſſia*, for the neereneſſe of the Sea, concourſe to the Havens, and commodiouſneſſe of the Rivers. *Pruſſia* and *Livonia* have fairer Cities, goodlier buildings, and by traffike and concourſe of Merchants greater plenty of riches. For when the Dutch Knights were Lords of the Country, they builded Cities like thoſe of *Germanie*, and all along the Sea-Coaſt (for the ſpace of foureſcore miles) many Caſtles and peeces of good eſteeme. They have many faire Havens of good worth, and are Lords of all the traffike betweene *Poland* and the *Baltike* Sea; which is a thing of great value and conſequence. For the River *Viſtula* ariſing in the extremeſt bounds of *Sileſia*, watereth all *Poland* the leſſe, and part of the Greater, *Mazovia* and *Pruſſia*, and then it falleth into the

the *Baltike* Sea below *Danske*, whither it transporteth the greateſt quantity of Rye, Corne, Honey, and Wax of the whole Kingdome, a journy of foure hundred miles. From another coaſt the moſt famous River *Duina*, ariſing out of the Lake *Ruthengo*, and parting *Livonia* into equall portions, falleth into the Sea about *Riga*, a City of great concourſe. There are in *Pruſſia* and *Livonia* many Lakes, amongſt which one is called the *New-Sea*, 100 miles long: in *Livonia* is a Lake called *Beybas*, more than 400. miles long: from thence ſpring the Rivers, which, running by *Pernovia* and *Narve*, make two notable Havens for traffike. Betweene theſe two Cities ſtands *Rivalia*, giving place to neither in beauty: *Samogithia* is more rude and barbarous than the other Provinces, and *Podalia* more barren: which is not to be attributed to the nature of the ſoile (for it is plentifull of thoſe Commodities which the climate, under which it lieth, can afford) but to the cruelty of the *Tartars*, which ſo vex it with continuall inrodes, that the Inhabitants are driven either to flie for feare, or to bee led away captives by theſe barbarous people.

The riches of *Poland* are the abundance of Corne, and all ſorts of graine, which grow there in ſuch plentifull ſort, that in it ſelfe it never ſuffered want, but evermore, as in the yeare 1590. and 1591, it releeved not onely the bordering Nations, oppreſſed with famine and ſcarcity, but alſo yeelded ſome portion of releeſe to the wants of *Genoa*, *Tuſcanie*, and *Rome*. It floweth with Honey and Wax: And whereas in all theſe Northerly Nations of *Poland*, *Lituania*, *Ruſſia*, *Muſcovia* there are no Wines growing, in ſtead thereof Nature hath beſtowed upon them incredible quantities of Honey, whereof theſe people doe brew an excellent kinde of Beverage. The Bees make Honey either in Woods, where they finde the trees made hollow by rottenneſſe or mans induſtry, or in Hives ſet in open field by the Country people, or in holes of the earth, or in any place where they can finde never ſo ſmall a liking. Riches.

It aboundeth with Flax, Hempe, with Sheepe, with Cattell

tell and with Horſes. Amongſt the beaſts of the wood are found wilde Oxen, wilde Horſes, and the Buſle, which cannot live out of the Wood of *Nazovia*: The riches of the land conſiſt in the Salt-pits of *Pozena* and *Veliſca*, in the territory of *Cracovia*.

Revenues. The Revenues of the Kingdome (for the moſt part) are equally divided between the Noblemen & he Gentlemen: for no man is left ſo rich by inheritance, that hee may exceed others above meaſure; and the greateſt Revenue of all exceedeth not five and twenty thouſand Ducats: Onely the Dukes of *Curland* and *Regimount* exceed this meane. For although they are feodaries of the Kingdome, and acknowledge the King as their ſuperiour, yet are they not as lively members of the State: they come not to the Diets of the Kingdome, they have not their voices in the election of the Prince, neither are they accounted as naturall Lords of the Kingdome, but for ſtrangers (as in truth they are:) the Duke of *Curland* being of the houſe of *Ketlert*, and the Duke of *Regimount*, of the family of *Brandenburge*.

All *Pruſſia* did belong to the Dutch Knights, who had their Great Maſter reſident there, but he not being able to withſtand the force of the *Polonians*, yeelded himſelfe feodarie to King *Caſimere*. Afterwards, when *Albert* of *Brandenburge* their Great Maſter became a Proteſtant, hee was created Duke of *Pruſſia*, and the Country was divided into two parts; the one regall, mediately holden of the Crowne; the other Ducall, allotted to *Albert* and his ſucceſſors to hold by fealty. In the Kings partition ſtand *Marieburge*, *Torovia*, *Culma*, *Varnia*, and *Dansk*: in the Duchie (which yeelded an hundred and twenty thouſand Ducats yearely) the chiefe Towne is *Regimount*: the *Germans* call it *Conningsburgh*, and there the Duke keepeth his Court.

Government. The Government of *Polonia* is altogether elective, and repreſenteth rather an Ariſtocracie, than a Kingdome; the Nobility (who have great authority in the Diets) chuſing the King, and at their pleaſure limiting him his authority, and making

making his ſoveraignty but a ſlaviſh royalty.

Theſe diminutions of Regality beganne firſt by default of King *Lewis*, and *Iagello*, who to gaine the ſucceſſion in the Kingdome (contrary to the Lawes) one for his daughter, and the other for his ſonne; departed with many of his Royalties and Prerogatives, to buy the voyces of the Nobility. Whereupon by degrees the King of *Poland* (as *Stanislaus Orichovius* confeſſes) is little more than the *Mouth of the Kingdome*, which ſpeakes not but what his Councell prompts him. The great Officer (whom they call the Preſident of their liberty, and Guardian of it) is ſtill joyned with the King, as it were to Tutor him, and to moderate his deſires. The power royall there, is no more but what King *Sigiſmund* aſſumed in full Parliament at *Petricovia*, *Anno* 1548. which was to conclude nothing but by advice of his Councell. To give inſtances of the power of theſe great Counſellours; they made void the teſtament of King *Caſimire*: forbade King *Iagello* to warre upon the Knights *Hoſpitalers*: unto whom in his expedition into *Lituania* they adjoyned the Biſhop of *Cracovia*, limiting their King to doe nothing but with his approbation. *Caſimire* the third had foure Commiſſioners joyned with him. Without their leaves the King cannot chuſe his owne wife: for which reaſon King *Iagello* was by them perpetually perplexed. Appeales (the ſupreme marke of Soveraignty) are not made to the King, but to the States. King *Alexander*, *Anno* 1504. was faine to remit the diſpoſing of the publike treaſure unto the Lord Treaſurer: to which Officer *Iagello*, *Anno* 1422. could not but grant the royalty of coining monies alſo. Well therefore (as *Cromerus* reporteth) might Queene *Chriſtina* complaine, That her Husband was but the ſhadow of a Soveraigne. They have neither law nor ſtatute, nor forme of government written, but (by cuſtome from the death of one Prince to the election of another) the ſupreme authority reſteth in the Archbiſhop of *Geſna*, who is Preſident of the Councell, appointeth the Diets, ruleth the Senate, and proclaimeth the new elected King. Before King *Stephen* erected

new Biſhops, Palatines, and Caſtellanes in *Livonia*, few other beſides the Archbiſhop of *Leopolis*, and his thirteene Suffragans, eight and twenty Palatines, and thirty of the chiefeſt Caſtellanes were preſent at the election of the new King. They hold an aſſembly of the States every yeare, for two cauſes; the one, to adminiſter Juſtice in Soveraigne cauſes; unto which are brought appeales from all the Judges of the Country: the other, to provide for the ſafety of the Common-weale againſt their next Enemies the *Tartars*, who make often incurſions upon them.

In the time of their Diets theſe men aſſemble in a place neere unto the Senate-houſe, where they chuſe two Marſhals, by whom (but with a tribune-like authority) they ſignifie unto the Councell what their requeſts are. Not long ſince their authority and reputation grew ſo mighty, that they now carry themſelves as heads and Governours, rather than Officers & Miniſters of the publike decrees of the eſtates. One of the Councell, after the manner of *Clodius*, refuſed his Senators place to become one of theſe Officers. When a King is to be choſen, theſe men doe more and more limit his authority, not ſuffering it to ſtretch one jot farther than accuſtomed. But although the Crowne of *Poland* bee at the diſpoſition of the Nobility, yet was it never heard that they rejected or overſlipped the Kings ſucceſſour, or transferred the Kingdome into any other line, more than once, when depoſing *Ladiſlaus*, (whom notwithſtanding they afterward reſtored) they elected *Wenceſlaus* the *Bohemian*. Likewiſe, they have alwayes a regard to the Kings daughters, as of *Hedwiga*, married by them to *Iagello*, and in our times of *Anne*, given in marriage to King *Stephen*. It was no ſmall cauſe of the advancement of *Sigiſmund* the third, to the Crowne of *Polonia*, that hee was the ſonne of *Katherine*, ſiſter to *Sigiſmund* the Emperour, and of the foreſaid *Anne*. And although the Kingly authority bee elective, yet after he is choſen, his power is abſolute in many things: As to call the Diets, to appoint the times and place at his pleaſure; to chuſe Lay Counſellours, and nominate

minate the Biſhops, and whom he will have to be of the Privie Councell; he is abſolute diſpoſer of the Revenue of the Crowne, & Lord of thoſe which hold of him immediate, but over the Tenants of the Nobility he hath no juriſdiction; he is abſolute eſtabliſher of the decrees of the Diets, and Soveraigne Judge of the Nobles in criminall cauſes; it is in his power to reward and advance whom pleaſeth him; to ſpeake in a word, ſuch as is his valour, dexterity, and wiſdome, ſuch is his power, authority, and government. As the *Polanders* ſay, the decrees of their King indure but three dayes, and they converſe not with him as Coſins, as in *France*, but as Brethren. And as the King hath abſolute authority over them which immediately hold of him, ſo the Nobility diſpoſe abſolutely of their vaſſals, on every of whom they exerciſe more than Kingly authority, in manner as upon ſlaves. In eſtabliſhing their Kingdome they have done one thing worthy the noting, which is, that as the *Romans* increaſt their Name and Dominion, by communicating the Lawes and Honours of *Italy*, and the City of *Rome* to other Cities, yea, whole Provinces: ſo the Kings of *Polonia* have inlarged, united, and ſtrengthened their eſtate, by participating the privileges of the Poliſh Nobility to thoſe Provinces, which either they have conquered by Armes, or otherwiſe purchaſed, gracing the Nobles thereof with favours equall to any beſtowed on the Poliſh Nation. By this equallizing, King *Ladiſlaus* ſtrongly united *Ruſſia* and *Podalia*; *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*, *Lituania*: *Stephen*, *Livonia*: for reſpect in offices and promotions knitteth affections in peace and warre.

The force of this Kingdome (as of others) conſiſteth in graine, Coine, Foot-men, Horſe-men, Armour, and Munition. Of graine we have ſpoken already. In coine it is not very rich: for excepting *Danske*, they have never a Mart-Towne worthy eſtimation; and the wares that are brought from *Pruſſia* and *Livonia*, doe not enrich the Kingdome with ready money; yea, they doe hardly ſuffice to barter with the Engliſh and Flemiſh for Cloth, Silks, or Woolls; Forces.

or with the Spaniſh, Portuguize and other Merchants, for Sugars, Spices, Fruits, and Malueſeies. For when the Countrey is not given to traffike, nor the Cities to buy and ſell, nor the people to labour; and the Nobility is very gallant, prodigall in expences, ſpending more than their Revenues in diet and apparell, and the ſeaſoning of their Viands, (for the Polanders uſe more Spices than any other Nation:) and their Wine, their Silke, & the greateſt part of their Woollen Cloth is brought from forren Nations, how can the Kingdome be rich in Silver? For in tranſporting of much ware, and returning of little, conſiſteth the wealth of every dominion; gathering together (by venting home-bred commodities) the coine of forren Nations, and keeping it once brought in, from paſſing abroad. In this practice conſiſteth the wealth of *Naples* and *Millan*: for *Naples* ſendeth to Sea great ſtore of Corne, Wine, Oyle, Silke, Woad, Horſes, Fruits, and ſuch like commodities, which bring in huge maſſes of forren coine: *Millan* ſupplieth the want of other Provinces, with Corne, Rice, Cloths, Iron-workes, wares of all ſorts; and returneth little againe. If the Kingdome of *Sicil* were as well ſtored with manuall workmanſhip, as it is provided with Corne, Sugar-canes, and Silke, no other Kingdome could compare with it.

Riches. To returne to *Poland*: notwithſtanding, their riches are not ſo ſmall as ſome ſay they are; for the Revenues of the Crowne raiſed of the Mines of Salt and Silver, amount yearely to 600000. Ducats. True it is, that *Sigiſmund Auguſtus* pawned part of theſe Revenues; and King *Henry* a moneth before his flight (to binde ſome part of the Nobility unto him) ſold unto them more than three hundred thouſand Ducats of yearely rent. It is lawfull for the King by ſales of eſcheats (falling to the Crowne) to purchaſe livings for himſelfe, and of the ſaid Revenues to retaine great portions to his proper uſe, and to ſpare his owne expences: for when the King with his Court abideth in *Lituania*, the *Lituanians* defray the charge: the like is done in moſt places of *Poland*. He that weigheth with himſelfe, that the

the ordinary Revenues of *Scotland*, *Naples*, or *Sardinia*, exceed not yearely one hundred thousand Ducats, nor the Kingdome of *Arragon* to yeeld above one hundred thousand crownes every three yeares; cannot lightly esteeme of the Revenues of this Kingdome; yet the King might raise his Revenues to a higher reckoning, if he were lesse bountifull to his Palatines and Castellanes. For most commonly he bestoweth on them two parts, and three parts; yea, now and then the whole profits arising in their governments. But in the time of warre (yet by the decree of the assemblies of the Kingdome) the King doth lay grievous impositions and taxes on the people, which are either levied of the Provinces, or of the excise of victuall: and these tallages have amounted to such a reckoning, that therewith King *Stephen* sustained the burthen of a most heavie three yeares warre against the great Duke of *Moscovie*: yea, the Gentlemen for defence of the Kingdome are bound to serve at their owne charges. These serve on Horse, some armed as our men at armes, some more light, some like the *Tartars*; And those they terme *Cossaches*, or Adventurers, trained up to steale, to depopulate, waste, and to turne all things up-side downe. These Gentlemen serve in the field gallantly furnished, attired in Cassocks and Hose shining with Gold and Silver, and a thousand other colours: they adorne themselves with plumes and feathers of Eagles, with the skinnes of Leopards and Beares, and with many Banners and party-coloured Ensignes. These and such like furnitures doe cause them to bee discerned of their fellowes, make them seeme terrible to their Enemies, and doe encourage their minds to fiercenesse and prowesse: Their Horse are but small, yet very nimble, and farre more couragious than the Dutch.

Forces.

It is thought that upon necessity *Poland* is able to raise an hundred thousand horse, and *Lituania* seventy thousand, but far inferiour in goodnesse to the Polish. They have so great trust in the great number of their horse, that nothing fearing the power of any Enemies, they regard not the

the building of Fortreſſes, but reſolve that they are able to defend their Country, their Wives and Children, their liberty and goods, in the open field againſt any Prince whatſoever; boaſting, that in either chance of warre, they never turned their backes. *Sigiſmund Auguſtus* laboured, that in the Diets of the Kingdome, order might be taken for the fortifying of *Cracovia*, becauſe of neighbour-hood of the Emperour: but he could never effect it, partly becauſe it ſhould not give their Kings opportunity of abſolute authority and tyrannicall Emperie, partly becauſe they thinke themſelves by noble courage ſufficiently able to defend the Kingdome. They have no infanterie; for all the people of the Kingdome are divided either into Merchants and Artificers (which inhabit the Cities,) or labourers which live in the country, in ſuch ſubjection as we ſpake of before: and this is the reaſon that the Gentlemen onely goe to the war, and will not in any caſe ſerve on foot; but alwaies when occaſion ſerveth, they doe give wages unto the *German* and
Infantery. *Hungariſh* footmen; and of theſe King *Stephen*, in his journey into *Livonia*, entertained under his colours little leſſe than 16000. to convey his great Ordnance: 1609. *Sigiſmund* being called into *Moſcovie* by the treaſon of *Sulskey*, who had ſlaine *Demetrius* his Lord and Maſter in *Moſco*, departed from *Cracovia* with 30000. horſe and 10000. foot, exceedingly well furniſhed and reſolute: Wherein in truth conſiſteth the ſole commendation of the *Poliſh* Gentlemen. As for manners, for the moſt part they are diſcourteous and uncivill, a very murderous and wicked people, eſpecially in their drunkenneſſe, and that towards ſtrangers.

Pioners. For Pioners they uſe the *Tartars*, and their owne uplandiſh people. The Kingdome is ſufficiently furniſhed; ſtored with great Ordnance, and all furniture belonging thereto, of which it can ſuffer no manner of ſcarcitie: firſt, becauſe the Gentlemen and Noblemen keepe many in their caſtles; next for the neighbour-hood of *Germany*, which is exceeding rich in Metall to that uſe, and plentifull of Artificers to forge any thing belonging thereunto. And though it is not

uſuall

uſuall to ſee many caſtles in *Polonia*, yet the Fortreſſes of *Leopolis* and *Camentzie* in *Ruſſia*, the Caſtle of *Cracovia* in the leſſe *Poland*, *Polocenſis* on the Frontiers of *Moſcovia*, *Mariembourge*, and ſome other Townes in *Livonia*, are peeces in truth of great ſtrength.

Theſe forces of *Polonia* (which wee have ſpoken of) are ſuch in quantity and quality, that few Nations in *Europe* can equall them, none ſurpaſſe them: one thing they want, and that is Celeritie: For to the ſure ſtrengthening of every Kingdome foure things are required; that is to ſay, That their forces be of their owne ſubjects; That it be Populous, Valiant, and Quicke: their owne, becauſe it is dangerous truſting to a ſtranger; Populous, becauſe of re-enforcements after checkes or overthrowes; Valiant, becauſe number without courage little availeth; yea, it bringeth forth confuſion; And Quicke, that they may lightly move, and ſpeedily be drawne whither neceſſitie enforceth. The laſt of theſe foure the *Polacks* eſpecially want; that is, Celerity; occaſioned two waies: Firſt, for defect of abſolute authority in the Prince, which is much checked by prolonging and adjourning of Parliaments, procured many times by the frowardneſſe of the Nobilitie: And ſecondly, for want of ready money, and quicke levies thereof.

For the King hath no power to determine any thing; to denounce warre, to impoſe taxes, or to gather treaſure without the conſent of theſe Parliaments, and theſe Parliaments (where it is neceſſary that many be preſent) are like an Engine made of many peeces, which (without loſſe of time) can neither eaſily be joyned, nor readily moved. For in warlike affaires, thoſe Princes make beſt ſpeed which are beſt able to command, and have moſt money in readineſſe: otherwiſe, in appointing and ordering the Diets, and deviſing that the Actions may anſwer the Counſels; than in executing and in providing of money, there hapneth ſuch loſſe of time, that little is left for the beginning of the journey, much leſſe to accompliſh. Beſides, the Barons and Nobles are at ſuch charges, and tarry ſo long when they are there,

there, that at their departure they have little left to maintaine after-charges. It may be, that for the defence of the State, quicker and readier reſolution would bee taken, becauſe of the imminent danger fatall in generall. But for the conqueſt of any forren place, I beleeve they will alwaies proceed with like ſlowneſſe and irreſolution; for the hope of good doth not ſo much move vs, as the feare of evill: Yet hath our age ſeene (in the reigne of *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*) the *Moſcovite* to have conquered the Provinces of *Moloch* and *Smolock*, and that without reſiſtance or revenge; a cowardize ill beſeeming ſo great a King, and ſo mighty a State: as likewiſe hee invaded *Livonia* without impeachment, which had ſhadowed it ſelfe under the protection of the ſaid *Sigiſmund*. In the daies of *Henry* of *Anjow*, *Iohn* Prince of *Moldavia* (even he that with an undaunted ſpirit and famous victory held warre againſt the Turke) was ſhamefully forſaken of them, contrary to the covenants of confederacy betweene him and this *Sigiſmund* concluded. So that we muſt needs confeſſe, that ſuch as is the courage, valour, and reputation of the Prince; ſuch is the reſolution, alacrity, and forces of the *Polackes*; of themſelves populous, valiant, and couragious. *Stephen Bathori* had good teſtimony hereof, in whoſe time *Polonia* not onely maintained the honour of a King, ſufficient to defend it ſelfe from forren Armes, but alſo to make conqueſts of great matters from moſt potent Enemies. And ſeeing we have ſpoken of Celerity, a vertue moſt neceſſary for every State, it ſhall not bee amiſſe to ſpeake of the cauſes thereof, which (as is aforeſaid) are two: (*viz.*) The reputation of the Prince, which giveth it life; and ſtore of Coine, which preſerves it in action: for wee have ſeene in mightieſt Armies, the body by the ſlowneſſe of the head, to have ſpent the time moſt idly, and very famous victories for want of money. (to give continuall motion to action) to have brought forth ſmall or no effects. Beſides the diſpoſition of a Souldier is a great helpe hereunto: for no man can truly praiſe the *German* and *Bohemian* Foot-men for Celerity; but this commendation with-

without doubt is proper to the *Italian*, *Spaniard*, and *Frenchmen*, not onely for that they are of better constitution of body, but for that (which in warre is all in all) they are better contented to live with a little: Though they want Coine they are not discouraged, neither wax sicke with fruits, if flesh be wanting; and happen what may, they longer and better can indure hardnesse and scarcitie. Their riding light armed, is of more execution than armed at all pieces, and their Argolitires more serviceable than Lanciers: for which cause the *French* also in their late broiles have quitted their Lances, wherein of old did consist the glory of their Armes, and now taken themselves to the Pistoll. But to what purpose they have thus done, let another dispute; for I say not, that a light armed man is absolutely to be preferred before a man at armes in chances of warre, but only affirme, that he is more active and more ready: yea, the goodnesse of the Horse is of great consequence. For the *Flanders* Horse farre excelleth the *Frislander* and *German*. The *Hungarie* Horse, the *Polonian*; the *Turkie* Horse, the *Genet*; the *Barbary* Horse is more speedy than the rest: betweene both is the Courser of *Naples*, who though he be not so swift as the Spanish *Genet*, yet is he better able to indure travell, and to beare the weight of Armor, not becomming over-slow therwith. To speake truth, experience manifesteth the *German* Horse, by reason of their slow pace, to worke small effect, either to pursue the flying Enemie, or swiftly to flie from their executing adversary: for if the *Wallachian*, *Hungarian*, *Polish*, *Turkish*, *Moorish*, or *Barbarie* Horsemen should breake the *Germans*, they cannot speedily fall, and if it happen the *Germans* to overthrow them, they are as unable to pursue them; for they charge slowly, and retire heavily. So in fights at Sea, ships of burthen are of small service; because if wind want they cannot be moved; the *Galleasses* are somewhat better, yet performe little more; but the best of all is the *Galley* for his swift steerage. And for proofe hereof, wee have seene the Navie of the Christians consisting of great Ships, to have spent the better part of Summer and

warlike

warlike ſeaſon in preparations onely; And on the contrary, the Turkiſh Fleet ſoone furniſhed, and ſpeedily put to Sea: Of ſuch advantage is ſpare diet, and needfull proviſion of the Turkiſh affaires; and ſo diſcommodious is gluttony to the proceedings of the Chriſtians: For, the proviſion of Wine and other delicates is as troubleſome to the Chriſtians, as the whole proviſion for a Campe to the Turkiſh Armies. Therefore let no man marvell, if they march in all their journies, excellent well furniſhed with Ordnance, Shot, Gun-powder, and all neceſſaries; for at land they have their Carriages laden onely with proviſion; at Sea, their Ships without Wine, Pullets, and ſuch needleſſe vanities. At a word, they goe to the warre to fight, and not to fill their bellies.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

Of Africke.

The deſcription of *Africke.*

THat tract of the habitable World tending towards the South, which at this day wee call Africa, *and the Grecians* Lybia, *containeth one of thoſe three diviſions which were knowne to the Ancients, and yet not fully diſcovered; partly in regard of vaſt Deſarts impoſſible to bee travelled by Land, and wholly covered with wind-driving ſands in manner of a tempeſtuous Sea; and partly in regard of the long, tedious, and uncertaine Navigation, undertaken by few, diſcovered but little, and fully knowne to none. The undertakers whereof*

whereof were Hanno *the* Carthaginian, *and* Eudoxius *a banished man under* Ptolomie *King of* Alexandria. *But in this latter age it hath beene wholly navigated by the* Portugals, *and sufficiently by them discovered, especially from the Pillars of* Hercules, *almost to the very bottome of the* Arabian *Gulfe. The first of them that passed the* Cape *of* Good Hope, *was* Vasco de Gama, *in the yeare of our Lord* 1497. *from whence continuing his course to* Calecut, *and so to the residue of the East* Indies, *to the unspeakable honour and atchievement of that Nation.*

I will not spend time in discourse upon the Originall of the name, Quia paucæ civitates norint originem; *but it is situated in manner of a Peninsula, conjoyned with a small necke of Land lying betweene the* Mediterranean *Sea and the* Arabian *Gulfe. In quantity it exceedeth* Europe *at least by twice, but it is not halfe so well inhabited, for that is not so temperate for inhabitation. Many places lying waste, somewhere for want of water, somewhere for want of manurance, somewhere for abundance of light sand and sterile Dust, and all subject to the immoderate heat of the scorching Sun. And the nature of these Sands are such, that sometimes they lie as Mountains in one part of the Desarts, and presently upon the rising of any gale of wind, they are carried most furiously to another, in manner of a violent and terrible tempest. And last of all, the increase of venomous Serpents and devouring Creatures is so generall, that in some places no man will, in some places no man dare to manure or inhabit the adjoyning Countrie, although most fruitfull. By reason whereof (as aforesaid) the Region seemeth rather waste than inhabited; but where it is manured it is exceeding fruitfull, and full of inhabitation, especially*

toward

toward the North side, which looketh toward Europe, *and alongst the Sea-Coasts, betweene the promontory of* Good Hope, *and* Cape Niger, *where the Plaines, Mountaines, and Vallies are singular fruitfull and pleasant, as places injoying the benefit of a perpetuall Spring-tide.*

Our moderne Cosmographers *upon the North side bound it with the* Mediterranean *and* Herculian *Seas, upon the East with the* Arabian *Gulfe, and that* Isthmus *of* Asia *that lieth betweene the said* Mediterranean *and the* Arabian *Seas: Vpon the South beat the waves of the great Ocean, especially towards the* Cape *of* Good Hope; *which deriving its denomination from the Country adjoyning* (viz.) Æthiopia, *is termed the* Æthiopian *Sea: Vpon the West, on this side the* Equinoctiall *lieth the* Atlantike *Ocean, and beyond that it is termed the* Æthiopian.

The Celestiall situation, with the description of the renowned Mountaines, famous Rivers, and remarkable Capes, *all worthy to be registred (if brevity, requisite for so small a volume, did not perswade the contrary) I would not omit, for the delight of those who desire to make deepest progressions in this kinde of study.*

Creatures proper to *Africke.*

The living Creatures, both tame and wilde, which this and no other climate affordeth, by the testimony of Leo Afer, *are many. As first, the* Elephant, *a docible and wilde beast, found in many parts of the Continent. The* Giraffa, *most admirable, fierce, and seldome seene. The* Camel *is a gentle beast and tame, wherein the wealth of the* Arabians *doth chiefly consist. The* Barbarie *Horse, and the wilde Horse, whereof many of the* Arabians, *inhabiting the desarts, doe feed. The* Dant *or* Iant *resembleth the Oxe, and of his hide are wrought impenetrable Bucklers.*

lers. Here likewiſe live the wilde Oxen, and the wilde Aſſe. The Adimain *is like the Ramme, but in ſtature reſembling the Aſſe, with eares long and flagging. The tame Oxen that live on the mountaines are ſmall bodied, but labourſome and ſtrong. Their Rammes differ onely in their tailes from ours, being moſt broad and containing twenty pound in weight. There are a kinde of* Lions, *which in many places dare to adventure upon two hundred Horſemen. The* Leopards *are ſtrong and cruell, yet ſeldome hurt they men. The beaſt which the* Arabians *terme* Dabul, *and the* Africans Ieſef, *is a baſe and ſimple beaſt, in faſhion and bigneſſe reſembling the Wolfe, but in feet and thighs like a man. This beaſt will dig mens Carcaſes out of their graves and devoure them; towards all other Creatures he is harmeleſſe. The ſorts of Apes are very diverſe. Here liveth the Muſ-cat and the wilde Conie. The ſtrange Fiſhes, and other watry Creatures found in* Nilus, Niger, *and other principall Rivers are innumerable. The* Ambara *for his ſhape and hugeneſſe is prodigious, as a Creature containing twenty five foot in length. The* Hippotame, *a beaſt like an Horſe, and as big as an Aſſe, liveth as well in Waters as on the Land, and by his often ſtriking of Boats laden with Merchandize with his ſharpe prickles, ſinketh them under water. The Sea Oxe differeth nothing from the Land Oxe, ſave in ſmalneſſe of ſtature. The* Tortoiſe *liveth in Deſarts, and are found oftentimes as big as a barrell. The* Crocodile *reſembleth the* Lacerta, *and is twelve cubits long in body, and as many in taile. Moſt huge Dragons and poiſonſome are often ſeene.*

What people inhabit Africke.

FIve ſeverall Nations inhabit this part of the World, *(viz.)* the *Caſeres*, that is, people without Law: the *Moores*, the *Abaſſines*, the *Ægyptians*, the *Arabians*, and the *Africans*; whereof ſome are white and ſome blacke. In Religion ſome are likewiſe *Gentiles*, and worſhip Idols, ſome *Mahumetans*, ſome *Chriſtians*, and ſome *Iewes*. All which Nations ſome Writers will have derived from *Cham* the Sonne of *Noe*, excepting ſome certaine *Arabians* of the ſeed of *Sem*, which entred *Africke* after the reſidue. And theſe *Arabians* are diſtinguiſhed into many Families or Regiments, uſe diverſe and many habitations, and poſſeſſe as many Regions; ſome dwelling by the Sea-ſide (properly termed *Arabians*;) ſome in the Up-land, and they are called *Baduini*: Others in innumerable ſwarmes leade a roguiſh life with their Wives and Children in the Wilderneſſe, dwelling in Tents in ſtead of Houſes, altogether given to ſpoile, and alike infeſtuous to neighbour and traveller; which is the cauſe that the Inhabitants dare not travell alone, but ſtay the time of the Caravan; that is, the whole aſſembly of the Merchants, travelling upon Camels and Aſſes all in one company at a ſet time of the yeare, for feare of the theeviſh and roguiſh *Arabians*.

As the Nations are diverſe, ſo are their languages: the chiefe they call *Aquel amarig*, that is, the rob e Language; and of the *Arabians* inhabiting *Africa*, the *Barbarian* Language. And this is the true and proper Idiome of the *Afri*, utterly differing from the reſidue, ſave that it ſavoureth of many *Arabicke* words. The *Gnabets*, *Zombati*, *Ghinians*, the *Mellidi* and *Gagomi* uſe the *Sungai* Language. The *Gubarits*, *Canontes*, *Cheſewes*, and the other blacke-Moores uſe the *Guber* tongue. The *Abaſſines* have their proper ſpeech. Moreover, the *Chaldean*, *Ægyptian*, and *Arabian* tongues, with another compounded of all three, are in uſe in ſome places: and by the intercourſe of Merchants, many are accuſtomed

cuſtomed to ſpeake the *Mooriſh*, *Turkiſh*, *Spaniſh*, and *Italian* Languages. All the Sea-Townes, from the *Mediterran* to Mount *Atlas*, ſpeake the *Arabian* corruptly, except the Kingdome and Citie of *Marocco*, which wholly ſpeake the *Barbarian*.

The nobleſt part at this day is called Barbarie, *and containeth all that Sea-tract which reacheth from* Ægypt *to the* Gaditan *Sea, inhabited by the* Arabians, *and including divers Provinces. At firſt, it was under the Empire of the* Greekes; *ſecondly, under the* Vandals; *and laſtly, under the* Saracens *and* Arabians, *who left them their language. Some part thereof at this day is ſubject to the* Turke, *ſome to* Xeriffe, *and ſome to the King of* Spaine.

Their manners are not ſo much differing from thoſe of the Arabians, *but that they are ſomewhat more civill, ambitious, light, ſubtill, treacherous, wrathfull, boaſters, ſuſpitious, and exceeding jealous. They are very active and readie Horſemen, but not able to indure labour.*

Barbarie.

BARBARIE is divided into foure Kingdomes, *Marocco*, *Fez*, *Teleſine*, and *Tunes*. *Sanutus* addeth a fifth (*viz.*) *Barca*. Into what, and how many Shires or Provinces theſe portions are divided, let him reade *Leo Afer* that deſireth the particulars.

Numidia is the ſecond part of *Africke*, and is termed by *Leo Afer Biledulgerid*, that is, the *Almond*-Countrey. But it is of leſſe eſtimation than the reſidue, and therefore injoyeth not the Title of a Kingdome. It was once diſinhabited, as was *Barbarie*, and at this day the Townes are but ſmall, baſe, ſcattering, and very farre diſtant one from another. Thoſe places that they manure, lye beyond *Atlas*, and are hot and drie; but being watered with *Numidia.*

certaine ſtreams deſcending from the Mount, they yeeld Almonds in abundance, but ſcarcity of Corne, nor any fruitfull tree except the Palme. Thoſe grounds that border upon *Lybia*, are invironed with craggie Mountaines, deſtitute of water, and all manner of trees, except ſome fruitleſſe ſhrubs at the foot of the Hils. As for infinite ſtore of Scorpions and Serpents, it is ſo over-laid, that many are daily found dead by their venemous bitings. In old time they were idolatrous, and at this day little better, irreligious, ignorant, baſe, treacherous, man-killers and Theeves, utterly deſtitute of any civill knowledge, ſave that ſome few of them addict themſelves to the ſtudie of the Lawes. The *Arabians* that live amongſt them love Poëſie, and are more civill, but very poore. They live long, but their teeth ſoone periſh with eating of Almonds, and their ſight faileth by the annoyance of the Sands. They know not the *French* diſeaſe; yea, if an infected perſon ſhould but come into the Countrey, it were Phyſicke enough to cleare him. Their chiefe food is Barley, Almonds, and other moſt courſe food; as for Bread, they never taſte it but on Feſtivals. And that Corne which they have, they exchange for Almonds.

Lybia.

Lybia, the third part of *Africke*, was once called *Sarra*; that is, deſart; and ſo it is, a Deſart, drie and ſandy countrie, utterly bereaved of Springs and Rivers, unfruitfull, and thoſe which they have, they keepe in ſtanding pooles, and thoſe alſo but rare and ſalt. So that the Merchants, which are to travell over thoſe Countries, muſt provide carriage for water; otherwiſe man and beaſt might periſh, as not poſſible to finde one drop in ſix or ſeven dayes journey. By this Region lyeth the way from *Fez* to *Tombut*, and from *Teleſint* to *Agadas*, a countrie of the *Moores*. Not paſt one hundred yeares ſince, they that were to travell from *Fez* to *Cairo*, were accuſtomed to travell by theſe Deſarts; but upon the riſing of the South-wind, the Wells (although intrenched with

with skins and bones of Camels) were ſo overwhelmed with ſands, that the Merchants not able to finde either ſigne or token of way or water, have periſhed in the journey through extreme thirſt.

Some Riveletsthey have deſcending out of *Atlas*, and ſtanding in manner of Lakes, as the Lakes of *Gir*, and *Ighidi Gheogan*, to the great comfort of Travellers, and preſervation of the Inhabitants.

They live without any forme of Law, in manner of bruit beaſts, leading a miſerable life. What learning meaneth they know not, and vertue they abſolutely defie. They are altogether addicted to hunting, notorious theeves, and moſt dangerous to Merchants: Yet there live amongſt them many *Africans* and *Arabians*, civill and courteous entertainers of ſtrangers, and true of their words. In compariſon of the other *Africans*, they live but a ſhort time, the ſtrongeſt bodies not exceeding the yeares of ſixtie.

Yet for the time they are very healthfull, ſlender, and leane of bodie, riding upon Camels, and feed very ſparingly, as alſo very patient of thirſt and hunger. Bread they know not, but live upon Milke, Camels fleſh and butter. Their clothing is a ſhort rayment and rude, ſcarce covering their middle. Some of them cover their heads with blacke cloth, in faſhion of a Turbant. Their Nobilitie goeth attired in a kinde of long garment like a ſhirt, made of blew Cotton-wooll, with large ſleeves. In ſtead of beds they uſe the greene bankes, or Mats wrought of Bulruſhes. Their Tents are either wrought of Chamblet, or of a courſe kinde of Wooll, which they finde amongſt the Date-trees.

The Land of Negroes *or* Æthiopia.

THis Region taketh his name either from the colour of the Inhabitants, or from the River *Niger*. Some Writers affirme that (excepting *Ægypt*) this Country was firſt inhabited, and yet at this day is ſcarcely knowne, although in latitude it containeth very neere foure hundred miles. By

reason of its situation neere the *Torrid Zone* it is extreme hot, yet not altogether uninhabited; Yea, it is most full of Inhabitants, and in some places alwayes Spring-time. On this side the Riuer *Canaga*, which is the bounder of these blacke people, the Countrey is most drie, sandie and desart, but beyond for the most part fruitful, by reason of their continuall letting of water from the River *Niger*, running thorow the middest of the Countrey: Whereby all the grounds which lye neere thereunto, or such as participate of this water, are exceeding fruitfull; both in Graine, Cattell, Scarletdie, Cucumbers, Onions, and such like sawces. But they have no trees, save one which bringeth forth fruit not much unlike a Chest-nut, but somewhat bitterer. About the banks of *Niger* there are no Mountaines nor Valleyes, but many Woods stored with Elephants, and other strange creatures, watered with many Lakes and Mists, compacted with the over-flowings of *Niger*. Here raine neither profiteth nor damnifieth, but in the over-flowing of *Niger* consisteth welfare, even as it doth in *Egypt* by the inundation of *Nilus*. For even as *Nilus*, so this forty dayes (from the five and twentieth of *June*) increaseth, and in so many againe falleth, so that during those fourescore dayes, they saile over the whole Land in Boats and Barges.

The Inhabitants derived their originall from *Chus*, the son of *Cham*, the son of *Noe*, whom at the first they worshipped as Lord of Heaven. Afterward they received the Jewish Lawes, and persevered therein many yeares, untill they received the Christian faith. But sithence the *Mahumetan* superstition impoisoned the whole confines of *Lybia*, they likewise turned, excepting some few Provinces, which to this day observe the Christian Rites. Towards the Ocean Sea they are all Idolaters and Gentiles. Generally they all lead a brutish life, farre different from the instinct of reason, from imployment of wit, and manuary Sciences. They are exceeding luxurious, by reason whereof the Countrey swarmeth with Whores. But they that inhabit the good Townes are a great deale more neat and civill than these other *Africans*;

cans; They live not long, yet retaine they their wonted vigour, and the ſoundneſſe of their teeth to their laſt gaſpe.

The Countrey was once divided into five and twentie Kingdomes, now reduced to three; that is to ſay, the Kingdome of *Tombut*, the Kingdome of *Borneo*, and the Kingdome of *Gaoga*. Beſides *Gualata* hath its proper King.

Gualata is diſtant from the Ocean an hundred miles, it is very ſmall, and containeth but three Boroughs, with ſome Territory of ground, Hamlets, and Date-bearing fields thereunto adjacent. The Inhabitants are moſt blacke, lovers of Strangers, exceeding poore, without any government, Gentrie or Judges. *Gualata.*

Tombut taketh his name of a Citie ſo called, and lyeth beyond the River *Canaga*. It is exceeding plentifull of Corne, Cattell, Milke, and Butter. Salt they have none, but buy it at a deare rate at the hands of Merchants. Of Horſe they have infinite ſtore. The King thereof is very rich, as a Prince raigning over many other kingdomes, and is Lord of ſome Ingots which weigh thirteene hundred pound weight. *Tombut.*

He keepeth a royall Court, guarded with three thouſand Horſe-men, and many more foot, armed with Bowes and impoyſoned Arrowes. Hee is an utter enemie to the Jewes, and doth not only forbid them his Kingdome, but likewiſe confiſcateth thoſe his ſubjects goods, of whom he underſtandeth that they uſe any Trafficke with any of that Nation. He maintaineth a great number of learned men. The buildings of his imperiall Citie, are built of mud and thatch, except one faire Temple, and the Kings Palace, which are wrought of ſtone and Lime. Sweet Springs are every where to be found in this Countrey: and the people are courteous, and merry, ſpending the third part of their time in ſongs and dancing. They are very rich, and eſpecially the Stranger. Infinite ſorts of Manuſcripts are brought hither from *Barbarie*, which are here ſold at very high rates.

Gago is the name of the chiefe City where the King reſideth. It is very large, without Wals, and diſtant foure hundred miles from *Tombut*. The buildings are very baſe, ex- *Gago.*

cept thoſe which pertaine to the King and the Nobility. Freſh water is here very frequent, with plenty of Corne, Rice, and Fleſh; but of fruits, except the Melon & the Citron, great ſcarcity. The Merchants are very rich, and their wares ſumptuous and precious, but exceſſive deare.

Borneo. *Borneo* is a large Countrey, hath upon the Weſt *Guangara*, and towards the Eaſt it reacheth almoſt five hundred miles. In ſome places it is plaine, in ſome mountainous. The plaine Countrey is repleniſhed with many Market Townes, from whence commeth great ſtore of Corne. The Mountaines are inhabited with Neat-herds, and Sheep-herds, and bring forth Mill, and other fruits to us unknowne. The Inhabitants are Infidels, living like beaſts, neither knowing their proper wives, nor their owne Children. They have no names at all, but are diſtinguiſhed by bodily accidents. The King is a mighty Prince, as maintaining three thouſand Horſe, and infinite troops of foot, but hath no other Revenue than what he taketh by force from his Enemies.

Gaoga. *Gaoga* lieth betweene the Kingdome of *Borneo*, and the deſarts of *Nubia*, ſtretched out five hundred miles in length and breadth. The Inhabitants are uncivill, ignorant, and moſt rude, eſpecially the Mountainers. They goe naked all ſave their privities. Their houſes are built of boughs and leaves, having great flocks of Cattell, which they preſerve with much care.

Theſe are the chiefe, the reſidue are not worth the reading; for nothing can be ſpoken unto, but their barrenneſſe or fertility; their poverty or riches; bleſſings and curſes, peculiar more or leſſe to every of theſe Nations.

The Xeriffe.

AMongst all the Potentates of *Africke*, I doe not thinke that there can any one be found to excell this Prince either in wealth or power. His Dominion containeth all that tract of *Mauritania*, which the *Romans* called *Tingitana*, and ſtretcheth from the promontorie *Bayadir* or *Tanger*, and from the *Atlantike* Ocean to the River *Mulvia*. In which progreſſe is contained the beſt portion of all *Africke*, the beſt inhabited, the pleaſanteſt, the fruitfulleſt, and moſt civill. Herein amongſt others are the famous Kingdomes of *Fez* and *Marocho*, the one divided into ſeven Provinces, the other into eight. The Countrey is divided into Plaines and Mountaines: the Mountaines are inhabited with a fierce people, rich in paſtures and Cattell, and poſſeſſing a great part of the leſſe and bigger *Atlas*. Betweene the greater *Atlas* and the Ocean lieth the Plaine Countrey, and therein the Royall Citie of *Marocho*, diſtant foureteene miles from *Atlas*, watered with many Springs, Brookes, and Rivers. In times paſt this City contained one hundred thouſand houſholds, and was the chiefeſt of *Africke*; but by little and little it is decayed, and now lieth more waſte than inhabited. In the Kingdome of *Marocho*, beſides others, is *Tedſi*, a Towne of five thouſand houſholds, and *Tagoaſt* of eight thouſand. *Taradent* giveth place to none for Nobleneſſe and traffike, though for largeneſſe and circuit. It is ſituated betweene *Atlas* and the Ocean, in a plaine ſixteene miles long, and little leſſe broad, abounding with Sugar and all kinde of proviſion. The good regard and continuall abode which *Mahumet Xeriffe* made in this place, did greatly augment & ennobliſh this Towne. Being paſt *Atlas*, you enter into moſt batle plaines, wherein how fruitfull the ſoile is of Sugar, Olives, Cattell, and all good things, can hardly be ſpoken.

Fez.

Fez.

THe Kingdome of *Fez* likewiſe containeth divers Provinces excellent well peopled. Amongſt them is *Alga*, a territory of eightie miles long, and ſixty broad: *Elabut* is an hundred miles long, and ſixty broad. *Eriffe* is a Province wholly mountainous: therein are ſaid to bee three and twenty branches of the Mount *Atlas*, inhabited for the moſt part with ſavage and barbarous people. *Caret* is drie and rockie, more like *Lybia* than *Barbarie*.

Now becauſe the glory and Majeſty of this Kingdome conſiſteth eſpecially in the City of *Fez*; I thinke it not amiſſe to deſcribe the ſituation thereof. It is divided in two parts, a little diſtant one from another, the one is called the old Town, the other the new. A little River likewiſe divideth the old Towne into two parts: the Eaſt part is called *Beleyda*, containing foure thouſand houſholds: the Weſt part is commonly called old *Fez*, and hath foureſcore thouſand and upward, ſtanding not farre from the new *Fez*, which likewiſe hath eight thouſand. Old *Fez* ſtandeth partly upon hils, partly on plaines, and hath in it fifty Mahumetan Temples of admirable largeneſſe. All of them have their fountaines and pillars of Alablaſter and Jaſper: Beſides theſe, there are ſix hundred of a leſſe ſort: amongſt which that which is commonly called *Carucen* is moſt beautifull, built in the heart of the City, and containing halfe a mile in compaſſe: In breadth it containeth ſeventeene Arches, in length an hundred and twenty, borne up by two thouſand five hundred white marble pillars: under the chiefeſt Arch (where the Tribunall is kept) hangeth a moſt huge Lampe, incompaſſed with an hundred and ten leſſer. Under the other Arches hang very great Lamps, in each of which burne an hundred and fifty lights. They ſay in *Fez* that all theſe

Lamps

Lamps were made of the Bels which the *Arabians* brought out of *Spaine*, who not onely made prey of Bels, but of Columnes, Pillars, Brasse, Marble, and whatsoever was rich, first erected by the *Romans*, and afterwards by the *Gothes*. There are in *Fez* above two hundred Schooles, two hundred Innes, and foure hundred Water-mils, every one driven with foure or five wheeles. There are also divers Colleges, among which that which is called *Madarac*, is accounted for one of the most fineſt peeces of workmanship throughout all *Barbarie*. There is likewise 600. Conduits, from whence almost every house is served with water. It were a long labour to describe their *Burse*, (they call it *Alcacer*) it is a place walled about, having twelve gates, and divided into fifteene walkes, where Merchants meet to dispatch their businesse under Tents. Their delightsome Gardens and pleasant Parkes, with the Rillets and waters running thorow them, I can hardly describe.

For the most part the King keepeth his Court at *Fez*, wherein he hath a Castle, Palaces and Houses adorned with rare workmanship, rich and beautifull even to his hearts desire. He hath a way under ground from the old Towne to the new. King's Court.

For greatnesse and statelinesse thereof (by the grant of former Kings) it injoyeth this strange privilege; not to indure any siege, unlesse the Citizens shall thinke their Prince for strength and force able and equall to cope with his Enemy: if not, without reproach of treason they may yeeld their City before the enemie approach within halfe a mile of it. This have they done, that so goodly and so flourishing a City should not suffer spoile under pretext of unprofitable temporizing. Its privileges.

It is of no lesse moment for situation, store of Corne, Oyle, Flax, and Cattell, than for pleasantnesse of territory, and plenty of Water. The Wals are very strong, and defended with many Bulwarkes. The Inhabitants are very thriftie, given to traffike, and especially to the making of Cloths of Wooll, Silke, and Cotten. The Kings eldest sonne is called Plentie.

led the Prince of *Mequivez*. Though the Kingdome have no good Havens upon the *Mediterranean* Sea, yet great store of *Englishmen* and *Frenchmen* resort to *Alarach*, *Aguer*, and other Ports in the Ocean, whereof some belong to the Kingdome of *Fez*, and other to the Kingdome of *Marocho*. They carrie thither armor, and other wares of *Europe*, which they barter for Sugar and other commodities. But how the Kingdomes of *Fez* and *Marochò* (two severall principalities) with their dependances, became subject to one Crowne, I thinke it worthy relation, because a more strange and memorable accident hath not happened in our age. About the yeare 1508. a certaine *Alfaique* borne in *Tigumedet* in the Province of *Dura*, begamne to grow in reputation, a man of a reaching wit, and no lesse ambitious than learned in the Mathematickes: his name was *Mahumet Ben-Amet*, otherwise called *Xeriffe*, by his owne commandement. This man deriving his pedigree from *Mahumet*, and emboldned by the civill warre of *Africke*, and the differences of the States and Common-weales thereof (wherein in those daies the *Portugals* were of no small puissance) began to dreame on the conquest of *Mauritania Tingitana*. Which the better to effect, he first sent his three sonnes *Abdel*, *Abnet*, and *Mahumet* on pilgrimage to *Meca* and *Medina*, to visit and worship the Sepulcher of their great Prophet *Mahumet*. The young men returned from their pilgrimage, with such opinion and estimation of holinesse and Religion, (if it bee lawfull to use these termes to so great impiety and foppe-rie) that the Inhabitants as they travelled could hardly be kept from kissing their garments, and adoring them as Saints.

They againe, as men wrapt in deepe contemplation, journied through the Provinces sighing and sobbing, and crying with a high voice, *Ala*, *Ala*. They had no other sustenance but the almes of the people. Their father received them with great joy and contentment, and perceiving the favour and opinion of the people not to bee like a nine dayes wonder, but to continue fresh and the same as at the first, resolved to make

make uſe thereof, and thereupon ſent two of them, *Abnet* and *Mahumet* to the Court at *Fez*. The King received them kindly, and made one of them Preſident of the famous College of *Amadorae*, and the younger Tutor of his Children. In proceſſe of time when they perceived the King to grace them, and the people to favour them, by the Counſell of their father, (taking occaſion of the grievances which the *Arabians* and *Moores*, ſerving under the *Portugall* Enſignes, had done to the profeſſors of their ſuperſtition) they deſired leave of the King to diſplay a Banner againſt the Chriſtians, making him beleeve that they would eaſily draw the *Portugal Moores* to their partie, and ſo ſecure the Provinces of *Sus*, *Hea*, *Deucala*, and *Maroch*. *Muly mazer* the Kings brother reſiſted this petition, alleaging that if once under the ſhew of holineſſe they grew to head, it would not afterwards lie in his power to ſuppreſſe them under his obedience: For warre makes men awleſſe; victories inſolent; popularity ambitious and ſtudious of innovation. But the King, in whoſe heart their hypocriticall ſanctimony had taken a deepe impreſſion, little regarding his brothers counſell, gaue them a Banner, a Drumme, and twenty horſemen to accompanie them, with Letters of credence to the Princes of *Arabie*, and Cities of *Barbarie*. In theſe beginnings many things falling out to their honour and good liking, they beganne to make incurſions into *Deucala*, and the Countrey of *Saſi*, ranging as farre as the promontory *Aguer*, then under the government of the *Portugals*: and perceiving themſelves to be favoured, ſtrong, and well followed, urged the people (who for the moſt part in thoſe dayes lived in liberty) to aid thoſe, which fought for their Law and Religion againſt the Chriſtians, as likewiſe with willing mindes to give God his tithes, which they obtained of the people of *Dara*. Then by little and little they incroached upon the territory of *Taradant*, (of which they made their Father Governour) and invaded *Sus*, *Hia*, *Deucala*, and the neighbouring places. They firſt ſeated themſelves in *Tedneſt*, and after in *Teſarot*. In their next journey

(but

(but with the losse of their Brother) they defeated *Lopes Barriga*, a great Warriour, and Captaine generall of the *Portugall* Armie. By flattering speeches they entred *Marocho*, poisoned the King, and proclaimed *Amet-Xeriffe* King of the Country. After this hapned the warre of the *Arabians*, of *Deucala*, and *Xarquia*, with the *Arabians* of *Garbi*, where while each party weakned other, and either promised to himselfe the favour and assistance of the *Xeriffes*: they turned their armes upon both factions, and carried rich preyes from both Nations. Before this warre they sent unto the King the fifth part of all their spoiles, but after this victory, little regarding their Soveraigne, they sent him onely six Horses, and six Camels, and those very leane and ill shapen. Which the King disdaining, sent to demand his fifths, and also the Tribute which the Kings of *Marocho* were accustomed to pay to him; which if they denied, hee vowed revenge with fire and sword. In the meane time the King died, and *Amet* his Sonne, once the pupill of the younger *Xeriffe*, not onely allowed, but also confirmed *Amet* in the Kingdome of *Marocho*; upon condition that in some things he should acknowledge the King of *Fez* to be his Lord paramount. To this the *Xeriffes* (whose power and estimation daily increased) when the day of paiment of the tribute came, willed the messenger to say unto his Master, that they were the lawfull successors of *Mahumet*, and therefore that they were bound to pay tribute to no Man; yea, that they had more right to *Africke* than he had: but if he would reckon them in the number of his friends, no doubt but it would turne to his good and honour, for if hee diverted them from the warre of the Christians, they would not leave him so much as a heart to defend himselfe.

The King taking this in ill part proclaimed warre against them, and besieged *Marocho*, but for that time was constrained to dislodge. Afterward returning with eighteene thousand Horse-men, and two thousand Harquebusiers to renew the siege; assoone as he had past the River, hee was overcome of the *Xeriffs*, who led an Armie of seven thousand

sand Horse, and one thousand two hundred shot. In the pride of this victory they exacted Tribute of this Province, and passing *Atlas* they tooke the famous City *Tasilet*, and partly by love, and partly by force compelled divers people of *Numidia* and the Mountaines to beare the yoke of their subjection. In the yeare 1536. the younger *Xeriffe*, which called himselfe King of *Sus*, gathering together a mighty Armie, with great store of Artillery, part whereof hee tooke from the King of *Fez*, and part whereof were cast by certaine Renegada *Frenchmen*, made a journey to *Cape Aguer*.

This place is of great consequence, and possessed by the *Portugals*, who built it and fortified it, first at the expences of *Lopes Sequiera*, and then at the charges of King *Emanuel*, after he understood of the commodious situation thereof. It was fiercely assaulted, and as valiantly defended, untill the fire beganne to take hold upon the Bulwarke, where their Gun-powder was stowed; with which misfortune the companies appointed for the defence of that quarter, growing fearefull and faint-hearted, gave way for the *Xeriffe* to enter, who made slaves of the greatest part of the defendants. After which victory, they subdued almost all *Atlas*, the Kingdome of *Marocho*, and the *Arabians* which were vassals to the Crowne of *Portugal*; the residue, as *Safi*, *Azamor*, *Arzil*, and *Alcazar* (places situated upon the Sea-coast of *Mauritania*) King *John* the third perceiving the profit not to equalize the charge, voluntarily resigned.

These prosperous beginnings brought forth sowre ends; for the Brethren falling at discord, twice put their fortunes upon the hazard of a battell, twice the younger overcame the elder, tooke him, and cast him into prison in the City *Tasilet*. Then turned he his Arms against the King of *Fez*, tooke him prisoner, and restored him to his liberty: but taking him againe, for breach of Covenants, deprived him and his Son of life and Kingdome. By the valour of his Sonnes, he tooke the City *Tremissen*. But *Sal Aries*, Vice-Roy of *Algier*, being jealous of these good fortunes, gathered a puissant host,

recovered

recovered *Tremiſſen*, put the *Xeriffe* to flight, tooke *Fez*, and beſtowed it with the Territory upon the Lord of *Velez*, who afterward in a battell against the *Xeriffe*, loſt both life and Kingdome. At laſt, in his journey to *Taradant*, by the ſubordination of the Vice-Roy of *Algier*, he was murdered in his Tent by certaine *Turkes*, who with their Captaine *Aſſen* comming to *Taradant*, rifled the Kings Treaſures, but were all ſlaine (except five) by the Inhabitants in their journey homewards. This came to paſſe 1557. when *Muley Abdala* the *Xeriffes* ſonne, was proclaimed King.

Let this ſuffice for the originall of the *Xeriffe*: now let vs ſee how theſe riſings were like the fortunes of *Iſmael* King of *Perſia*. Both of them in ſmall time conquered many Provinces: both grew great by the ruine of their Neighbours: both ſuffered croſſes by the armes of the *Turkes*, and to them loſt part of their Dominions. *Selim* tooke from *Iſmael Caramit*, and divers other Cities of *Meſopotamia*. The Vice-Roy of *Algier* drove the *Xeriffe* from *Tremiſſen* and the adjacent Territory. *Selim* won *Tauris*, the chiefe ſeat of *Perſia*, and then gave it over; *Sal Aries* tooke *Fez*, the head City of *Mauritania*, and left it.

His manner of government.

This Potentate is abſolute Lord of the bodies and goods of his Subjects; whatſoever impoſition he layeth on them, they repine not thereat. For Tribute hee taketh the tenth, and the firſt fruits of their fruits and cattell: yet is it moſt true, that for firſt fruits he taketh not above one in twenty: and though it exceed that number, even to one hundred, yet he never taketh above two. Of every Acre of Land he taketh a ducat and the fifth part, and ſo much of every houſhold, and ſo of every pole male and female above fifteene yeares of age yearely. If he want, he taketh a greater ſumme. To make the people more willing to pay what is impoſed, he alwaies demandeth more than is paid, that ſo by paying their due, they may thinke they are well dealt withall, in ſeeming to be forgiven ſomewhat of his full demand. The Inhabitants of the Mountaines, a ſavage people, for the difficult acceſſe unto them, hee cannot inforce to pay tribute, but

those

those that manure the plaines, hee constraineth to give the tenth of their harvest.

Besides these Revenues, he taketh Toll and Custome of all kindes of Merchandize in Cities: inward, of a citizen two in the hundred, of a stranger ten. His rent of Mils is a great matter; for upon every Asse load of Graine grinded in *Fez*, he taketh halfe a reall: in this Towne there are above foure hundred Mils. The Church of *Carruven* was indowed with 80000. Ducats of yearely Revenue, the Colleges and Monasteries of *Fez* with much more, which now are escheated into the Kings Coffers. Moreover he is heire to all the Judges (whom they call *Alcaids*) and hath the bestowing of all their Offices. When they die he seizeth upon all their Horses, Armour, Apparell, and all their other Chattels. If the intestate leave Children behind him fit for the warre, he bestoweth his Fathers annuitie upon them: if they be Sons and young, he nurseth them till they come to full yeares; if Daughters, he maintaineth them till they finde husbands. To be fingring the wealth of the richer sort, he hath some Office of Lieutenantship with an annuitie to sell them: but commonly to prevent those sales, they will not be knowne of their abilities, removing their aboads farre from the Court and Kings sight, which is the cause that the City of *Fez* is much fallen from the ancient splendour. Revenues.

Hee hath no Castles or peeces well fortified, but onely *Aguer*, *Larach*, (lately taken) and *Tituan* upon the Sea side. His chiefest confidence is in the valour of his Souldiers, especially his Horse-men, like the *Turke* and *Persian*. In this regard he taketh no great care to furnish himselfe with Ordnance, yet hath he great store thereof in *Fez*, *Marocho*, *Taradant*, and in the aforesaid haven Townes taken from the *Portugals* and others. As he seeth occasion he causeth new to be cast, for which service he can want no workmen out of *Europe*. In *Marocho* he hath an Arsenall, wherein he layeth up monethly at least forty six Quintals of Gun-powder: Here he causeth his Harquebushes and Bowes likewise to be made. In the yeare 1569. by fire which hapned among Forces.

the Gun-powder houſes, the greateſt part of the City was very much defaced.

His ſouldiery is of divers ſorts: the firſt conſiſteth of 2700. Horſemen, and 2000. Harquebuſhers, part lying in Garriſon in *Fez*, and part in *Marocho*, where alſo lyeth the Court. The ſecond conſiſteth (as a man may ſay) of a royall troope of 6000. horſe, all Gentlemen Penſioners, and of great reputation. Theſe ride upon brave Horſes, with rich Capariſons, their Armes and Furniture ſhining with Gold, Silver, Stones, and all things elſe, which for variety of colours, or rich devices, may delight the eye with a gallant ſhew, or feed the humour of the curious beholder. To theſe ſervitors, beſides their allowance of Corne, Provender, Butter, and Fleſh for themſelves, their Wives, Children, and Servants, they receive yearely from ſeventy, to one hundred ounces of Silver. The third ſort are a kinde of *Timariots*: for the *Xeriffe* doth allot a certaine portion of Land and Tenants to his Sonnes, Brethren, and Men of quality amongſt the people of *Africke* and *Arabia*, for the maintenance of their degrees. Thoſe whom they terme *Alcaids*, looke to the manuring of the fields, gather the rents of Corne, Rice, Oats, Oyle, Butter, Fleſh, Poultry, and Mony, and diſtribute it monthly amongſt the Souldiers, to every man according to his place. They likewiſe give them Linnen, Woollen, and Silke for their Garments: Armour and Horſes for ſervice. If their horſes chance to be ſlaine, they give them new: ſo did the *Romans* to thoſe which ſerved on the horſes of the State. The Commanders of theſe troops are very carefull to ſee their ſouldiers in heart and full of life, excellent well armed and competently attired. They receive betweene foure and twenty and thirty ounces of Silver yearely. The fourth ſort make the *Arabians*, who commonly live in Tents, divided by 120. under their ſeverall Leaders, to bee alwaies ready upon all occaſions. They ſerve on Horſebacke, but more like Theeves and Out-lawes than Souldiers. The fifth ſort is like the preſſe of the Chriſtian Common-weales. Theſe companies conſiſt of Citizens, Villagers, and

and Mountaine-people. Of theſe men the King maketh no reckoning, neither doth he willingly arme them, for feare of ſedition and innovation, unleſſe it be to war upon the Chriſtians, wherein he cannot forbid them to ſerve. For upon remembrance of the ſlaughter of the *Moors* by the Chriſtians, ſpoken of in their Mahumeticall Legend, the more Chriſtians they ſlay, the eaſier they thinke ſhall be their paſſage to Heaven: Hereupon you ſhall ſee herds of people running to this warre, deſiring there to die upon hope of meriting ſalvation by the ſlaughter of our people. The ſame fury (be it ſpoken to our ſhame) inrageth the *Turkes:* eſpecially for the propagation of their hereſies, you ſhall ſee them more liker people running to the celebration of a mariage-feaſt, than to a war-journey; hardly induring to ſtay the limited time of the *Randevon.* They account them Saints which die with their weapons in their hands, and thoſe moſt unhappie which depart this world amongſt the teares of their children, and the mournings of their wives.

By this, it may ſufficiently appeare what forces the *Xeriffe* is able to bring to the field, but examples will make it more cleare. *Muley Abdala* beleagred *Magazan* with two hundred thouſand men: He filled the ditch with a mount made of earth, and with his Ordnance beat the wall levell with the ground; but by the proweſſe of the *Portugal,* and fury of their Miners, he was forced to raiſe his ſiege and depart. It is certaine, he is not able to hold any warre above three months, becauſe the ſouldier liveth upon his daily allowance of Diet and Apparell: and when ſuch like proviſions cannot be conveyed to the place of neceſſitie, without great labour and hazard, it commeth oftentimes to paſſe, that for want of proviſion the armie is conſtrained to breake and retire. *Molucco* King of *Fez,* who defeated *Sebaſtian,* had under his ſtandard forty thouſand Horſe-men, and eight thouſand hired foot-men; and with the *Arabians* and other common ſouldiers, it is thought that hee is able to levie ſeventie thouſand horſe, and a farre greater number of foot.

The Higher Æthiopia, or the Empire of Presbyter Iohn.

Lirſchotten is of opinion, that *Prester Iohn* is but a ſuppoſed name. The *Moores* terme him *Aſiclabaſſi*; his owne Subjects, *Acegune*, prime Emperour, and *Negus*, chiefeſt King. He ſaith, his true denomination is *Bel-gian*. *Bel* (as afore) ſignifieth higheſt, and *Gian* Lord: which is alſo proper to many Commanders and Governours under him: but *Bel-gian* to none, ſave the Emperour himſelfe; whereunto he addeth the Sir-name of *David*, in the ſame ſenſe as the Chriſtian Emperours aſſume the Titles of *Cæſar*, or *Auguſtus*; and worthily: For he is the greateſt and powerfulleſt Prince in all *Africke*. His Dominions begin at the entrance of the Red-ſea, and ſtretch to the entrance of the Iſland of *Siene* (lying under the tropicke of *Cancer*) excepting ſome part of the Coaſt upon the ſame Sea, which the *Turke* within theſe foureſcore yeares hath taken from him. So that his government towards the North-weſt and Eaſt, lyeth moſt part by the Red-ſea, and North-eaſt upon *Ægypt*, and the deſarts of *Nubia*: and upon the South-ſide upon *Monemugi*; So that to ſet downe the greatneſſe of all the Countries which this Chriſtian King hath under his command, were to ſay, that in compaſſe they containe foure thouſand *Italian* miles.

Ioſephus affirmeth, that in ancient times they were called *Chuſai*, of *Chus* the ſonne of *Cham*; And at this day ſome hold that the *Portugals* terme them *Cuſſios*. But in the *Ægyptian* tongue they are ſtiled *Abeſſini*, by reaſon of their ſcattering habitation. The Countrey, by report of late Travellers, is moſt fertill: For admit it yeeld Wheat in ſcarcitie, yet aboundeth it in Barley, Millet, Peaſe, Beanes, and ſuch like Pulſe, as we neither know nor can name. And although

though the Soveraigntie of this Prince be very magnificent, powerfull, and ſpacious; yet in truth doth it nothing anſwer the fame and report of the vulgar. *Horatius Malaguccius* in his diſcourſe *De amplitudine dominiorum hujus temporis*, maintaineth it to be larger than the Empire of any other Potentate, except that of the King of *Spaine*. Truly I muſt needs ſay, that in elder age, by the number of his Titles, it may be conjectured, that his Dominions did ſtretch farre: for he did intitle himſelfe King of *Goiam*, (which is beyond *Nilus*) *Vangue* and *Damur*; places ſituated beyond the River *Zair*, whereas at this day, he hardly commeth neere the bankes of either River: yea, *Iohn Baroz* writeth, that the *Abeſſines*, by reaſon of the Mountaines betweene them and *Nilus*, have little or no knowledge of that River.

It is divided into vaſt Plaines, fertill Hillocks and Mountaines, though wonderous high yet fit for tillage, and full of habitation. It is not very well ſtored with Wheat, but it bringeth forth Barley, Millet, a certain other Graine wholeſome and indurable, *Indian* Wheat, and all other kinde of Pulſe (as well knowne as unknowne to us) in very plentifull manner. They have Vines, but make no Wines, unleſſe it be in the Kings Court, or the Patriarchs Palace, in ſtead whereof they brew a kinde of ſharpe Beverage, made of the fruit of *Tamerind*. The Orange, Limon and Cedar tree grow wilde. They make Oyle of a certaine fruit which they call *Zava*, it is of a good colour, but unſavoury. The Bees build their Hives even in their houſes, whereupon ariſeth a great quantitie of Wax and Honey. Their garments are woven of a Cotton-wooll. The richer ſort are clothed in ſheep-skins; the Gentlemen in caſes of Lions, Tygers and Linces. Their riches conſiſt in heards of Oxen, Goats, Sheepe, Mules, Aſſes and Camels. Of horſes their breed is ſmall, but they have great ſtore of goodly Courſers brought them from *Arabia* and *Ægypt*. They have Hens, Geeſe, wilde-ſwine, Harts, Goats and Hares, but no Conies; yea, and ſuch Beaſts, of which we have not the like; as Panthers, Lions, Elephants and Linces. To ſpeake in a word: there is no Countrie un- Fertilitie.

der heaven fitter for increaſe of Plants, and all living creatures; but none leſſe helpt by art or induſtry, for the Inhabitants are idle and unthriftie. They have Flax, but make no cloth, they have Sugar-canes and Iron-mines, but know not the uſe of either, and as for Smiths they feare them as fiends. They have Rivers and ſtreames, yet will not they take paines in droughts to cut the bankes to water their Tillage, or hearten their grounds. Few give themſelves to hunting or fiſhing, which cauſeth their fields to ſwarme with fowle and veniſon, and their Rivers with fiſh. But it ſeemeth, that the true ground of their idleneſſe ariſeth from their evill uſage; for their poore people perceiving their Land-lords to pole and pill them, never ſow more than they needs muſt. They keepe no method in their ſpeeches, and to write a letter, many men (and that many dayes) muſt lay their wits together. At meales they neither uſe cloth, napkin nor tables. They are utterly ignorant in Phyſicke. The Gentlemen, Burgers, and Plebeians dwell apart, yet may any man riſe to honour by vertue and proweſſe. The firſt borne is heire to all, even to the uttermoſt farthing. Thorow the whole Land, there is not a Towne containing above ſixteene hundred houſholds, and but few of that quantity: For, for the moſt part they dwel diſperſed in ſmall Villages. They have no Caſtle or fortification, in imitation of the *Spartans*, maintaining that a Countrey ought to be defended by the Sword, and not by ſtrength of earth or ſtone. They barter one thing for another, and to make reckonings even, they ſupply the want with Corne and Salt. For Pepper, Frankincenſe, Myrrh and Salt, they give Gold, and that by weight, as for Silver it is in little requeſt. The greateſt concourſe of people is about the Kings Court, which never ſtayeth long in one place, but is ever in progreſſe, ſometime in one place, ſometime in another, and ever in the open fields, under Tents and Pavillions. It is ſaid to containe ten miles in circuit. His government is tyrannicall; for he intreateth his Vaſſals, rich and poore, more liker ſlaves than ſubjects: which to doe with the greater ſafetie, he carrieth himſelfe amongſt them with

with a holy and Saint-like adoration: for at his bare name they bow their bodies, and touch the earth with their hands. They reverence his Pavillion, yea though he be absent.

In old times they were accustomed to shew themselves to the people but once in three years, but since they are growne lesse Majesticall, shewing themselves thrice in one yeare; to wit, on *Christmas-day*, on *Easter-day*, and on *Holy-Rood-day*; yea and in these times, the Kings, which now reigne, are become more gracious. When any matter is committed in the Princes name to any man, hee is to attend his Commission starke naked to the middle. Being called to witnesse a matter in controversie, they hardly speake truth, unlesse they sweare by the life of the King. Hee giveth and taketh, to whom, and from whom he pleaseth, neither dare he, from whom he taketh, for his life make shew of a discontented countenance. He presenteth to holy Orders, and disposeth at his good pleasure of the goods of the Spiritualtie, as well as of the Laitie. In travelling, he rideth shadowed with red Curtaines, high and deepe, incompassing him round about. State.

He weareth on his head a Crowne, the one halfe wrought with Gold: and the other of Silver, in his hand he beareth a Silver Crucifix. He covereth his face with a peece of watchet Taffata, which more or lesse he lifteth up and putteth downe according as hee is minded to grace him with whom he talketh. Sometimes he sheweth his whole legge, lifting it without the hangings, then may no man approach but by degrees, and after many courtesies, and divers messages passing to and fro. No man hath vassals but the King, to whom once a yeare they doe homage, and protest obedience as subjects to their Liege Soveraigne. Hee derived his pedegree from *Milech* the sonne of *Salomon* and *Saba*. In the reigne of *Candaces*, they received the Christian Faith: and about that time, one *Gasparis* became famous in *Æthiopia*; from whom after thirteene generations, descended that *Iohn*, who first tooke upon him the Surname of *Sanctus*, and left it an hereditary Title to his house and successours.

This man having no issue of his body, about the time of

Constantine, gave the Kingdome to the eldest sonne of his brother *Caius*, and invested the younger (*Balthasar* and *Melchior*) the one with the Kingdome of *Fatigar*, the other with the Kingdome of *Goiam*; and so divided the bloud royall into three Families, the *Gaspars*, *Balthasars*, and *Melchiors*. To avoid sedition and innovation, hee made a Law, that the sonnes, brethren, and neerest kindred of the Emperour should be kept and shut up in the Castle of *Amara*, and that they should neither succeed in the Empire, nor enjoy any honourable estate, for which cause the Emperours ever since have seldome married. He manureth his Domaines with his owne slaves and Cattell; who by reason they are suffered to marrie, and their issues remaine in the same estate of villenage, as doe their Fathers; they increase to infinite multitudes. Every man that hath any inheritance doth likewise pay tribute, some Horses, some Oxen, others Gold, Cotton-wooll, or such like. It is thought that he is Lord of infinite Treasures, and to have store of houses full of Cloth, Jewels, and Gold. In his Letters to the King of *Portugal*, upon condition that he would wage war against the Infidels, he offered him a Million of Gold, and a Million of men, with provision according. He is reported to lay up yearely in the Castle of *Amara* three Millions of Gold. And true it is, that before the dayes of King *Alexander*, he did hoord up great store of Gold in rude and unwrought Masses; but no such quantity as is spoken, because they know not how to refine it. His Revenues are of three sorts: the first ariseth of his Crowne-land; the second of the Taxes of his people, who pay every man by house somewhat, besides the tenth of all that is digged out of their Mines: the third he levieth of the great Lords, and they give him the Revenue of any one of their Townes (which he will chuse,) so he chuse not that wherein themselves inhabit. And albeit the Prince be very rich, yet the people are idle and beggarly: partly because they are intreated as slaves, which usage taketh from any people that courage & alacritie of spirit which should be in men professing armes, and undergoing

Revenue.

undergoing dangers; and partly becauſe in reſpect of that baſe bond of ſervile fidelity, wherewith they are over-awed to his Majeſty, they perceive their hands are faſt bound, through feare whereof, they have no other weapon fit for ſervice, than a ruſty head-peece, a Scull or Curaſſe, which the *Portugals* have brought thither. So that having neither fortreſſe to flie unto, nor weapons to repulſe wrongs; their Villages and ſubſtance lie alwayes open to the prey and ſpoile of whoſoever will invade them. Their offenſive weapons are certaine darts, and arrowes without feathers. They obſerve a Lent of fifty dayes, which by reaſon of their true (or rather ſuperſtitious) abſtinence, doth bring their bodies ſo weake and low, that for many dayes after they are not able to gather ſtrength to move themſelves from one place to another. At which time the *Moores* watching opportunity, invading their Dominions, carry away men, women, and wealth. *Francis Alvarez* writeth, that he is able to bring into the field an hundred thouſand men: but experience hath manifeſted, that even in his extremities, his numbers were far inferior to that reckoning. He hath Knights of an order dedicated to the protection of S. *Anthony*. Every Gentleman Father of three ſons (except the eldeſt) is bound to give one to the ſervice of the King: out of theſe are choſen twelve thouſand Horſemen for the guard of his perſon. Their vow and oath is to defend the bounds of the Empire, and to fight againſt the enemies of the Chriſtian Faith.

Borderers. King of *Borno*.

He is fronted with three puiſſant neighbours: the King of *Borno*, the great *Turke*, and the King of *Adel*. The King of *Borno* is Lord of that Countrey, which from *Guangula* Eaſtward ſtretcheth about five hundred miles betweene the deſarts of *Seth* and *Barca*. In ſituation it is very uneven, ſometime mountainous, and ſometime plaine; the people indifferent civill, the Countrey reaſonably well inhabited, and in regard of plenty of victuall ſomewhat reſorted unto by Merchants. On the Mountaines dwell Neat-herds, and Sheep-herds, living for the moſt part upon Millet, leading a beſtiall life, without Religion, and accompanying with

one

one anothers Wives. They know no other names than such as are given them for some note or marke of their bodie, as Blinde, Lame, Tall, Bold, &c. This King is very puissant in people, of whom he exacteth no other tribute than the tenths of the increase of their liveli-hoods. For exercise, and in stead of occupations, they give themselves to steale, to slay their neighbours, and to take them prisoners, and then to barter them for Horses with the Merchants of *Barbarie*. He hath under him many Kingdomes and Nations, some white, some blacke. He is an heavie enemie to the *Abessines*, taking away their Cattell, rifling their Mines, and leading away the people in captivity. His Horsemen ride after the Spanish manner, armed with Launces, (steeled at both ends) Darts & Arrowes: but their inrodes resemble rather robberies and garboiles, than wars managed by valiant souldiers.

Turke. The *Turke* likewise on the East, and the King of *Adel* on the South-East, doe cruelly vex him; for they have curtal'd his large dominion, and brought his Provinces into great misery. In the yeare 1558. the *Turke* harried the whole Territory of *Bernagasso*, and tooke from *Prester Iohn* whatsoever he was Lord of upon the Sea-coast, especially the Haven and City of *Suaquen* and *Erococo*; in which place the mountaines betweene *Abex* and the Red-Sea, make a gate as it were for the traffike and carriages of the *Abessines* and *Arabians*. And since that *Bernagasso* was forced to submit himselfe to the Turkish commands, to buy his peace, and in name of a tribute to pay 1000 ounces of Gold yearely.

King of *Adel.* The King of *Adel* is his no lesse infestious enemie: he bordereth upon the Kingdome of *Fatigar*; and his Seigniory stretcheth along the Red-Sea as farre as *Assum*, *Salir*, *Mith*, *Barbora*, *Pidar*, and *Zeila*. Many ships come from *Aden* and *Cambaia* to *Barbora* with Merchandize, which they trucke for Flesh, Honey, Wax, and Victuall; these commodities are carried to *Aden*; Gold, Ivory, and such wares are sent to *Cambaia*; the greatest part of Victuall, Hony, Wax, Corne and Fruits brought from *Zeila*, are carried into *Aden* and *Arabia*, also much Cattell, especially Sheepe, having tailes

tailes of twenty five pound weight, with heads and necks all blacke, the reſt of their bodies all white. Of theſe Cattell there are ſome altogether white, with turning crooked tailes as long as a mans arme, and dew-laps like Oxen. Some of their Kine have hornes with many branches like our Deere: otherſome have one horne in their fore-head, growing backward, a ſpan and a halfe long. The chiefe City of this Kingdome is *Arar*, thirty eight leagues diſtant from *Zeila* towards the South-Eaſt. He profeſſeth Mahumetiſme, and ſince his converſion hee hath intituled himſelfe with the ſurname of *Holy*; avowing continuall warre againſt the *Abeſſine* Chriſtians; and therefore he watcheth the time of the foreſaid Faſt of fifty dayes, when he entreth their Territories, burneth their Villages, taketh priſoners, and then committeth a thouſand other miſchiefes.

The *Abeſſine* ſlaves doe often leave their Country, and take upon them great journies, putting themſelves in the ſervice of great Lords, where many times by their induſtry and good carriage they become high Commanders in *Arabia*, *Cambaia*, *Bengala*, and *Sumatra*. For the Mahumetan Princes being all Tyrants and Lords of thoſe Countries, which they have forced from the Gentiles, to ſecure their eſtates, doe never truſt to their home-bred ſubjects, but wage ſtrangers and ſlaves, unto whoſe fidelity they commit their perſons, & the managing of all the affaires of their Kingdomes. And amongſt all ſorts of ſlaves, the *Abeſſine* is in greateſt eſteeme for his faithfulneſſe and towardly diſpoſition. The King of *Adel* overlayeth *Ægypt* and *Arabia* with their ſlaves, which he changeth with the *Turks* and Princes of *Arabie*, for armour, proviſion of warre, and ſouldiers. In the yeare of our Lord 1500. *Claud* King of *Abex* perceiving himſelfe inferiour unto *Grand Ameda* King of *Adel*, (for he had vexed his Land fourteene yeares with incurſions) forſaking the frontiers, retired himſelfe into the inward parts of his Kingdome, intreating for aid of *Stephen Gama*, Vice-Roy of *India*, under *John* the third King of *Portugal*, who was then in the Red-Sea with a warlike Navie. In compaſſion of his miſeries and

The Slaves.

Religion,

Religion, he ſent him foure hundred *Portugal* ſhot, very well furniſhed, under the conduct of *Chriſtopher* his Brother. By the aid and uſe of their Artillery, he overthrew his Enemies in two battels: but the King of *Adel* obtaining of the Governour of the City of *Zebit* one thouſand Harquibuſhers, and ten peeces of Ordnance; in the third fight put the *Portugals* to flight, and ſlew their Captaine. Afterwards, when *Adel* had ſent away theſe *Turkes*, King *Claudius* ſet upon him at unawares by the River *Zeila*, at the Mountaine *Sana*, with eight thouſand footmen, five hundred *Abeſſine* horſemen, and the remainder of the living *Portugals*, one of whom gave *Grada-Amada* his deaths wound. But in *March* 1560. *Claudius* fighting with the *Moores* of *Malaca*, gaining the victory, was ſlaine in the battell. *Adam* his brother ſucceeded, againſt whom, being a *Demi-Mahumetan*, the greateſt part of the *Abeſſine* Nobility rebelled, and was overthrowne in the yeare 1562. by *Bernagaſſo*. By this caſualty did the *Æthiopian* affaires ebbe and flow; But in the reigne of *Alexander*, things beganne in ſome ſort to returne to their ancient State, by the aid of the *Portugals*, who furniſhed them with weapons both offenſive and defenſive, and by their example incouraged them to be ſtout and couragious againſt their enemies.

All that were living after the deſeature of *Chriſtopher Gama*, and all that ever went thither ſince that day to this, doe remaine there, marrying Wives, and begetting Children. King *Alexander* gave them leave to elect a Juſticer, and to end all matters of controverſie amongſt themſelves, which maketh them ſo willing to ſtay and teach them the uſe of Weapons, the manners of warfare, and how to fortifie places of importance. Sithence thoſe times (*Francis Medicis* contracting friendſhip with the *Abeſſine*) divers *Florentines*, ſome for pleaſure, and ſome for profit have travelled into thoſe Provinces; wherein when they are once entred, the King intreateth them ſo faire, and giveth them ſo liberally whereon to live; that they can hardly obtaine licence to returne againe into their owne Countries.

Beſides

Besides these he hath other enemies, as the King of *Dancali*, whose Citie and Haven is *Vela* upon the Red-Sea, and the *Moores* of *Doba*, a Province divided into fourteene Lieutenantships. These people, though they are accounted within the limits of the *Abessine* Empire, yet doe they often rebell, having a Law amongst themselves, that no young man may contract Matrimony, unlesse hee can bring good proofe that he hath slaine twelve Christians.

Monomotapa.

VPon this Continent are contained many other Kingdomes. As *Gualata*, small and poore; *Tombuto*, great and populous; *Melli*, rich in Corne, Flesh, and Cotton-wooll. *Guinea* is next, greater and richer than any other within the *Moores* Countrey, except *Egypt* and *Abessine*. *Angola*, *Manicongo*, *Congo*, *Mombassa*, *Quiolasafola*, *Melinde*, *Mosambique*, *Monemugi*, with the rest within land, are all inhabited with *Moores*, *Mahumetans*, Heathen and barbarous people, who live plentifully upon those good nutriments, which God and nature hath provided for those places; trafficking and bartering one with another; some for Ambergrice, Wax, Silver, Copper, and Rice; some for Gold, Pearle, Linnen, and Silks, and others for Ivory, Cotton, and such inbred commodities, as each Province peculiarly can spare to the necessities of the other. *Monomotapa* seemeth to be civiller and better governed than any of the residue, and is almost an Island lying betweene the Rivers of *Cuama*, and *Spiritu Santto*, from whence it stretcheth along the Sea-coast to the *Cape of good Hope*; and on the North to the Kingdome of *Monemugi*. It is an hundred and fifty leagues in compasse, and all the Vice-Royes (or Lieutenants) throughout that whole territory doe acknowledge the King thereof for their Soveraigne. Of Townes and Villages they have few, but Cottages

Greatnesse.

Cottages many, and thoſe compacted of timber & thatcht. Cities there are alſo many, whereof *Zimbas* and *Benemetaxa* are betweene twenty, and five and twenty miles diſtant from *Sofola*, towards the Weſt. The ſoile aboundeth with Corne, and Cattell great and ſmall, wandring by herds through the fields and woods. By the ſtore of teeth from thence yearely tranſported, we can but conjecture, that leſſe than five Elephants cannot but die in this Country: theſe beaſts are herevery huge. There is no climate like it for plenty of Gold; for there are ſaid to be three thouſand Mines, whereout Gold is uſually digged. Which commodity is alſo found as well in the Plaines, as in Rocks and in Rivers. Whereof the Mine of *Manica*, *Boro*, *Quiticui*, and *Teroe*, (which ſome men call *Butua*) are the chiefeſt. So that ſome men are of opinion, that out of this Countrey *Salomon* procured his Gold and Ivory to be brought unto *Ieruſalem*: Which ſeemeth not unlikely, for that in this Kingdome were found many old and Prince-like buildings, and thoſe very coſtly in Timber, Stone, Chalke, and Wood; which in the Countries thereabouts are not to be found.

Elephants teeth.

Mines.

Salomons Ophir.

The Government is great, and extendeth over many warlike people; all *Pagans*; meane of ſtature, blacke, well ſet, and very ſwift. Their weapons are Darts, and light Targets, and the men much given to rebellion: the cauſe, wherefore the Prince retaineth the heires of his vaſſall Princes, to be ſecured of their parents; as alſo, that he entertaineth ſtrong Regiments in ſeverall Provinces, divided into legions after the *Roman* manner. Amongſt the which, that he accounteth his battalion of *Amazons*, comparable (for truſt of perſon) to the *Turkiſh* Pretorian *Ianizars*, with their manner of warfare, copulation, and educating of their males, according to the ancient cuſtome of thoſe maſculine Viragoes; you may, by my leave, confidently beleeve, becauſe ſome late travellers have as lately reported it. But truth it is, that according to their uncivill civility they converſe with the King kneeling on their knees, and to ſit in his preſence is the uſe with them, as with us to ſtand; and that is granted but

Government.

to

to great Lords onely. The assay of meat and drinke is not made before, but after the Prince hath eat and drunke. Here are no prisons, because Law passeth upon the offender in the very moment wherein the offence was committed: The offences most severely punished, are Witch-craft, Theft, and Adultery. They pay no other tribute but certaine daies worke and presents, without which no man may appeare in the Princes presence. The King beareth in his Coat-Armour a little spade, with an Ivory handle, and two small Darts.

One of them not long since was converted and baptized by *Gonsalva Silva* a Iesuite, with the greater part of his Courtiers; but afterwards (by the perswasion of certaine *Moores* in great credit about him) hee caused him to bee slaine. *Sebastian* King of *Portugall* offended hereat, proclaimed warre against him under the leading of *Francisco Berotio*. This Armie consisted of sixteene hundred, the greatest part Gentlemen, to whom the *Monomotapa* fearing their Armes and valour, offered honourable conditions, but the Captaine (whom no offer or indifferency could satisfie) was overcome, and his Armie utterly consumed, yet not by the enemy, but by sickenesse and in the infectious aire of the Country.

Ægypt.

IN this description, I will rather follow the opinion of *Ptolomy*, and some others, who make it a part of *Africa*, than those who either referre some portion thereof to *Asia*, and the residue to *Africke*. It is a most noble and ancient Region, much celebrated both in Scripture, and other profane Writers, for the excellency and antiquity thereof. In holy Writ (as witnesseth *Iosephus*) it is called *Misraim*, and so the Inhabitants. For *Misraim* was the

Sonne

Sonne of *Chus*, the Sonne of *Cham*, the Sonne of *Noe*. The *Arabians* call the country *Mesre*, but the Inhabitants *Chibeth*, for such was his Name that first brought his Colonie into these parts. It is plaine, sandy, and low Land without Mountaines, which is the reason that it cannot be seene afar off: the aire is hot and infectious; and therefore either to avoid or mollifie the intolerable heat of Summer Sunne, the Inhabitants are accustomed in all their Cities upon the tops of their Houses to build open Taraſes, to let the wind drive in thorow all their roomes. Yet is not this Country as the rest of *Africke*, infected with the Southerne winds ingendred of heat; but is especially refreshed with the Northerne, which here is moist, and in other places drie. It hath no Earth-quakes nor showres, but of very able fertility; and if it raine (as it seldome doth) it bringeth many diseases, as Murres, Catars, Agues, and such like.

Fertility. The inundation of *Nilus* is mother of all fertility, the want thereof an assured prediction of famine and scarcitie. The Country is full of cuts and inlets from this River, which long agoe *Sesostris* caused to bee intrenched, lest those Townes which were situated from the maine banke in the heart of the Kingdome should want water upon the ebbing of the River. This inundation causeth such plentifull harvests, that through the whole earth, better increase, and speedier ripenesse is not to be found.

Riches. The wealth hereof is rather to be admired than estimated; in reviewing the spendor & magnificence of their regall Antiquities, their Labyrinths, their Pyramides, & water-works, all built and perfected at inestimable charges. The ruines whereof are to be seene at this day, whereunto the bravest Monuments of the Roman Empire are nothing comparable. The revenue of this Kingdome in times past, both in regard of the fertilitie of *Nilus*, and the infinite quantity of Merchandize transported from *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, and *India*, hath beene very great. Some report (saith *Ptolomie*) that *Auletes* received from hence twelve millions and fifty talents, which according to the computation of *Budæus*, ariseth

to

to seven millions and a halfe of Crownes: the *Romans* received a farre greater masse, but now by the *Portugall* Navigations it yeeldeth the *Turke* no such reckoning.

Howbeit it cannot be but at this day very great, for that in feare of the *Florentine* Fleet, the grand Seigniour dare not commit the treasure thereof to the passage by Sea; but is at charges every yeare to transport it over land by a convoy of *Ianizars*.

About the beginning of *Aprill* they goe to harvest; by the twentieth of *May* no one eare of Corne is left growing. About the bankes of *Nilus* it brings forth the fruits of the earth with great ease; but farther off, they are faine with the labour of Oxen and Men, to let in Water from the Rivers by trenches to moisten their grounds.

Besides wilde Beasts and harmefull in abundance, it affordeth infinite store of tame cattell, as the Buffall, the Oxe, Camell, the Horse, the Asse, the Ramme, and the Goat. All which (as *Bellonius* affirmeth) by reason of their deepe pastures and excellent temperature of the Country, doe exceed common proportion: As the Ramme, who groweth very fat and extraordinary big, having a large and grosse taile trailing after him upon the earth, and a dewlap in manner of an Oxe.

And for that the Winter is very pleasant, and the soile moorish, it is no lesse stored with Fowle, especially with Storkes, who for their infinite abundance (especially towards the *Nile*) a man would imagine the fields to be covered with white: But as these flockes of Birds are admirable, no lesse noisome are their swarmes of Frogs. So that if God had not ordained these Birds to devoure this Vermine, all places would prove lothsome, barren, and infectious. The Country is now divided into three Provinces; *Sahid* exceeding in Flax, all sorts of Pulse, Poultrie and Cattell: *Erriſia* in Fruits and Rice: *Maremma* in Cottons and Sugar. The *Pharaohs* resided in *Sahid*; the *Ptolomies* in *Erriſia*; and the *Romans* and *Greeks* alongst the Sea-shores. But the *Mahumetans* have made the midst of the land the

ſeat of their Empire. The people of the middle times were prone to innovations, luxurious, and cowardly cruell: Thoſe that now inhabit the Country, are for the moſt part *Moores*. Of *Turkes* and *Iewes* there are many, but they reſide in Cities. Of *Arabians* and *Negroes* not a few. Of *Chriſtians* the Natives are moſt, and thoſe termed *Copties*; ſome *Greeks* there be, and a few *Armenians* of all the pooreſt and honeſteſt, labouring painfully and living ſoberly. Theſe *Copties* be the true *Ægyptians*, and hold the Roman Church for hereticall, rejecting all generall Councels after that of *Epheſus*. In this Country was *Thebes* deſtroyed by *Cambiſes*; *Memphis*, *Babylon*, and *Alexandria*, if not deſtroyed, yet were defaced by time and divine puniſhment. *Cair* is ſeated on the Eaſt ſide of *Nilus*, winding therewith in the forme of a Creſcent, ſtretching South and North with the ſuburbs adjoyning, containing in length five Italian miles, in breadth ſcarce one and a halfe at broadeſt. The wals carry ſmall ſhew of ſtrength, yet is it ſtrong, as appeared by that three daies battell which *Selimus* was conſtrained to carry thorow it, being oppoſed by a poore remainder of the ſurviving *Mamalucks*. For the ſtreets are narrow, and the houſes high built, all of ſtone well nigh to the top: At the end almoſt of all, a Gate; which being ſhut (as every night they are) make every ſtreet a defenſible Caſtle. The Inhabitants conſiſt moſt of Merchants and Artificers, not frequenting forren Marts.

Cair.

The Country was no ſooner knowne, but it was inhabited. And although it were, and is of hard acceſſe, by reaſon of the huge Deſarts, ſteepe Mountaines, moriſh places, and violent Seas, wherewith it is wholly incompaſſed; yet hath it ſuffered divers and lamentable alterations under the yoke of ſtrangers. For firſt it was ſubject to their native Kings, and they were the *Pharaohs*; then to the *Æthiopians*, whom *Cambiſes* King of *Perſia* expulſed and ſubjected. After that, they revolted from *Darius* (ſir-named *Nothus*) and elected Kings againe of their owne Nation, untill the daies of *Alexander* the *Macedonian*. After whoſe death, the third time they

they had their owne Kings called *Ptolomies*, of *Ptolomie* the ſonne of *Lagus*; In whoſe race it continued till the times of *Ptolomeus Aulet.* 55 Father of *Cleopatra*, whom *Auguſtus Caſar* utterly deſeated, and annexed the Province to the Roman Empire. Under the *Romans* the *Ægyptians* became Chriſtians, and in the diviſion of the Empire it accrued to the ſhare of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Emperours. But in the declination thereof the people being weary of their oppreſſions, called in the *Saracens* to aſſiſt them in the expulſion of theſe *Greekes*. And expulſed they were by *Hamro*, Generall to *Homar* the ſecond Mahumetan high Prieſt; who onely impoſing a tribute, afforded unto all liberty of Religion. Long time his ſucceſſors held the ſoveraignty thereof untill the reigne of *Melec-ſala*, who being often foiled by thoſe Chriſtians, which after the dayes of *Godfrey* reigned in *Soria* and *Ieruſalem*, and hereupon diſtruſting the courages and effeminacy of the Inhabitants, procured a multitude of *Circaſſian* ſlaves in his aſſiſtance from the *Tartars*, who firſt in thoſe daies began to amaze the Provinces with their multitudes: Theſe he armed, and by theſe he gave the *Franks* a direfull overthrow. And they againe inſulting in their victories and mutuall valours, ſlew their patron *Melec-ſala*, elected a Sultan of their owne, tyrannized over the naturall Inhabitants, and by yearely purchaſes of *Circaſſian* children, erected and maintained that ſtrong body of warre, which untill the daies of our Anceſtors, in this Kingdome bare the name of *Mamalucks*, and ſo continued dreadfull in power, and abounding in riches for the ſpace of two hundred and ſeventy yeares, even untill the times of *Selimus*, who utterly extinguiſhed both the name and diſcipline of the ſaid ſouldierie, together with their Sultans, Empery and Fortunes. In whoſe poſterity it remaineth to this day, and is now governed by a Baſſa, who as abſolute Soveraigne reſideth and commandeth in *Caire*. Under him are 16. Sanziacks, and 100000. Spahies, by eſtimation. The revenues amount to three millions of Shariffs: The grand Seignior hath one, part wherof is conveyed over land with a guard of 600.

Anciently called *Getes*.

Riches.

souldiers, for feare of the *Florentine* Fleet, as afore. Another is spent in payes, and in setting forth the Carvan to *Mecha*; The third the Governour hath for support of his charge and estate, and entertainment of dependants.

Æthiopia Inferior.

THe lower *Æthiope*, siteth most Southerly of any part of *Africke*, unknowne to *Ptolomie*, and but lately discovered by the *Portugals*.

It containeth many Kingdomes, whereof some are famous and unwritten of; some obscure, and not worth the recording: Amongst them is *Adel*, a large Kingdome, adorned with two famous Mart-Townes, *Zeila* and *Barbora*. *Aaea*, *Magadazzum*, a Kingdome and Citie, *Zanzibar*, *Melina*, *Mombassa*, *Quiola*, *Mozambique*, *Cafala*, *Angola*, and *Loangi*, all Kingdomes. Amongst the Islands, *Insula Spiritus sancti*, *Madera*, the *Canaries*, *Capo verde*, Saint *Thomas*, *Magadascar*, and *Zocotarie* are the most famous.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

Of Asia.

ASia *is the greatest, and vastest part of the World, and in ancient times acknowledged for the third part thereof. Now it is accounted the fourth, or if you please, one of the seven, exceeding the ancient two*, viz. Europe *and* Africke, *in largenesse and circuit: especially in these our dayes, being wholly discovered*

to

to the East and North, the habitations of the Chinois *and* Tartars; *without accounting the Islands thereunto belonging, which if they were adjoyned, would make a Continent farre fairer than* Europe.

Vpon three parts it is bounded with the vast Ocean, sirnamed the Orient; *on the South, with the* Indian; *upon the North with the* Scythian; *upon the West it is somewhere dis-joyned from* Europe *and* Africk *with the Red-sea, somewhere with the* Mediterranean, *somewhere with the* Euxine, *and somewhere with the River* Tanais. *The Regions which of old it contained, were* Pontus, Bithynia, Phrygia *the Great*, Lycia, Galatia, Paphlagonia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Armenia *the Lesse*, Cilicia, Sarmatia Asiatica, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Armenia *the Great*, Cyprus, Syria cava, Phœnicia, Palæstina, Arabia petrea, Mesopotamia, Arabia deserta, Babylonia, Assyria, Susiana, Media, Persis, Parthia, Carmania deserta, Carmania altera, Arabia Felix, Hyrcania, Margiana, Bactriana, Sogdiana, Sacarum Regio, Scythia *within* Imaus, Scythia *without* Imaus, Serica, Aria, Paramisus, Drangiana, Arachosia, Gedrosia, India *on this side* Ganges, India *beyond* Ganges, Sinarum Regio, *and* Taproban.

Generally it enjoyeth a most excellent temperature of ayre, and is so rich, fertile, and batefull for variety of fruits and feeding; and so abounding therewith, that in all these good gifts, it excelleth all Countries whatsoever. For here are to be found divers sorts of living Creatures and Plants, the like whereof the whole world againe affordeth not: As Balme, Sugar canes, Frankincense, Myrrh, Cassia, Cinamon, Nutmegs, Pepper, Saffron, sweet Woods, Muske, and divers other sorts of Drugs and Odors; excellent Gold, all

ſorts of Minerals, and precious ſtones.

Of beaſts, it affordeth the Elephant and Camell, with divers ſtrange ſorts, both wilde and tame.

The people are of excellent wits, exceeding rich, and happie in all good things: This Region hath beene the Parent of many rare ſpirits, and the Seat of moſt mightie and flouriſhing Empires: As wherein raigned the Monarchs of the Aſſyrians, Perſians, Babylonians, Parthians, *and* Medes. *No leſſe regardfull at this day are the Empires of the* Turkes, Tartars, Perſians, Mogors, Indians *and* Chinois; *but indeed moſt celebrated in* Holy Writ *for our Creation, Fall, and Redemption, as the Region wherein, in a manner, all the* Hiſtories *and* Acts *mentioned in the* Old Teſtament, *and a great part of thoſe of the* New, *were wrought and accompliſhed. The* Ancients *divided it into divers parts, but at this preſent it is beſt divided into five, according to the chiefe and principall Empires therein: the firſt whereof confining with* Europe, *is governed by the Great Duke of* Moſcovie; *the ſecond belongeth to the Great* Cham; *the third is commanded by the* Turke; *the fourth is the Kingdome of* Perſia; *the fifth comprehendeth that which hath alwayes beene called* India, *and governed by divers Princes, for the moſt part vaſſals, feodaries, or tributaries to other Potentates. The principall Iſlands, are* Japan, Luconia, Mindanao, Burneo, Sumatra, Zeiland *and* Cyprus.

Ruſſia,

Russia, *alias* Sarmatia, *now* Moscovia.

THe Great Duke of *Moscovia* is Lord of a most large Dominion, and within the limits of his jurisdiction are contained many Regions.

It is bounded on the North with *Lappia* and the North Ocean: On the South by the *Chrim Tartars*: On the East by the *Nagayans*, possessing all the Countrey on the East side of *Volga*, towards the *Caspian* sea: On the West and South-west lye *Lituania*, *Livonia*, and *Polonia*. Bounded.

The naturall Shires pertaining to *Russia*, and whereof perticularly the Great Duke will not (without offence) but be stiled King, are sixteene, but farre greater and larger than the Shires of *England*, though not so well peopled. The other Provinces (being nine, with a great part of *Siberia*,) being not naturall *Russes*, the Emperours of late yeares have purchased by their swords, and subjected them to their Lawes, Customes and Taxes. *Casan* and *Astrachan*, by them termed Kingdomes, have devolved unto them by like providence. As for all his interest in *Lituania* (to the number of thirtie great Townes and more) with *Narve* and *Dorp* in *Livonia*, they are quite gone, surprised of late times by the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*. Shires.

From North to South, measuring from *Cola* to *Astrachan*, it containeth in length foure thousand two hundred and sixtie Versts (a verst is three quarters of a mile English.) Beyond *Cola* hee hath more Territory Northward, *viz.* to *Tromschna*, running foure thousand versts welnie beyond *Pechinga*, neere *Wardhuis*; but not clearely possessed, by reason that the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmarke* have divers Townes therein, aswell as the *Russe*, every one of them claiming the lawfull possession of these Northerne Provinces, as

in his owne right. The breadth taken fartheſt Weſtward on the *Narve* ſide, to the bounds of *Siberia* Eaſtward, where the Emperour hath ſome garriſons, is foure and forty hundred veeſts, or thereabouts. If theſe Dominions were all habitable and peopled, the *Ruſſe* Emperour were either very unlikely to hold them, or holding them with good government, would prove too mighty for his bordering Neighbours.

And although by the ſpaciouſneſſe of theſe Territories, it ſhould ſeeme that he hath ingroſſed many Countries, and for brevities ſake, hath alſo aſſumed the titles into the credit and majeſtie of one Monarchie: yet it may well be compared to the fortune of the five Kings that tooke *Lot* priſoner; whom *Abraham* with his three hundred and eighteene menial-ſervants releaſed, and ſet at libertie: witneſſe the proofe, which a few reſolute and well ordered *Engliſh* ſouldiers made of late amongſt them, even in the fields of *Novograd*, where they contracted their owne conditions in deſpight of that whole Armie, which both *Poles* and *Moſcovites* rallied againſt them.

Situation. It is ſituated partly in *Europe*, and partly in *Aſia*, which ſeparation is cauſed by the River of *Tanais*, bounder of *Aſia*, and running thorow the middle of the Countrey. By which (as the *Ruſſe* reporteth) a man may paſſe from *Moſco* to *Conſtantinople*, and ſo into all thoſe parts of the world by water, only drawing his Boat (as their cuſtome is) over a little Iſthmus of land. This paſſage was proved not long ſince by a *Ruſſe* Ambaſſadour ſent to *Conſtantinople*; who paſſing the *Moſcua*, entred into *Occa*, and from thence (as aforeſaid) drawing his Boat over land, fell into *Tanais*, then into *Meotis*, and ſo to his journeyes end. The Pole at *Moſcua* is 55. degrees and ten minutes: At Saint *Nicholas* 63. and 50. minutes.

The people were once ſubject to the *Tartars*, whoſe Prince *Roydo* in the yeare 1140. conquered *Moſcovie*; but *Iohn* the firſt (incouraged by their civill diſſentions) denied them tribute. In proceſſe of time, when *Ametes* the laſt ſucceſſour

of

of *Roydo* (who died at *Vilna*) had overcome the *Tartars*, *Precopenses* the great Duke adjoyned to his Empire *Permia*, *Veatia* and *Ingria*, Provinces subject to *Amites*. From this time, the forces of the great Duke increasing, *Basilius Casan*, and *John* the second, conquered the Provinces of *Citraham*, which at this day are called Kingdomes. To confesse the truth, the great Dukes have mightily inlarged their bourds, and have taken the great Duchies of *Severin* and *Smoloncke*, *Bulcheſe*, *Prescovia*, *Novogrod*, *Iaroslave*, and *Roscovia* (some of them) from the *Polaques*, and some from other Potentates: they possessed thirtie great Townes in *Lituania*, with *Narve* and *Dorp* in *Livonia*, but they are all quite gone, being of late yeares surprized by the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweveland*.

The chiefe Citie of the Kingdome is *Mosco*, where the Patriarch resideth; *Roscovia* and *Novogrod* are the Seats of Archbishops: *Cortisa*, *Resania*, *Columna*, *Susdelia*, *Casan*, *Vologda*, *Tuera*, *Smoloncke*, *Plescovia*, *Staritia*, *Sloboda*, *Ieroslave*, *Volodimir*, (from whence the Kings Seat was translated to *Mosco* by *John* the second) *Mosayco*, Saint *Nicholas*, *Sugana*, *Ustium*, and *Gargapolia* are Bishoprickes. The Emperour abideth in the Citie of *Mosco*, which taketh his name from the River, arising fourescore and ten miles higher into the Countrey. The Citie hath beene greater than now it is, and was nine miles compasse: the forme thereof is in a manner round, invironed with three wals, the one within the other, and streets lying betweene; whereof the innost wall and the buildings closed within it, (lying safest, as the heart within the body, fenced and watered with the River *Mosco*, that runneth close by it) is all accounted the Emperours Castle. The number of houses thorow the whole Citie, (being reckoned by the Emperour a little before it was fired by the Enemie) was accounted to be 41500. in all. But since it was sacked 1571. and burnt by the *Tartars*, it containeth not above five miles. According to *Possevinus*, a Writer of good judgement and industrie, there are housed in this Citie thirty thousand people, besides Oxen and other Cattell. Doctor, *Mosco.*

Fletcher

Fletcher writeth, that it is not much bigger than the Citie of *London.*

Novograde hath the name of Great, and yet the same Author alloweth it not above twenty thousand Inhabitants; as likewise *Smolencke* and *Pleſcovia.* As the *Russe* saith, here was committed that memorable warre (so much spoken of in histories) of the *Scythian* servants, that tooke armes against their Masters: who in memory of their great victorie, have ever since in their coine stamped the figure of a horse-man shaking a whip aloft in his hand.

This seemeth most incredible to me, (if it bee true as some write) that *Pleſcovia*, when King *Stephen* of *Poland* besieged it, had within it fifty thousand foot-men, and seven thousand Horse. Truly this is a great number, and though they were not all *Moscovites*, yet this reckoning asketh a great proportion of Inhabitants; For if the King thrust in fifty seven thousand fighting men, it must needs be that the Inhabitants were very many moe. Some will have it, that in times past the Country was better replenished with people, and that afterwards it became desolate for three causes: the first was the Plague (a new disease in *Moscovie*) which gleaned away many thousand soules: the second, the Tyranny of their Emperours, who have put infinite numbers to death, especially of the Nobility: the third the Incursions and robberies of the *Tartars*, *Precopians*, and the *Nagayans*, which never cease vexing their bordering neighbours. For the nature of these roguish *Tartars* is, to make spoile of all men, and to captivate their bodies, selling them to the *Turkes* and other Nations. By reason whereof, many farre removed Provinces (partly upon feare, and partly upon policie) are suffered to lie waste and unmanured. And this is all the good which ambitious Princes gaine by their undiscreet invasions of their neighbours, to the destruction of their people, and their owne vexation.

No Prince made longer journeyes and greater expences than the great Duke *Iohn*: he vanquished the Kingdomes of *Casan* to *Volga*, and *Astrachan* on the *Caspian* Sea; he subdued

duced a great part of *Livonia*. But what honour, what profit, or what continuance of security gained he by these victories? What was the end of this warre? In these expeditions perished infinite numbers of men, in journeying, in assaults, with the Sword, with sickneſſe, with hunger, and other extremities. When he had overcome them, he was enforced to keepe great Garrisons; yea, to bring thither whole Colonies. Besides, when men were so farre from home, either busied in getting other mens goods, or in keeping what they had got, their wives stayed at home like widdowes, and the inward part of the Realme remained empty, as a heart void of bloud, wanting his necessary nutriment, whilst the Inhabitants were wasted on the skirts of the Kingdome. And therefore when it was invaded by King *Stephen* of *Poland*, these remote forces were wanting to make resistance; and through this oversight he lost againe *Pozovia*, and other peeces of good reckoning; yea, and was enforced to leave the whole possession of *Livonia* to the *Polander*.

To proceed, the soyle of the Countrey for the most part is of a sleight sandy mould, yet very much different one place from another; for the yeeld of such things as grow out of the earth. Northwards toward the parts of Saint *Nicholas* and *Chola*, and North-East toward *Siberia*, it is barren and full of desart Woods, by reason of the climate, and extremity of cold. So likewise along the River *Volga*, betwixt the Countries of *Casan* and *Astrachan*, notwithstanding the soyle be fruitfull, it is all inhabited, saving that upon the West-side, the Emperor hath some few Castles and Garrisons in them. This happened by meanes of the *Chrim Tartars*, that will neither plant Townes to dwell in, (living a wilde and vagrant life) nor suffer the *Russe*, being farre off, with Colonies to people those parts. From *Vologda*, which lieth almost a thousand seven hundred versts from the Port of Saint *Nicholas* downe toward *Mosco*, and so toward the South parts that border upon the *Chrim* (containing the like space of a thousand seven hundred Versts, or thereabouts

The soyle and climate.

abouts) it is a very pleasant and fruitfull Countrey, yeelding Pasture and Corne, with Wood and Water in great store and plenty. The like is betweene *Rezan* (lying South-East from *Mosco*) to *Novogrode* and *Vobsco*, that reacheth farthest towards the North-West: So betwixt *Mosco* and *Smolensko* (that lieth South-West towards *Lituania*) is a very fruitfull and pleasant soyle, and also very fertill and commodious for those Inhabitants that dwell therein.

The Countrey differeth very much from it selfe, by reason of the yeare; so that a man would marvell to see the great alteration and difference betwixt Winter ... mer. In Winter it lieth under snow (which falleth ...nually) sometime a yard or two of thicknesse, but deeper towards the North. The Rivers and other waters are frozen up a yard or more thicke, how swift or broad soever they bee. And this continueth commonly five moneths, (*viz.*) from the beginning of *November*, till towards the end of *March*, about which time the snow beginneth to melt. The sharpnesse whereof you may judge by this: for that water dropped downe (or cast up into the aire) congealeth into Ice before it come to the ground. In extremity of weather, if you hold a pewter dish or a pot in your hand, or any other metall (except in some chamber where their warme Stoves be) your fingers will freeze fast to it, and draw off the skin at parting: when you passe out of a warme roome into a cold, you shall sensibly feele your breath to wax thick and stifling with the cold as you draw it in and out: Divers, not onely that travell abroad, but in the very markets and streets of their Townes, are monstrously pinched, yea, killed withall; so that you shall see many drop downe in the streets, many travellers brought into the Townes, sitting dead and stiffe in their sleds. And yet in Summer-time you shall see such a new hue and face of a Countrey, the Woods so fresh and so sweet, the Pastures and Meddowes so greene and well growne, (and that upon the sudden) with such variety of flowers, and such melody of Birds (especially of Nightingales) that a man shall not lightly travell in a more pleasanter

ſanter Countrey. Which freſh and ſpeedy growth of the Spring, ſeemeth to proceed from the benefit of the Snow; which all the Winter time being ſpread over the whole Countrey, as a white robe, keepeth it warme from the rigour of the froſt; and in the Spring-time, when the weather waxeth warme, and the Sunne diſſolveth it into water, it doth ſo throughly drench and ſoke the ground (being of a ſleight and ſandy mould) and then ſhineth ſo hotly upon it againe, that it even forceth the Herbs and Plants to ſhoot forth in great plenty and variety, and that in ſhort time. As the Winter ſeaſon in theſe Regions exceedeth in cold; ſo likewiſe I may ſay, that the Summer inclineth to overmuch heat, eſpecially in the moneths of *Iune*, *Iuly*, and *Auguſt*, being accounted the three chiefeſt moneths of burning heat in thoſe places, much warmer than the Summer in *England*.

To returne to our relation of the ſoyle and climate; for the moſt part it is covered with Woods and Lakes: theſe Woods are the branches of *Hircinia*, ſpreading it ſelfe through all the North, and perhaps more in this Province than in any other. Here grow the goodlieſt and talleſt trees of the world, thorow which for their thickneſſe, the brightneſſe of the Sun-beames can hardly pierce. An unſpeakable quantity of Rozin and Pitch diſtilleth out of theſe trees, and here is the never-waſting Fountaine of Wax and Hony. For without any induſtry of man, the Bees themſelves build their Hives in the Barks and hollowneſſe of trees. Here is all plenty of Cattell and wilde Beaſts: Beares, Martins, Beaſts called *Zibellini*, Wolves and blacke Foxes, whoſe skins doe beare high prices. Of the timber of theſe trees are ſquared all neceſſaries, aſwell for buildings, as all other uſes; the Wals of the Cities are framed of beames cut foure-ſquare, faſtned together, filling all the chinks & vacant places with earth. And of theſe beames likewiſe they build platformes of ſuch height and thickneſſe, that they beare the weight of great Ordnance how maſſie ſoever. They are ſubject to fire, but not eaſily ſhaken with the fury of battery.

For Waters, *Moſcovie* may well be called the mother of Rivers Of Waters.

Rivers and Lakes : witneſſe *Duyna*, *Boriſthenes*, *Volga*, *Duyna*, *Onega*, *Moſcua*, *Voliſca*, and the famous *Tanais* ; the Lakes of *Ina*, upon which ſtandeth the great *Novograde*, *Voluppo*, and many others. The abundance of theſe Waters doe make the ayre colder than is requiſite for the increaſe of Cattell, or growth of Plants, and although cold is thought more wholſome than heat, yet are their Cattell of ſmall growth thereby, and many times their fruits come not to ripening ; and the earth being drowned with the waters, for the moſt part becommeth light and ſandie, and then either with too great drought, or too much moiſture, it deſtroyeth the fruit. Winter in ſome ſort laſteth nine moneths, little more or leſſe, & in ſeaſonable times the ſoyle bringeth forth plenty of graine, and feeding for Cattell. It alſo bringeth forth Apples, Nuts, and Filberds : other kinds of fruits they ſcarcely know. Of Fiſh they raiſe their greateſt gaine, as having greateſt abundance of that commodity ; they dry them in the froſt and wind, as in *Norway* and other Northerly Nations, and they lay it up for ſtore, as well in their Townes of Warre, as for their private Families. The Kingdome is not full of Merchants, becauſe by nature the Inhabitants are idle : And that Province cannot abound with Merchants, where Arts and Artificers are not favoured. And againe, the government is abſolute, mixed with a kind of tyranny, enforcing ſlaviſh proſtitution. So that in the chiefeſt and beſt ordered Townes of *Novograde* and *Moſco*, many ſtrange and fearefull concuſſions have beene practiſed. Concerning which you have whole Commentaries, from whence you may take notice, how he once nailed an Ambaſſadours Hat to his head, becauſe he abated him of that reverence appropriate to ſo great a Majeſty; How Sir *Tho. Smith* was entertained with a contrary ſatisfaction and welcome. How *Moſco* is compared to the grand *Caire* for ſpaciouſneſſe of ground, multitude of houſes, and uncomlineſſe of ſtreets, ſo that, as the one is patible of ſtinke, corruption and infectious aire, ſo this other is not free from beaſtlineſſe, ſmoke and unwholeſome ſmels. They have not the uſe of the Sea,

Sea, because it is not lawfull for a *Moscovite* to travell out of his Princes Dominions: such, and such store of wares as they have (as Skinnes, Rosin, and Wax) they barter for Cloth, and divers other commodities, which the *Armenians* bring to *Astrachan* by the *Caspian* Sea, and the *English* to Saint *Nicholas* by the Bay of *Graduicum*.

Forme of government.

This Government is more tyrannicall than of any other Prince in the World: for he is absolute Lord and disposer of the bodies and goods of his subjects. Therefore *Mahumet* the Visier was wont to say, That the *Moscovite* and the great *Turke*, amongst all the Princes of the earth were only Lords of their owne Dominions, and in that regard thought the journey of King *Stephen* of *Poland* would prove full of danger and difficulty. The Kingdome is divided into foure parts (by them termed *Chetferds*) & those governed by foure Lieutenants, not resident upon their charges, but attending on the Emperours person whersoever he goeth; and there holding their Courts, but especially at *Mosco*, the prime seat of the Empire; where from their under-Deputies they receive the complaints of the Provinces, and informe the Kings Councell of the businesse, and from them againe receive instructions for amendment or reformation. For you must note, that the great *Duke* doth not trust any particular Nobleman with any eminent place of honour or dignitie; but placeth therein a certaine Duke of meanest ranke, and no great capacitie, adjoyning with him in commission a Secretary to assist him, or to speake more properly, to direct him; for in execution the Secretary doth all. And being thus united, they have authority over all persons in criminall and civill causes, in levying of Taxes and Subsidies, in mustring of Souldiers, and commanding them to all services imposed by the Emperour or his Councell. And to prevent all popular Innovations, he will be sure that they shall neither bee borne within the territories of their Government, neither that they possesse one foot of inheritance within their jurisdictions: And being every yeare subject to change (of which hee will not faile) for their

their new avarice, they ſtand aſſured firſt to bee extremely hated of the people, and worſe uſed of the Emperour: For few of them have the favour to avoid the Pudkey (or whip) when their time is expired: and therefore doe make full account, as they cannot otherwiſe chuſe, being to bribe the Emperour, the Lieutenant of the Chetfird, and to provide for themſelves, having in allowance, the beſt, not above a hundred markes; the worſt, but thirty *per annum*.

Iuan Vaſilowic ſhall be an example of this ſeverity: who having before him a Diak (or Secretary) accuſed for taking a Gooſe ready dreſſed, ſtuft full of ſilver by way of a bribe, cauſed the offender to be brought into the Market place of *Moſco*, & there himſelfe, making an honeſt Oration unto the people, asked his Polachies or Executioner, Who could cut up a Gooſe? And then commanded he one of them firſt to cut off the parties legs, about the midſt of the ſhins, then his armes above his elbowes; (ſtill asking the miſerable offender, If Gooſe-fleſh were good meat) in the end to chop off his head, in ſimilitude of a Gooſe ready dreſſed.

But in the foure Townes, whereof three border upon the *Polonian* and *Sweden*, and the other upon the *Chrim Tartar*, (*viz.*) *Smolensko*, *Vobsko*, *Novograd* and *Cazan*, he is ſomewhat more adviſed and honourable. For being peeces of great import, in them he appointeth men of more ſufficient and better ranke, two in each Towne, whereof one is ever of his Councell of Eſtate. Theſe have larger commiſſion, and without adjournment or appeale may proceed to execution in all criminall cauſes; yet are they changed every yeare, and have for their allowance, ſome ſeven hundred rubbles, and ſome foure hundred.

To preſerve his Majeſty and reputation, he uſeth as incredible policy, as hee doth unuſuall ſeveritie: Firſt, it is not lawfull for any of his ſubjects to depart the Realme upon paine of death; and therefore no man there dare goe to Sea, no, not ſpeake to an Ambaſſadour, or uſe the counſell of a forren Phyſician, without licence. He weareth apparell of ineſtimable value, joyning the Ornaments of a Biſhop to the

the Majestie of a King; by wearing a Miter on his head, shining with Diamonds and rich stones: When he weareth it not on his head, he placeth it before his Chaire of Estate, and oftentimes changeth it, in boast of his riches. In his left hand he beareth a most rich Crosier, apparelled in a long Garment, not much unlike to that which the Pope weareth when he goeth to Masse: his fingers are full of Gold Rings, and the Image of *Christ*, and his blessed mother the Virgin are over the Chaire wherein he sitteth. The Privie Chamber and great Chamber are full of men, cloathed in Cloth of Gold downe to the foot, but never used unlesse upon occasion of Festivals, or entertainement of Ambassadours. In matter of Ceremonie, for the most part they follow the Greeke Church; the Priests marrie, maintaine adoration of Images, Fast, and compel to confession; which the common people suppose most necessary, especially for the Nobles and Gentrie, retayning a sensualitie of life, and libertie of voluptuousnesse. The Princes themselves are very devout at the Table, as often a dish is changed, or they have a desire to drinke, they make many figues of the Crosse.

That no man should prove a better Scholler than himselfe, he suffereth no schoole, but of writing & reading to be kept. In their Liturgies, they read nothing but the Evangelists, some Historie, the lives of Saints, a Homily of *Iohn Chrysostome*, or some such like; yea, they would hold him for an Heretike, that should goe about to professe himselfe better learned; and assure himselfe, hee shall not escape punishment. Which is the reason that their Notaries, nay the Secretaries themselves, commonly can neither write, nor answer Ambassadors of forren Princes, no farther than they are taught by the great Duke. When they negociate, they no sooner name the great *Duke*, but all of them rise up with great reverence: the like is done at his Table, when he drinketh, or carveth to any man, and so in a thousand like casualties: they are taught, even from their cradles, to beleeve and talke of their great Duke, as of God: using these phrases in

their ordinarie talking, *God onely and our Great Semapor* knoweth this; *Our Great Lord* knoweth all things. *All we enjoy, health and riches, all proceedeth from our Great Duke.* For the subjects, seeing such State and Magnificence in the Prince, and knowing no more than he is taught at home, reverence and obey him as slaves, not as subjects, accounting him rather a God than a King. Those Lords which he hath under him are only graced with Titles, not as we have Dukes, Barons, &c. Bestowing upon one a Hamlet, upon another a Farme; and these not hereditarie, unlesse he confirme it: and when he hath confirmed it, the Farmers notwithstanding pay him a portion of their fruits, and owe him villaine-service: which is the cause, that every man dependeth on the will of the Prince, and looke by how much the richer, by so much the deeper, is he indebted unto him.

Riches, and commodities.

The Native commodities are Furs, Wax, Honie, Tallow, Hides, Traine-Oyle, Caveare, Hemp, Flax, Salt, Tar, Slud, Salt-peter, Brimston and Trou. Besides the great quantitie of Furs spent in the Countrie (the onely defence of the Country-people in the winter season) there are transported some yeares by the Merchants of *Turkie*, *Persia*, *Bougharia*, *Georgia*, *Armenia*, and the *Christians*, to the value of foure or five hundred thousand rubbles yearely: Of Wax fiftie thousand poad; every poad containing fortie pounds. Their Hony is almost all spent within the Countrie in their ordinarie drinkes, and other uses. Of Tallow in times past, they have shipped out 100000. poad yearely: Of Hides, 100000. Of Flax and Hemp one hundred ships: and so semblably of other Merchandizes. But you must understand, that by reason of the idle carelesnesse of the people, occasioned through the extreme tyrannie of their Emperours, (whereof you shall heare hereafter) at this day three parts of that reckoning in every commoditie, are abated.

Of his Entrada or Revenue.

For the receiving of which riches and Revenues, he hath as it were three principall Treasurers; The Steward of his House; Every Chetfird within his owne Province; And the Office called the great Income.

The

The Stewards Office receiveth yearely, above the expence of his house twentie three thousand rubbles.

The fourth Chetfirds for Soak and Pol-mony foure hundred thousand rubbles. And the office of the great Income for custome and rents eight hundred thousand rubbles.

And all this in readie coyne: For besides this revenue ordinarie, he receiveth extraordinarily in furs and other commodities, out of *Siberia*, *Pechora*, *Permia* and other remote places, a great masse of wealth. As may be ghessed by that, That 1589. out of *Siberia* onely, by way of custome, were collected foure hundred threescore and six timber of Sables, five timber of Martrons, one hundred eightie cases of black Foxes, besides other commodities.

To these may be added Seisures, Confiscations, and Incomes of like nature, whereof I will shew you some cases.

As by coyning his Plate into money, in shew of want, thereby to colour some new taxations; so did *Theodor Iuanowich*. And as by suffering every man to give unto Monasteries, what pleaseth him; that the wealth being stowed in grosse, the Prince may come by it the readier to satisfie his pleasure: So did *Iuan Vasilowich*, wringing from some Bishops and Monasteries one hundred thousand rubbles; from some fortie, and from others fiftie, &c. For the subtile Friers are content without noise to part from somewhat, rather than by clamour to indanger the losse of the whole.

By forestalling homebred commodities, and ingrossing the forren; as Silkes, Cloth, Lead, Pearle; To give out monopolies for staying of Sables, till the Emperors be vented.

By rent corne and provision of victuall, hee hath some yeares raised two hundred thousand rubbles. Of rent wood, hay, &c. thirtie thousand rubbles.

But the most Unchristian abuse is, that in every great towne he hath a Caback (or Tap-house) to sell Aqua-vite, Mead, Beare, &c. wherein, besides the vice of drunkennesse, many foule faults (as it cannot otherwise fall out) are committed. The poore labouring man, and artificer many times spendeth all from his wife and children. Some will lay 20,

thirty or forty rubbles into the Caback, vowing themſelves to the pot, till the ſtock be ſpent; and all this (as the drunkard will vaunt,) for the honour of *Hoſpodare*, *viz.* the Prince. For, for hindering this baſe and ungodly profit, none may dare to call, or intreat him out of the Caback. Of theſe ſome yeeld eight hundred, ſome nine hundred, ſome a thouſand, ſome three thouſand rubbles by yeare.

Sometime he will cauſe his *Boiarens* (or Nobles) to feigne themſelves robbed, and then will he ſend for the Aldermen of the Citie, to finde out the fellon, and upon an *Ignoramus*, he will ſeſſe the Citie (upon colour of miſgovernment) eight thouſand, nine thouſand or ten thouſand rubbles.

Iuan Vaſilowich ſent into *Permia* for certaine loads of Cedar wood, whereof he knew none to grow in the Countrie. The Inhabitants returned word, that they could finde none: whereupon he ſeſſed the Countrie at 12060 rubbles. So ſent he to the Citie of *Moſco*, to provide a Colpack (or meaſure full) of live fleas for a medicine: They returned anſwer that the thing was impoſſible: whereupon he praved (or beat out of their ſhins) ſeven hundred rubbles for a mulct. So at another time, he praved thirty thouſand rubbles from his Nobilitie, becauſe he miſſed of his game when he went on hunting: Which they againe praved out of the *Monſicks*, or common people of the Countrie, as the manner is.

Beſides, in their Diets (or Parliaments) they are reputed of no degree or order. For therein the Nobilitie and Clergie onely have voices.

In all their ſupplications and petitions to any of the Nobles, or chiefe Officers, they ſubſcribe *Kelophey*, ſlaves; and ſo doe they of the Nobilitie, to the Emperor: So that if a poore *Mouſal* meeteth any of them upon the way, hee muſt turne himſelfe about, and not dare to looke this Magnifico in the face, but conge to the ground with his head, as Prieſts doe to their Wafer-cakes.

As for the quiet enjoyment of their lands, beſides the taxes, cuſtomes, ſeaſings and other publike exactions, practiſed by the Emperour himſelfe, and permitted unto his Nobles,

Meſſengers

Meſſengers and Officers; you ſhall ſee Yammes (thorowfare townes) of halfe a mile and a mile long, ſtand uninhabited, by reaſon of theſe ungodly preſſures. So that in the way towards *Moſco*, betweene *Vologda* and *Yeraſlave*, which is ſomewhat more than an hundred Engliſh miles, there have beene in ſight fiftie Villages, at leaſt of the foreſaid length, quite diſinhabited. And this is the reaſon that the people doe not give themſelves to thrive, nor to trades, as in former times: whereby honeſt labour is much decaied, and the preſent quantities of Merchandize nothing anſwerable to the former reckoning. As well you may perceive in this one Hiſtorie, wherein I will ſhew you two rare accidents, how three Brethren Merchants did riſe up to great wealth, and in what manner they were fleeced.

They traded together in one ſtocke, and were found to be worth three hundred thouſand rubbies, beſides lands, ſtocke and other commodities. They that knew them report, That they ſet ten thouſand men on worke all the yeare long, in making of ſalt, carriages by cart and water, hewing of wood, and ſuch like labours; beſides five thouſand bond-ſlaves at leaſt, to inhabit and till their land. They had all manner of Artificers; Phyſitians, Surgeons, Apothecaries (*Dutchmen*) belonging unto them; And for cuſtome paid unto the Emperor came (the true cauſe wherfore they were the longer permitted to enjoy their thrift) twentie three thouſand rubbles *per annum*, beſides the maintayning of certaine garriſons on the borders of *Siberia*, which were neere unto them. Now if any man object, how theſe men could come to ſuch an eſtate of wealth, under ſuch an exactious Prince: Firſt, he muſt underſtand, that their dwelling was in *Wichida*, a thouſand miles from *Moſco*, and the eye of the Court: Secondly, that forbearance is no quittance: For the Emperour was well content to uſe their purſes, untill ſuch time as they had perfected their deſignes in *Siberia*; and that, by burning and cutting downe woods, from *Wichida* to *Permia*, a progreſſe of a thouſand Verſts, they had made the land habitable. But at laſt, He, envy-

ing & diſdayning that a *Monſick* ſhould grow to be ſo great a man, againſt the rules of their policie; firſt began to pull from them ſometimes twentie thouſand rubbles, and ſometimes more; and then, the greateſt part of their Inheritance: So that at this day their Sonnes are well eaſed of their ſtocke, and have but ſmall part of their Fathers ſubſtance.

Neither is this State content to tyrannize ouer their bodies, goods and lands, but he doth the like ouer their wits and capacities. For, for any extraordinarie perfection in any common Art, much leſſe in learning, you ſhall never ſee them excellent, from which they are kept of purpoſe, as they are alſo (being no *Boiardi*, Gentlemen) from all militarie practice.

And becauſe they ſhould prove utterly unapt for any profeſſion, ſave ſervilitie, they are forbidden to travell; ſo that you ſhall never meet with a *Ruſſe* in forren Countries, except it be ſome Ambaſſadour, or perhaps ſome ſtragling companion, who hath narrowly eſcaped the watch on the borders.

The penalty upon taking, is no leſſe than confiſcation of all his goods. Neither will they ſuffer any ſtranger willingly to enter their Countrie, further than the neceſſitie of venting their commodities, and taking in of forren doth inforce them.

Their cruelſtie in puniſhing offenders.

Their capitall puniſhments are hanging, rodding, knocking on the heads, drowning, putting under the ice, impaling a ſtake, and ſuch like.

By this a man may gheſſe of his riches: for he is not only abſolute Lord of all, but alſo he uſeth the ſervice of their bodies at his pleaſure, and what portion of their goods him liſteth. Of the skins of wilde beaſts he challengeth what portion he liketh; and of every ſort of Fiſh, even what he will (as hereafter.) The skins are ſold or given, as pleaſeth him: the Fiſh (dried in the winde) is kept for victualling the garriſons. In the market no man may ſell his wares, before the King hath ſold. He hath not many Mines of Gold or Silver. The beſt Mart-Townes, from whence he gathereth the greateſt

greatest part of his Revenues, are *Astrachan* at the *Caspian* sea, whither the wares of the *Persians* and *Armenians* are brought; and S. *Nicholas*, whither the ships of the *English* and *Hollanders* doe arrive, laden with Cloth and other Merchandize, which from thence are transported to *Vologda*. When his Ambassadors returne, he taketh from them the presents given them by forren Princes, and in stead thereof bestoweth upon them some other reward, and many times nothing at all. To speake in a word: he gleaneth whatsoever is good or ought worth, through his whole Kingdome; it is thought that he hath great store of Treasure in his Castles of *Mosco*, *Ieraslave*, and the Marishes of *Albi*; which may be true: for the great Duke *Iohn* wasted in a manner all *Livonia*, sparing neither Relique, Chalice, Crucifix, nor any ornament of silver: and of that which is once brought in, he suffereth no part thereof to be transported, unlesse it be for the ransome of souldiers taken in the war, or of the poore people carried into captivitie. This is most true, that when he lost *Livonia*, which King *Stephen* of *Poland* reconquered, in the yeare of our Lord 1582. he lost the richest Province of all his Dominions, for the Traffike of the *Baltike* sea; and the best, for the strength of 34. castles standing therein.

Of his strength

The strength of the Kingdome consisteth in the manifold numbers of Rivers and Marishes, and in the thicknesse of woods. Besides, they use to lay wast the parts neerest their enemies, that there the Woods may grow thicker, which for the moisture of the soyle quickly commeth to passe, and are as availeable, as a wall or trench to the defence of the next townes. This policie brought great travel to the *Polanders*, for they were constrained to lose much time in cutting downe the woods, before they could come to the inhabited places of their enemies. They have a few fortresses, some built of stone, some of bricke after the *Italian* fashion, but without strength of moderne devices or cunning workmanship. Such are the Castles of *Mosco*, *Novograd*, *Plescovia*, *Porcovia*, *Slobadie*: some are wrought with twigs and earth, well troden downe, as *Smoloncke*. But commonly the wals of

ſtrong places are built of great beames ſtuffed with Turffe or Moſſe, leaving loop-holes for ſhot. This fortifying is very available againſt great Ordnance, but exceeding ſubject to firing. They ſerve in the field (as we told you before, treating of his government) rather bearing themſelves valiantly for feare of puniſhment, than of their own natures ſhewing any alacritie or willingnes to the ſervice. He hath his Captaines at a becke, his Souldiers ſuffer all extremities patiently; they care not for froſt or raine: they indure hunger and ſcarcitie with incredible contentment; they live with a little: better able to defend a fortreſſe, than to fight in field; for here courage and agilitie, there conſtancie and reſolution are moſt ſerviceable: whereas the *Polanders* are better to fight in the field, than to keepe a Caſtle: as well appeared in either Natiõ at the ſiege of *Vobſco*, where the *Ruſſe* repulſed the *Polonian* King *Stephen Battore*, with his whole Armie of one hundred thouſand men, & forced him in the end to give over his ſiege, with the loſſe of many of his beſt Captaines and Souldiers: but in a ſet field the *Ruſſie* hath beene ever noted to have had the worſe of the *Polonian* and *Sweden*. And therefore the Great Duke *Iohn*, finding by experience the unaptneſſe of his Souldiers, and the readineſſe of the *Polonians* in skirmiſhes, was wont to ſay; That his men had need of a ſpur to drive them forward, and the *Polonians* wanted a bridle to hold them backe. His chiefeſt force is in horſe; but what number he can raiſe, who can ſhew? For I doe not beleeve that hee is able (as ſome ſay) to arme three hundred thouſand, becauſe though his Empire be large, yet for the greateſt part it lieth unmanured; as the many dayes journey between *Cazan* and *Aſtrachan*, and ſcarce meeting one Village in the way, may well witneſſe. In the war which King *Stephen* waged againſt him (being not above ſixtie thouſand Foot and Horſe ſtrong) hee was not able to raiſe ſõ great a force, I will not ſay, as to meet him in the open field, but not to hinder him from forcing of *Pozovia*, *Vlocolue*, and other peeces, no, nor to divert him from the ſiege of *Pleſcovia*.

In the yeare 1571. the Prince of the *Tartars* with 80000. Souldiers

Souldiers, pierced even into the bowels of his Kingdome, and ſet fire on his Imperiall ſeat *Moſco*. Therefore I thinke, that they who report, that the Great Duke can levie three hundred thouſand men, and the King of *Polonia* 200000. doe rather meane heads of Horſes than Riders; for there may be ſo many thouſand Horſe, and yet every one is not to be counted a Horſe of ſervice, no more than every Horſeman a Rider, or able to finde himſelfe Armour. One hath his heart in his horſe; another wants abilitie; a third wants ſtrength of bodie; a fourth, both courage and ſtrength: yea, admit he could raiſe ſo many men (as theſe Writers ſpeake of) yet would it be a hard matter, perchance impoſſible, for him to aſſemble them in one place; or if he could, where would wages or victuals be found ſufficient to ſuſtaine them For two hundred Horſemen in *Moſcovie*, require three hundred Packe-horſes, and ſo many tenders, who muſt all be fed; as likewiſe the victualers, the Merchants, the Artificers, and ſuch Servants as can hardly be ſpared in warlike enterpriſes. To performe this, whole *Moſcovie* muſt of neceſſity be gathered into one place; and then it were to be feared, leſt in ſo great a journey from one part of the Kingdome, the other part oppoſite would runne to ruine and decay. Likewiſe, although ſuch a proportion of Horſe, as hath beene ſpoken of, might be raiſed, it were not wiſdome for the State to ſtrip the Borders of their Garriſons, the Provinces of their ſinewes, the Cities of their Magiſtrates, and the Countrie of Husbandmen.

In which point *Baſilius*, in the conqueſt of *Lituania* and *Livonia*, committed a great overſight; for that, taking away with him the upland and Country people, who ſhould have tilled the ground, and might eaſily have beene kept in order without any danger, by other good policies; by this courſe was afterwards driven many yeres together, to victuall the Countrie (eſpecially the great Townes) out of his owne Countrie of *Ruſſia*. And againe, when he firſt conquered the Countries, he committed no leſſe an error in ſuffering the Natives to keepe their poſſeſſions, and to inhabit

all

all their Townes, onely paying him a tribute, under the government of his *Ruſſe* Captaines, whoſe conſpiracies and attempts were the loſſe of theſe places. The like fell out at the Port-Towne of *Narve* in *Liefland*, where his Son *Iuan Vaſiliwich*, built a Towne and a Caſtle on the other ſide of the River (called *Ivangorod*) to keep the Countrie in ſubjection, which ſo fortified, was thought to be invincible: When it was furniſhed, for reward to the Architect (being a *Polonian*) he put out both his eyes, to diſable him to build the like againe. But having left all the Natives within their owne Countrie, without abating their number and ſtrength in due order, the Towne and Caſtle not long after was betraied to the King of *Sweden*. Therefore I conclude, that that Prince whoſe Kingdome is able to afford him an hundred and fiftie thouſand Horſe, to be bravely furniſhed, if he can bring into the field but the third part (I ſpeake of war, and not of incurſions.)

Some more modeſt in writing affirme, that the *Moſcovite* could levie an hundred and fiftie thouſand Horſe, if neceſſitie to defend himſelfe forced him thereunto: And that *Iohn* the third, in the voyage of *Aſtrachan*, entertained an hundred & twentie thouſand Horſe, and twentie thouſand foot. The ſame King invading *Livonia* in the time of King *Alexander*, levied a mightie Army, and notwithſtanding, maintained another upon the borders of the Kingdome. The great Duke *Iohn* adjoyning to his troops of Horſe certaine thouſands of ſhot, moſt Strangers, which yeelded him notable ſervice in the defence of his Cities.

And to make good the aforeſaid proportion of Cavalrie, the Engliſhmen, who by reaſon of their intercourſe in thoſe Countries, are beſt acquainted with theſe Relations, doe write, that the ordinarie number of ſouldiers entertained in continuall pay is this: firſt, hee hath his *Dowrancie* (viz.) Penſioners, or guard of his perſon, to the number of 15000. horſmen, with their Captaines & other Officers, that are alwaies in a readineſſe. Theſe 15000. are divided into three ſorts: the firſt are cheife Penſioners, & they receive ſome

an

an hundred, ſome foureſcore rubbles a yeare, none under ſeventie. The ſecond ſort receive betwixt ſixtie and fiftie, none under fortie. The third and loweſt ſort receive thirtie a yeare, ſome 25, ſome 20, none under 12. the whole ſumme ariſeth to fiftie five thouſand rubbles by yeare.

Beſides theſe 15000 Horſemen, (being the guard of the Emperours owne perſon, when himſelfe goeth to the wars, reſembling the *Roman* prætorian ſouldiers) there are 110. men of ſpeciall account for their Nobilitie and truſt, choſen by the Emperour, who are bound to finde 65000. Horſemen, with all neceſſaries meet for the wars, after the *Ruſſian* manner. For the which ſervice, they are yearly allowed for themſelves, and their companies, the ſumme of 40000. rubbles. Theſe 65000. are bound to repaire to the field every yeare, towards the borders of the *Chrim Tartars* (except they be otherwayes appointed) whether there be wars with the *Tartar*, or no. And becauſe it ſhould not prove dangerous unto the State, to intruſt ſo great a power to Noblemen, firſt as they are many, *viz.* 110. ſo are they changed by the Emperour at his pleaſure. Secondly, they have their maintenance of the Emperour, being men otherwiſe borne but to ſmall Revenue. Thirdly, for the moſt part, they are about the Emperours perſon, being of his Councell, either ſpeciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather pay-maſters than Captaines to their Companies; themſelves not going forth ordinarily to the wars, ſave when they are directed by ſpeciall command. So the whole number of horſemen alwayes in readineſſe and continuall pay, are foureſcore thouſand, few more or leſſe. If he need a greater number (which ſeldome hapneth) then he entertaineth thoſe Gentlemen which are out of pay: If yet he want, he giveth charge unto his Noblemen that hold Lands of him, to bring into the field everie man proportionable number of his Servants (called *Kolophey*, *viz.* ſuch as till his Lands) with their furniture: the which ſervice being done, preſently they lay downe their Weapons, and returne againe to their ſervile labours.

Of

Of Footmen in continuall pay, he hath twelve thouſand all Harquebuſhers, whereof five thouſand attend about the citie of *Moſco*, or where the Emperour ſhall abide; and two thouſand (called *Stremaney ſtrelſey*, or Gunners at the ſtirrop,) about his own perſon at the Court or Houſe where himſelfe lodgeth. The reſidue are placed in Garriſons, till times of ſervice, and receive for their ſalarie every man ſeven rubbles a yeare, beſides twelve meaſures apeece of Rice and Oates. Of mercenary ſouldiers being ſtrangers, (1588) he had three thouſand *Polonians*: Of *Chyrchaſſes* (who are under the *Polonians*) about foure thouſand: Of *Dutch* and *Scots* 150. Of *Greekes*, *Turkes*, and *Swedens*, all in one band, a hundred or thereabouts. Theſe they imploy only upon the *Tartarian* ſide, and againſt the *Siberians*, as they doe the *Tartar* ſouldiers (whom they ſometime hire, & but only for the preſent) on the other ſide, againſt the *Polonian* and *Sweden*. Concerning their arming, they are but ſleightly appointed: The Common Horſeman hath nothing but his Bow in his caſe under his right arme, and his Quiver and Sword hanging on the left ſide, except ſome few that beare a caſe of Dags, or a Iavelin, or ſhort Staffe along their Horſe ſide. The Noblemen ride better and richer appointed; their Swords, Bowes and Arrowes, are of the Turkiſh faſhion, and practiſe as the *Tartars*, to ſhoot forwards and backwards, as they flie, or retire.

The Footman hath nothing but his peece in his hand, his caſting-hatchet at his backe, and his ſword by his ſide; proviſion of victuall the Emperour alloweth none, either for Captaine or Souldier, neither provideth any, except peradventure ſome corne for their money. Every man is to bring ſufficient for himſelfe for foure moneths, and if need require, to give order for more to be brought after him to the Campe from his Tenant that tilleth his Land, or ſome other place: for diet and lodging, every *Ruſſie* is prepared a Souldier before-hand; for though the Chiefe Captaines carry tents with them after the faſhion of ours, with ſome better proviſion of victuall than the reſt: yet the common

mon sort bring nothing with them, save a kinde of dried bread, with some store of meale; which they temper with water, and so make it into a ball, or small lumpe of dough, and this they eat raw in stead of bread: their meat is Bacon, or some flesh, or fish, dried after the Dutch manner. If this Souldier were as hardy to execute, as he is able to beare out toyle and travell, or as apt & well trained, as he is indifferent for his lodging and dyet; he would farre exceed the servitors of other Provinces. For every Souldier in *Russia* is a Gentleman, and none Gentlemen but Souldiers, so that the son of a Gentleman is ever a Gentleman, and a Souldier withall, bound unto no other profession, but meere Souldierie.

It is thought, that no Prince in Christendome hath better store of munition, which may partly appeare by the Artillery-house at *Mosco*, where are divers sorts of great Ordnance, all of Brasse, very faire, and to an exceeding great number.

Upon his frontiers lie the *Tartars*, *Precopenses*, those of the *Taurica Chersonesus*, the *Circassi*, and the *Nagayans*. These people inhabit a Countrey seven daies journey distant, and are governed by Dukes, after the manner of the *Helvetians*. He hath received great injury of the *Precopenses*, without hope of amends; because they are confederate with the great *Turke*, and by him furnisht with Harquebusiers, and Ordnance, and have in their Kingdome many strong places fortified with *Turkish* Garrisons: and therefore he thinketh it hard and dangerous to invade them being backed by the *Turke*, whose power he should likewise stirre up against him? It is the custome of the *Precopi* (often used) to make inrodes into the Provinces of the Great *Duke*, as likewise of the *Polonian*, & to carry away whatsoever commeth to hand. If the Great *Duke* have vanquished the *Tartars* of *Cassan* and *Astrachan*, let him attribute that Conquest to his great Ordnance, which they wanted. But the *Precopi* have the use of Guns, and (worth all the rest,) the favour and protection of the *Turkish* Emperor; who thirsting to open a way into *Moscouy*, or the *Caspian* sea, assayed not many yeares since to dig a trench from *Tanais* to *Volga*: but his forces

Borderers.

were

were put to flight by the *Moscovites* in feare of their utter destruction, if the *Turke* had brought that designment to effect. This was a device of greater courage than wisdome: for the *Moscovites* not onely defeated his Navy, taking part thereof; but also put all his Land-forces to the Sword, consisting of fourescore thousand *Tartars*, five and twenty thousand *Turkes*, and three thousand *Ianizars*.

The *Circassi*. As we have said before, the *Circassi* live much after the manner of the *Swissers*; they endevour not to inlarge their owne bounds, but serve for wages, sometime under the *Turk*, sometime under the *Persian*, sometimes under the *Moscovite*: from whose Dominions they are so farre disjoyned, that they stand in no feare of their severall greatnesses. The *Nagayans* are more to be dreaded, for their sudden inrodes and furious incursions, than for jealousie of their forces, or that they are able to raise, or undertake any royall voyage. Of late times they threatned the *Moscovite*, but their fury was soon appeased by sending them presents. It is the best course to hazard our money, rather than our forces, against the thefts & spoyls of these barbarous Nations: for when they have neither City nor strong place to subdue; thereby to keepe them in subjection, what can you terme the Warre made against them, but labour with losse, and charge without profit? But to prevent all mischiefes, the Duke is forced to keepe great troopes of Horse in *Citrachan*, *Casan*, and *Viatca*, against these *Nagaij*: as also a great Garrison in *Culagan* upon *Tanais* against the *Precopi*.

The *Nagayans*.

The *Chrim Tartars*. But the mightiest of them all is the *Chrim Tartar*, (whom some call the *Great Cham*) who lieth South and Southeastward from *Russia*, and doth most annoy the Countrey by often invasions, commonly once every yeare, sometimes entering very far within the Inland parts. In the yeare 1571. hee pierced as farre as the City *Mosco*, with an Army of 200000. men, without battell or resistance; for that the *Russe* Emperour (then *Iuan Vasiliwich*) leading forth his Army to encounter him, mistooke the way. The City he tooke not, but fired the suburbs, which by reason of the buildings con-

conſiſting for the moſt part of wood, kindled ſo quickly, and went on with ſuch fury, as that it conſumed the greateſt part thereof, almoſt within the ſpace of foure houres: where, by fire, and preaſe 800000. people or more were reported to have periſhed at that ſeaſon. Their principall quarrell ariſeth about certaine Territories claimed by the *Tartar*, but poſſeſſed by the *Ruſſe*. The *Tartar* alleageth, that beſides *Aſtrachan* and *Cazan* (the ancient poſſeſſion of the Eaſt-*Tartar*) the whole bounds, North and Weſt-ward, ſo farre as the Citie of *Moſco*, and *Moſco* it ſelfe, pertaineth to his right; which ſeemeth to be true by the report of the *Ruſſes* themſelves, that tell of a certaine homage done by the *Ruſſe* Emperour every yeare to the great *Chrim*, the *Ruſſe* Emperor ſtanding on foot, and feeding the *Chrims* horſe ſitting on horſe-backe, with Oats out of his owne Cap, in ſtead of a Boule or Manger, and that within the Caſtle of *Moſco*.

And this homage they ſay was done till the time of *Baſilius*, who ſurprizing the *Chrim Tartar* by a Stratagem undertooke by one of his Nobility, was content to change this homage into a tribute of Furs: which afterwards alſo was denyed; whereupon they continue their quarrels, the *Ruſſe* defending his Countrey and Conqueſts, and the *Chrim* invading him once or twice a yeare, ſometime about Whitſontide, but oftner in Harveſt. What time if the great *Chrim* come in perſon, he bringeth with him an Army of one hundred thouſand, or two hundred thouſand men; otherwiſe they make ſhort and ſudden rodes, with leſſer numbers, running about the liſt of the borders like wilde-Geeſe, invading, and retyring, as they ſee advantage. And now being entred thus farre, not without occaſion, into the manners of theſe *Tartars*, I thinke it not amiſſe ſomewhat to diſcourſe of their fights, their Arming, their Religion, and Cuſtomes. *Tartaria.*

Their common practice (being very populous) is to make divers armies, and ſo drawing the *Ruſſe* into one or two places of the frontiers, to invade at ſome place unſuſpected, and without defence. Their order of fight is much after the *Ruſſe* manner; that is, to thruſt on all together without diſcipline

discipline in a hurry, as they are directed by their Generall; save that they are all Horse-men, and carry nothing else but a Bow, a sheafe of Arrowes, and a Cemiter, after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert Horsemen, and use to shoot as readily backward, as forward. Some will have a Horse-mans staffe like a Boare-speare; besides their other weapons. The common Souldier hath no other armour than his ordinary apparell, *viz.* a black Sheepe-skin, with the wooll-side outward in the day time, and inwards in the night time, with a Cap of the same. But their *Morseis* or Noblemen imitate the *Turke* both in Apparell and Armour. When they are to passe over a River with their Army, they tie three or foure Horses together, and taking peeces of wood, they binde them to the tailes of their Horses, and so sitting on the poles, they drive their Horses over. At handy strokes they are counted farre better men than the *Russes*, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloody by continuall practice of war, as men never inured to the delights of peace, nor any civile practice.

Yet their subtiltie is more than may seeme to agree with their barbarous conditions. By their continuall invasions and robberies, they are very pregnant and witty, to devise stratagems on the sudden for their advantage. As in their Warres against *Beala*, the fourth King of *Hungarie*, whom they invaded with 500000. men, and obtained against him a great victory. Wherein having slaine his Chancellor, they found about him the Kings privie Seale, and there with presently counterfeited Letters in the Kings name to the next Cities, with charge, That in no case they should convey themselves or their goods out of their dwelling places; encouraging the people to abide therein without feare of danger, and withall recounting how base a resolution it were, to abandon their countrey and possessions to so barbarous a Nation as the *Tartar*; dispraising themselves in all despightfull manner, letting them to understand, that though he had lost his carriages with some few straglers; who had marched disorderly, yet hee doubted not but to recover that

losse

loſſe with the ſortune of a noble victory, if the ſavage *Tartar* durſt abide him in the field. To this purpoſe having written their Letters in the *Poliſh* Character (by the helpe of certaine young men taken priſoners in the field) ſigned with the Kings ſeale, they diſpatched them forth to all the adjacent quarters of the Countrey; whereupon the *Hungarians* that were now poſting away with their goods, wives, and children, on the rumour of the Kings overthrow, by the comfort of theſe counterfeit letters, ſtopped their journey, and ſo being ſurprized, were hem'd in, and made a prey to the huge numbers of theſe barbarous *Tartarians*.

When they beſiege a Towne or Fort, they offer much parle, and pretend many flattering courteſies to perſwade a ſurrender, and being once poſſeſſed of the place, they leave no cruelty unpractiſed, affirming, that faith & juſtice is to be kept toward no people but their owne. In their encounters (where they alway practiſe by ambuſhments) they retire as repulſed for feare, ſo to draw their enemies within danger: but the *Ruſſe* being well acquainted with this ſubtiltie, is very wary of them. When they warre in ſmall numbers, like Rovers, to make their Army ſeeme greater, they ſet counterfeit ſhapes of men on horſebacke.

When they give the onſet, they make a great and barbarous ſhout, crying all together *Olla Billa, Olla Billa*, God helpe us, God helpe us; They contemne death in that deſperate manner, that they chuſe rather to die than yeeld: and when they are wounded to death, & paſt recovery, they have beene ſeene to bite their weapons in rage; wherein appeareth the great difference of courage between the *Tartar*, the *Ruſſe*, and the *Turke*: For if the *Ruſſe* ſouldier be once put to retire, all his ſafety is ſet on ſpeedy and reſolved flight, and being once taken, he neither defendeth himſelfe, nor intreateth for mercy, as reckoning ſtraight to die: and the *Turke* commonly, when he is paſt hope of eſcaping, falleth to intreat, and caſting away his weapon, offereth both his hands as it were to bee manacled, chuſing rather to live a ſlave, than to die conſtantly.

The chiefeſt bootie they deſire is to get ſtore of captives, eſpecially young Boyes and Girles, whom they ſell to the *Turkes*, or other their neighbours. And the *Ruſſie* borderers (being uſed to their invaſions, lightly every Summer) keepe few other Cattell on the borders ſave Swine, which the *Tartars* will not touch nor drive away, becauſe they are of the Turkiſh Religion, and will eat no Swines fleſh. Of *Chriſt*, they confeſſe as much as the *Turke* doth in his *Alcoran, viz.* That he came of the Angell *Gabriel* and *Mary*; that he was a great Prophet, and ſhall bee Judge of the world at the laſt day. In other matters likewiſe they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the *Turke*, as having felt his force at the winnings of *Azon* and *Caffa*, with ſome other territories about the *Euxine* Sea, which before were Tributaries to this *Chrim Tartar*. So that at this day, moſt uſually the Emperour of the *Chrim* is choſen out of the *Tartar* Nobility by the *Turks* appointment, and to him they give the tenths of their ſpoiles gotten by warre from the Chriſtians. Under the Emperour they have certaine Dukes, whom they call *Morſes* or *Divoy morſes*, that rule over a certaine number of 1000. 20000. or 40000. apeece, which they terme *Hords*. When the Emperour hath uſe of them in his warres, they are bound to come and to bring with them their proportion of Souldiers, every man with two horſe at leaſt, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to have him eaten. For their chiefe victuall is horſe-fleſh, which they eat without bread, or any thing elſe with it. And yet (with marvell) though they ſerve all on horſebacke, and eat all of horſe-fleſh, there are brought yearely to the *Muſco* to bee ſold 30 or 40000 Horſe. So they have great droves of Kine, and flocks of blacke Sheepe, which they keepe rather for their skinnes, than for their fleſh, though ſometime they eat of it. Townes they plant none, nor other ſtanding buildings; but have moving houſes built on wheeles, like a Shepherds cottage: theſe they draw with them whereſoever they goe, driving their Cattell with them, and when they come to their jour-

nies

ties end, they plant these Cart-houses in a ranke, in forme of a Towne with large streets: neither hath the Emperour himselfe other place or manner of dwelling; saying, That the fixed and standing buildings of other Countries are unwholesome and unsavoury.

In the Spring they beginne to move their houses from the South parts towards the North, and so driving on till they have grazed up all to the farthest part of the North; they returne backe againe towards the South (where they continue all the Winter) by ten miles a stage. Of Money they have no use at all, preferring Brasse and Steele before other Metals, which they use for swords, knives and other necessaries; gold and silver they neglect of purpose, as also tillage, to be more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey lesse subject to invasions. Which course indeed cannot but prove disadvantagious to the Invaders, as it hapned in old time to *Cyrus*, and *Darius Histaspis*. For their manner is, when they are invaded, by flying, reculing, and fained feare, to draw their enemies some good way into the bowels of their Countrey; and then when victuals beginne to grow scarce, and other extremities to oppresse their enemies, (as needs they must, where nothing is to be had) they stop up the passages, and inclose them with multitudes. By which policy (as some write) they had well-nigh surprized the Army of *Tamerlane*, had hee not with all expedition retired towards the River *Tanais*.

For Person and Complexion; they have broad and flat visages, of a tawny colour, fierce and cruell in lookes, thinne-haired on the upper lip and a pit of the chinne, light and nimble bodied, and short leg'd, as if they were naturally created for horsemen. Their speech is very sudden and loud, speaking as it were out of a deepe hollow throat. Their chiefest exercise is shooting, wherein they traine their children from their infancie: and to conclude, are the very same people whom the *Greekes* and *Latines* called *Scytha-Nomades*, or the *Scythian* Shepherds.

There are divers other *Tartars* (as I have afore said) bordering

dering upon *Russia*, as the *Nagaij*, the *Cheremissens*, the *Mordwits*, the *Chircasses*, and the *Shalcans*: all differing in name, more than in custome or condition, from the *Chrim Tartar*, (except the *Chircasses* that border South-East toward *Lituania*,) who are farre more civill than the rest of the *Tartars*, of a comely personage and stately behaviour, as imitating the fashion of the *Polonian*: whereof some of them have subjected themselves to this Crowne, and professe Christianity. The *Nagaij* lieth Eastward, and is reckoned the best man of warre among the *Tartars*, but very savage above all the rest. The *Cheremissen Tartar* lieth betweene the *Russie* and the *Nagaij*, and are of two sorts, the *Luganoy*, that is, of the valley; and the *Nagornay*, *viz.* of the hilly Countrey. These have so troubled the *Russe* Emperour, that under colour of a yearely pension of *Russie* commodities, he is content to buy his peace, yet with condition to serve him in his warres.

The most rude and barbarous is the *Mordwit Tartar*, a people having many selfe-fashions, and strange kinds of behaviour differing from the rest.

Next to the Kingdome of *Astrachan*, the farthest part South-East of the *Russie* dominion lieth the *Shalcan*, and the Country of *Media*, whither the *Russie* Merchants travell for raw Silks, Syndon, Saffron, Skins, and other commodities.

The next bordering neighbour by *Finland* side, is the King of *Sweveland*. Of late times this King holding a long warre against him, tooke from him by force the Castles of *Soreneseo*, and *Pernavia* the great, and the lesse in *Livonia*, on the one side, while King *Stephen* vexed him with a cruell warre on the other. In the utmost bound of the *Finland Bay*, the *Swevian* to his great charge possesseth the fortresse of *Viburge*, maintaining therein a great Garrison to resist the attempts of the *Russe*. Likewise in that Sea, and on the coast adjoyning, he keepeth the ships of warre, as well to be ready at all assayes against the approaches of this great Duke, as also to forbid the Easterlings the bringing in of munition, and warlike furniture into any part of the *Russies* dominions:

Dominions: neither doth he suffer other Ships to saile in those Seas, without a speciall Placard signed with his owne hand: By the benefit of this Navy, the King (whereſoever he finds meanes to use it) becommeth master of the Sea, and by vertue thereof seizeth upon many places on the coast of *Livonia*, and the bordering territories. But where the Dukes horse, or his great numbers of footmen may stand him in stead, (as in the open field removed from the Sea) there he maketh his part good enough, and most commonly puts the *Swevian* to the worst. The best is, Nature hath placed betweene them such rough Mountaines, such cold, such Ice, and such snowes, that they cannot greatly endamage one another.

The last neighbour is the King of *Poland*, betweene whom and the great Duke, this is the differenee. The *Moscovite* hath more territories, the *Polonians* better inhabited, and more civill: the *Moscovite* more subjects, and more subject; the *Polonian* better souldiers, and more couragious: the *Moscovites* are apter to beare the shocke, than to give a charge; the *Polonians*, to charge: the *Moscovite* is fitter to keepe a fortresse; the *Polonian*, to fight in the field: the *Moscovite* forces are better united; the *Polonian* more considerate, and better armed: the *Moscovite* lesse careth for want and extremities; the *Polonian*, death and the sword: yea, either Nation is of greater worth, when either of their Princes is of greater magnanimity: As it hapned, when *Basilius* conquered the great Duchie of *Smoloncke*, and *Polonicke*, and the large circuit of *Livonia*: And againe, when *Stephen*, King of *Poland*, in his last warres against *Iohn Basilius* his sonne, reconquered *Poloncke*, with divers other places of good reckoning; besieged the City of *Plesko*, and forced the *Moscovite* to leave all *Livonia*; whereby I conclude, such as is the valour and wisdome of either Prince, such is the force and courage of their people. The Pole.

Tartaria.

The large extent of all *Tartaria*.

THe Empire of *Tartaria* laid prostrate under the Throne of the Great *Chum*, called *Dominus dominantium*, and *Rex regum*, spreadeth it selfe with so large imbracement, that it extendeth from the Northerne *Oby*, or if you will *Tanais*, even to the Easterne Sea, sometime surnamed the *Atlanticke*; whose vast Lap is almost filled with a fry of Ilands, and begirteth all the Countries called *Scythia*, *Ievomongal*, *Sumongal*, *Mertat*, *Metrit*, the vast Desart of *Lop*, *Tangut*, *Kataia*, and *Mungia*; so that shouldering all the Northerne shore of the *Caspian*, it runneth along without controll by the high looking walls of *China*, and is over-shadowed by those formidable Mountaines *Riphei*, *Hyperborei*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*.

And although the *Chrim Tartar* would faine challenge affinity with the *Turke*, expecting that if the *Ottoman* line should faile, the greatest share of the worlds magnificence would devolve to him: yet dare he not but acknowledge the Emperour *Cham* for his Lord paramount, and is affrighted when hee heareth of any complaints to his prejudice.

From *Scythia* to the Province of *Tangut*, they live in troops or hoords, and remove from place to place according to the temperature of the season, and plenty of feeding: Nor before the yeare of Redemption 1222. did we in *Europe* heare of the name of a *Tartar*, but of *Scythians*, *Sarmatians*, *Albanians*, and such, who were all Idolaters.

Their features.

They are men of square Stature, broad Faces, hollow Eies, thin Beards, and ugly Countenances, swartish of Complexion, not for that the Sunne kisseth them with extraordinary kindnesse, but for that the aire, and their sluttish customes corrupteth their bloud and bodies: To which inconveniences

conveniences Nature notwithstanding hath prevailed in the distribution of valour, swift foot-manship, vigilancy, and patience to endure the many incumbrances of travell, hunger, and want of sleepe.

They love horses, and from that love accustome themselves to a savage drinking of their bloud, practising a cunning theft therein; which being unpunishable, occasioneth many pretty changes, both in keeping their owne, and purloyning from others; as if some civill Artist had instructed them in the *Lacedemonian* Lawes, which tolerated theft for the better animating one another in the spoyling of their enemies. Their fashions.

In their travels and removement they are governed by their Stars, and observing the North pole, they settle according to its motion. They live free from covetousnesse, and are thus farre happy, that the strange corruption of wealth breedeth no disorders amongst them; yet have they a kinde of trafficke, and by way of exchange continue mutuall commerces, loving presents, and can bee contented to bee flattered even in their Barbarisme, as all the Easterne people of the world (I thinke) are affected either by nature or tradition.

If you will heare of their riches, then must you raise your eyes East-ward, and take notice of *Tangut*, a wealthy Province, affording many things befitting *Europe*, especially *Rhubarb*; a simple of that prerogative, as if the whole world of necessity should be beholding unto them for this distribution. Their Riches.

In *Kataia* (amongst many others) the great City of *Cambalu* will excite admiration, if you may be induced to measure a quadrant of thirty miles compasse, and over-looke at every corner a square Tower very neere forty furlongs in circuit; in which the Emperours Munition, Armour, and provision for warre are secured.

In *Mangia*, as Queene of the rest, is the City of *Quinzay*, having a circumference of an hundred miles, by reason that a great Lake divideth the streets into Chanels; over

which are numbred twelve hundred and threescore bridges, some opening the Arches so high and wide, that a good Ship under saile hath a passage of ease. For beleefe, I will neither force the travels of Sir *Iohn Mandevil*, nor the writings of *Munster*, nor the constant asseveration of moderne Travellers; but for mine owne part I would modestly perswade you, That the world is a stage of variety, and that within our owne Kingdome we are acquainted with such novelties of wonder, that if they were but delivered by report, wee would soone prove as incredulous of the one, as we are of the other. But to proceed.

The ancient division.

As I told you, the ancient Provinces were divided into three particulers; and in those dayes knowne by the names of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, both *Scythiaes*, and the Regions of *Serica*, now *Kataia*. Most fierce and barbarous Nations did alwaies inhabit this Country, as first the *Amazons*, a warlike kinde of women, which in their daies casting away the properties of their sex, vexed the whole world, usurped *Asia*, and built *Ephesus*. Upon their finall extirpation arose the *Scythians*, no lesse dreadfull than the former. Then succeeded the *Gothes* or *Getes*, termed (by their neighbours *Polonci*, that is, ravenous or theeviſh. These the *Tartars* tamed, and then erected their Monarchie about the yeare of our Lord, 1187. or as others say, 1162. electing for their King one *Cingis*, a man of base birth and calling. This mans followers at that time lived without Manners, Law, or Religion in the plaines of *Cataconum*, tended their Cattell, and paied their duties to K. *Vn-cham*, otherwise *Presbyter Iohn*, who without doubt in those daies kept his Court in *Tenduch*, in the Kingdome of *Argon*. But this King *Cingis* first subdued the Kingdome of *Vn-cham*, and afterwards imposed the yoke of subjection on the bordering Provinces. And certainly that famous Comet seene in the moneth of May, 1211. lasting eighteene daies, and glimmering on the *Gothes*, *Tanais*, and *Russia*, with its taile extended towards the West, did foreshew the succeeding inundation of these *Tartars*. For in the yeare following, this Nation, whose name

name (as I ſaid) was not ſo much as dreamed of before in *Europe*, wholly ſubdued *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, or *Scythia*, invaded *Ruſſia*, *Hungaria*, and *Polonia*. And laſtly, erected other famous Monarchies in *China*, *Mein*, and *Bengala*.

So that at this day it is divided into five great Provinces: *Tartaria minor*, lying in *Europe* betweene *Tanais* and *Boriſthenes*: *Tartaria deſerta*, (of old *Sarmatia Aſiatica*) containing moſt of the *Hords*, but not all: *Zagatai*: *Kataia*: And laſtly, that great Promontory which lieth out-ſtretched in the furtheſt part thereof towards the North and Eaſt, and may be called *Tartaria antiqua*, as the mother-place of the true *Tartar* Nation, utterly unknowne to *Ptolomie*. Their moderne diviſion.

Thoſe that live in the open field, about the *Euxine* Sea, the Lake of *Meotis*, and the *Tauricke Cherſoneſſe*, which adjoyneth upon *Boriſthenes* and *Tanais* in *Europe* are the *Precopenſes*. In this ſtraight or *Peninſula* ſtandeth *Theodoſia*, now *Caffa*, once a Colonie of the *Genois*, now a *Sangiacie* of the *Turkes*. Their whole Territories are very fruitfull for Corne and Cattell, and the people more civill and courteous than many of the reſidue, yet retaining a ſmatch of their ancient Barbariſme. For they are ſworne enemies to the Chriſtians, yearely invading *Ruſſia*, *Lituania*, *Valachia*, *Polonia*, and many times *Moſcovie*, yeelding to the *Turke* in the name of Tribute yearely three hundred Chriſtian ſoules. To one of theſe Princes *Selimus* gave his daughter in marriage. *Tartaria minor.* The *Precopenſes.*

This in old time was called *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, and better inhabited before the comming of the *Tartars*. It lyeth betweene *Tanais*, the *Caſpian* Sea, and the Lake of *Kitay*. It is a plaine Country, by nature fertile, if it were manured by theſe *Tartars*, nothing given to husbandry, but addicted to lead a roguiſh and wandring life, after the manner of the *Arabians*. Their chiefe delight is in hunting and warfare; Mill and Panicke they caſt careleſly into the ground, which notwithſtanding yeelds ſufficient increaſe. Their ſtore of Horſe and Cattell is ſo plentifull, that they have to ſpare *Tartaria deſerta.*

for

for their Neighbours. For the most part they dwell upon Cartrages covered with skins and woollen cloth. Some defensible Townes they have, whereunto they flie in times of necessity.

Astracan. *Astrachan* is situated upon the *Caspian* Sea; it is rich, affordeth excellent good Salt, and very well frequented by *Moscovish*, *Turkish*, *Armenian*, and *Persian* Merchants. In the yeare 1494. it was taken by *Iohn Basilides*, great Duke of *Moscovie*, and by him with the Title thereof annexed to the *Moscovian* Empire.

The Zagataie. The *Zagatayan Tartars*, were so named of their Prince, the Brother of the great *Cham*, or *Can*, which once reigned amongst them. They are now called *Ieselbas*, that is to say, Greene-heads, of the colour of their Turbants. They inhabit the ancient Countries of *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Margiana*, in times past the habitation of the *Massagetes*, so famous in Armes. These are the most honourable people of the *Tartars*, indifferent civill, given to Arts, and Lords of many faire Cities built with stone; as *Shamercand*, once a Towne of great fame, and renowned for the birth of the great *Tamerlan*, or *Temar-lang*, but now decayed.

Kataia.

AS our Ancestors were ignorant of the Regions situated upon the East side of the *Caspian*, which they imagined to bee a branch of the Ocean; even so, as yet little or nothing knoweth this Age, what Regions lie, or what people inhabit beyond that Sea, and the Mountaines, commonly called *Dalanguer* and *Vssont*. *M. Paul. Venetus* was the first that brake the ice in describing of those Countries, and of him we received what we know of the *Tartars*. The great distance of Countries, the difficulty of the journey, and the inaccessible situation of places, hath hindred the

the discovery of those Provinces: and the great Duke of *Moscovie* (by whose Dominions we may easiest travell thither) will suffer no strangers to passe thorow his Kingdome. The *Caspian* Sea, a passage no lesse fitting for the journey, is not frequented; and by the way of *Persia* infinite Mountaines and vast Desarts, dividing both Provinces, oppose themselves against us: And to the further hindrance of this discoverie, neither the great *Cham*, neither the King of *China*, nor the Duke of *Moscovie*, will suffer any of their subjects to travell out of their Dominions, nor any stranger to enter in; unlesse he come as an Ambassadour: neither (in this case) is it lawfull for him to converse freely, or to range at pleasure.

They live under divers Princes, the principall whereof are those that weare greene on their Turbants. These (as aforesaid) inhabit *Shamercand*, and are at continuall enmity with the *Persians*. Next are those of *Bochan*, Mahumetans: then those of *Mogor*, of whom you shall heare hereafter; and lastly, those of *Kataia*, whereof wee now intreat.

" Never was there any Nation upon the face of the earth, that enjoyed a larger Empery than they doe, or have undertaken haughtier exploits; and I would that they had had some, who might have recommended (by writing) their doings to the World.

M. Paul. Venetus writeth, that this people once inhabited *Ciurga* and *Barge*, Provinces situated upon the *Scythicke* Ocean, without Citie, Castle or House, wandering like the *Arabians* from place to place, according to the season of the yeare. They (as before) acknowledged *Un-cham* (whom some interpret *Prester Iohn*) for their Soveraigne Lord, to whom they gave the tenth of their cattell. In processe of time they multiplied to such numbers, that *Un-cham* being jealous of their neighbour-hood, began to lessen their numbers and forces, by sending them now hither, now thither, upon most long and desperate voyages, as occasion offered. Which when they perceived, they assembled themselves,

ſelves, reſolving to leave their naturall ſoile, and to remove ſo farre from the borders of *Un-cham*, that never after hee ſhould have cauſe to ſuſpect them: this they performed. After certaine yeares, they elected amongſt them a King, called *Changis*, to whom for the greatneſſe of his glory and victories, they added the Sir-name of *Great*. This *Changis*, departing from his owne Territories in the yeare of our Lord 1162. with a moſt fearefull Armie, ſubdued partly by force, and partly by the terrour of his name, nine Provinces. At laſt, being denied the daughter of *Un-cham* in mariage, he made warre upon him, and overcomming him in battell, caſt him out of his Kingdome. After the death of *Changis* his ſucceſſours afflicted *Europe*. In the yeare 1212. they drove the *Poleſochi* from the bankes of the *Euxine* Sea. In the yeare 1228. they ſpoiled *Ruſſia*. In the yeare 1241. they razed *Kiovia* the chiefe Citie of the *Rutheni*; and *Batu* their Captaine waſted *Polonia*, *Sileſia*, *Moravia*, and *Hungarie*. *Innocent* the fourth, amazed with the tempeſt of theſe invaſions, in the yeare 1242. ſent certaine Friers of the orders of *Dominicke* and *Francis*, to the Court of this Great *Cham*, to intreat a peace for Chriſtendome.

Bounded. The circuit of this Empire, in the times above ſpoken of, ſtretched from the uttermoſt bounds of *Aſia* to *Armenia*, and from *Bengala* to *Volga*, yea, their incurſions pierced to *Nilus* and *Danubius*. The *Macedonian* and *Roman* Empires were never ſo large. But becauſe they were rather Runnagates than men of warre, wanting politicke government and military diſcipline, ſometime ruling one Province, ſometime another; they rather wrought ſpoile and terrour to the conquered Nations, than feare of bondage or ſubjection, and at laſt ſeated themſelves beyond the Mountaine *Caucaſus*. After, it became divided into many Principalities, yet ſo, that the Title and Majeſtie of the Empire, remained alwayes to the *Cham*, who (as wee ſaid before) tooke the originall of this name from the Great *Changis*.

Fertilitie. The Region for the moſt part is very populous, full of Townes, rich and civill, which you may the rather beleeve; firſt,

first, for that the *Tartars* chooſing this for their Countrey, beautified it with the ſpoiles of *Aſia*, *China*, and that part of *Europe* which they harried, and were never wonne or taken from thence againe to this day: next, for that the Provinces are moſt commodiouſly ſituated for Trafficke and Negotiation; partly by reaſon of their admirable Plaines, and huge Lakes; (Amongſt which are *Cazaia*, whoſe waters are ſalt, *Guian*, *Dangu*, *Xandu*, and *Catacora*:) and partly by reaſon of their large Rivers, which with a long courſe doe run by the Provinces of *Curato*, *Poliſango*, *Zaiton*, and *Mecon*. *Paulus Venetus* calleth it *Quion*. A great helpe hereunto likewiſe is the variety of fruits, and the abundance of Graine. Rice, Wooll, Silke, Hempe, Rhubarbe, Muske, and excellent fine Chamlets. *Paul.* writeth, that it affordeth Ginger, Cinamon and Cloves, which I can hardly beleeve. In many Rivers are found graines of gold. Their coine is not all of one value. In *Kataia* a coine is currant, made of the blacke rinde of a certaine tree, growing betweene the body and the barke: this rinde being ſmoothed, rounded, and tempered with a gummie ſubſtance, is ſtamped with the Image of the Great *Cham*. In the Kingdoms of *Cajacan* and *Carazan*, certaine ſea-fiſh ſhels are currant, which ſome men terme *Porcelline*. This kinde of money is frequent in many places of *India* and *Æthiope*. By this meanes, the Princes get to themſelves all the Gold and Silver of the Provinces, which they cauſe to be molten and laid up in moſt ſafe places, without ever taking any thing from thence againe. In like ſort, *Preſter Iohn* is thought to be Lord of ineſtimable Treaſure, while he maketh graines of Salt and Pepper, to paſſe for currant Coine amongſt his ſubjects. They brew an excellent beverage of Rice and Spice, which ſooner procureth drunkenneſſe than Wine. As the *Arabians*, ſo they delight in ſowre milke, or *Coſmus*, a kinde of churned ſowre Mares-milke, very forcible to turne the braine.

His force conſiſteth firſt (as we told you) in ſituation, in ſpacious Territorie, in goodly Cities, in plenty of proviſion, and in rich Revenues: for amongſt other things, hee taketh Forces.

the

the tenths of Wooll, Silke, Hempe, Graine, Cattell, and is absolute Lord of all: but the chiefe sinews of his State consisteth in his armed troopes. These live alway in the field, 4. or 5. miles remote from the Cities. Over and above their Salarie, they are allowed to make profit of their Cattell, Milke and Wooll. When he goeth to warre, according to the custome of the *Romans*, hee mustreth part of the Souldiery, which lyeth dispersed thorow the Provinces. For the most part, all the Nations of the *Tartars*, (except the *Varcheni*, who are not subject to the Great *Cham*) fight on horseback. Their Weapons are the Bow and Arrow, with which they fight very desperately. They are very swift, their Tents are made of woven Wooll, under which they keepe in foule weather. Their chiefest meat is milke dried in the Sunne, after the Butter is squeezed out; yea, the bloud of their horses, if famine enforce them. They fight not pell-mell with their enemies, but sometime on the front, sometime on the flanke, after the *Parthian* manner, overwhelming them, as it were with a showre of arrowes. Whosoever carrieth himselfe valiantly, standeth assured of reward, and is graced with honour, immunities and gifts. Twelve thousand horsemen are appointed for the guard of this Prince, and it is said, that of this kinde of force, he is able to levie a greater power than any other Potentate.

Howsoever it be, two things in his Kingdome are worthy consideration: the one is Numbers, which may be imagined by the spaciousnesse of his Dominions: the other, their Discipline, because he keepeth them in continuall pay. For as discipline rather than rash valour, is to be wished in a souldier; so in armies, a few trained and experienced souldiers are more worth than many strong and raw bodies: the one may well be compared to Eagles, Lions, and Tygers, which obtaine principalitie amongst other beasts, not because they exceed them in hugenesse of bodies (for then should they be a prey to the Elephant, Horse and Bufall) but because they excell them as well in agility of bodie, as in courage.

This Potentate the *Moscovite* termeth the *Cæsar* of *Kataia*,

taia, and the Turke *Ulu-chan*, that is, the Great Prince. And not without reaſon, for in magnificence of Court, amplenesse of Dominion, abundance of Treaſure, and number of Souldiers, he goeth farre beyond all the Kings and Potentates of *Aſia*, and raigneth in ſuch Majeſtie, that his ſubjects fooliſhly call him, *The ſhadow of Spirits, and the Sonne of the immortall God.* His word only is a Law, wherein conſiſteth life and death. He maintaineth Juſtice with admirable ſeveritie, except for the firſt fault; for which the offender is grievouſly whipped: for every other fault he is cut in peeces by the middle: herein it ſhould ſeeme, they imitate the opinion of the *Stoicks*, concerning the equalitie of offences. A theefe is likewiſe ſlaine, if he be not able to repay nine fold, as well for a farthing, as a pound. The firſt Sonne is heire to the Crowne, and inſtalled with theſe ceremonies. The chiefe of their ſeven Tribes clothed in white (which is their mourning colour) cauſe the Prince to ſit upon a blacke woollen cloth ſpread upon the ground, willing him to behold the Sunne, and to feare the immortall God; which if hee doe performe, he ſhall finde a more plentifull reward in heaven, than in earth; if not, that peece of black cloth ſhall ſcarcely be left him, whereupon to reſt his wearied body in the field; beſides a thouſand other miſeries that ſhall continually attend him. Then they ſet the Crowne upon his head, and the Great Lords kiſſe his feet, ſweare fealty, and honour him with moſt rich preſents. Then is his name written in golden letters, and laid up in the Temples of the *Metropolitan* Citie. He hath two Councels, the one for War, wherein are twelve wiſe-men: the other for Civill affaires, conſiſting likewiſe of as many Counſellours. Theſe manage all things belonging to the government, rewarding the good, and puniſhing the evill, taking ſpeciall care to ſee thoſe preferred, who have done beſt ſervice, either in War or Peace, to his Countrey or Emperour; and others ſeverely puniſhed, who beare themſelves careleſly and cowardly in the charges unto them committed. In theſe two points (that is, in rewarding and puniſhing) conſiſteth ſo high a policie of good government,

His Coronation.

government, that it may well be ſaid, That the greateſt part of theſe barbarous Princes by theſe two vertues only, have imprinted ſo majeſticall a reverence in the hearts of their barbarous ſubjects.

Government. For, what other face of good Government ſee you in the *Turke*, *Perſian*, *Mogor*, or *Xeriffe*? Whom reward they, but Captaines and Souldiers? Where uſe they liberalitie, but in the field amongſt weapons? Surely they built the foundation of their States upon no other ground-works, neither expect they for peace and quietneſſe, but by victory and ſtrong hand: yea, they keepe no meane, in diſgracing baſe minds and cowards, and in honouring high ſpirits and valiant ſouldiers. Never was there any Common-weale or Kingdome, that more deviſed to honour and inrich the ſouldier, than theſe *Barbarians*, and the *Turke* more than all the reſt. The *Tartars*, *Arabians*, and *Perſians* honour Nobilitie in ſome good meaſure; but the *Turke* rooteth out all the Families of Noblemen, and eſteemes of no man, unleſſe he be a ſouldier; committing the fortunes of the whole Empire to the direction of ſlaves, and men baſe borne, but with a ſpeciall care of their good parts, and ſufficiencie.

Let us returne to the *Tartar*, and his forme of government. *Aſtrologians* are in great requeſt in thoſe Provinces; for *M. Paul.* writeth, that in the Citie of *Cambula* are fiftie thouſand. When *Cublay-Cham* underſtood by them, that that Citie would rebell againſt him, he cauſed another to be built neere unto it, called *Taindu*, containing foure and twentie miles beſides the Suburbs. There are alſo great ſtore of Fortune-tellers and Necromancers in the Kings Palace of *Xandu*: As alſo in *China*, they are in high eſteeme. *Iſmael* King of *Perſia* enterpriſed few matters without their counſell: and it is no wonder, that it is of ſuch repute in thoſe places; for betweene the *Chaldeans* and the *Aſſyrians* it tooke the firſt originall in thoſe Countries. The *Turkes* cannot abide it. The *Roman* Emperors did more than once baniſh it, and the profeſſours thereof, out of their governments. I would to God the like might be done amongſt us Chriſtians

ſtians, for it is nothing elſe but a branch of Paganiſme.

As part of theſe *Tartarians* inhabit Cities, and are called *Moores*; part live in the Fields and Mountaines, and are termed *Baduin*; ſo ſome of theſe people dwell in Cities, as the *Kataians*, *Bochars*, and thoſe of *Shamercand*: others wander thorow the plaines, and are divided into Hords, being five in number, as aforeſaid.

Thoſe *Tartars*, who are farre ſituated from the reſidue, and inhabit that remote *Scythian* promontory, which *Pliny* calleth *Tabin*, lying upon the fret of *Anian*, are alſo diſperſed into divers Hords, wandering up and downe the Countrey, and are in a manner all ſubject to the Great *Cham* of *Kataia*.

Certaine Writers affirme, that theſe Hords iſſued from thoſe ten Tribes of *Iſrael*, which were ſent into captivitie of *Salmanaſſer* King of *Aſſyria*, beyond the *Caſpian* mountains. In remembrance whereof untill this day, they retaine the names of their Tribes, the title of *Hebrewes*, and Circumciſion. In all other rites they follow the faſhions of the *Tartarians*.

Some men likewiſe ſay, that King *Tabor* came out of theſe parts, to turne unto Judaiſme *Francis* King of *France*, *Charles* the fifth, and other Chriſtian Princes; and for his pains, in the yeare 1540. by the commandement of the ſaid *Charles* was burnt to aſhes at *Mantua*.

Turkie.

SVch ſhares of the Worlds vaſtneſſe hath it pleaſed the Almightie, to caſt into the lap of this great Potentate, commonly called the *Gran Seignior*; that for wealth, Territories and command of ſouldiery, hee would have you to underſtand, that all other Princes come ſhort of him; & are terrified, when his Armies are united, to

particular destructions. Compound the ambiguitie by your owne discretions.

His Countries. For Countries, he possesseth *Asia minor*, now *Natolia*, with all the Regions within the *Propontis* and the *Hellespont*. Which places in times past made the Crownes of Kings to shine with Gold and Pearle. As *Phrygia*, *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, *Pontus*, *Lidia*, *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, *Lycia*, *Magnesia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Comogena*. Neerer the *Caspian*; *Georgia*, *Mengrelia*, *Armenia*; All Christians of the *Greek* Church. To which, if you adde the Empire of *Trebisond*, you shall then finde him great Controller of the Black-sea. For although *Russia*, *Bogdonia*, *Moldavia*, and some *Polanders*, keepe the North and West shores; yet is it, as a man, who alwaies for feare the theeves approach, dare not slacken his guards, for doubt of surprisall.

Next doth the pride of his Greatnesse send you into *Assyria*, *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Mesopotamia*, *Iudea*, the three *Arabies*, the Red-sea, *Ægypt*, and the shores of *Afrike*, as farre as the confederation of the Kings of *Barbarie*, *Fez*, and *Marocco*. Neither resteth he there, but he can bring you to the Towers of *Alexandria*, and bid you looke Northward (as farre as is possible) at all the Iiands in the *Archipelago*, except *Candie*, and some few other under the *Venetian*.

But is this sufficient? Stay, and answer your selves. The fields of *Greece* lye waste, and are ashamed to shew forth that disparitie of countenance, which in times past *Thracia*, *Macedonia*, *Thessalia*, *Epyrus*, and *Peloponnesus* smiled with in ancient times. Nay more, his Bashawes will bring you to *Buda* and *Belgrade*, and affright you with *Hungaries* conquest, telling you, that now it knoweth no other Proprietor but the *Turke* as Conquerour. And concerning the Princes of *Transylvania*, *Slavonia*, *Poland*, and others, with whom he hath contracted a Treatie of pacification, they notwithstanding observe such correspondencie as Wolves and Dogges doe, watching advantages to prey upon the harmelesse.

Cities. His principall Cities are *Trebisond*, *Amasia*, *Babylon*, (or rather

rather the ruines of confuſion,) *Tauris*, gotten (if not re-gotten) from the *Perſians*: *Meccha*, famous for the hiſtory and death of *Mahomet*: *Cairo*, once *Memphis*, of late new *Babylon*, now the mirrour of heat, duſt, ſluttiſhneſſe, and the mortalitie of an hundred thouſand in a yeare, when the Peſtilence rageth amongſt them. *Aleppo*, the chiefe Seat of *Syria*, and *Conſtantinople*, a Citie exceeding all the Cities in *Europe*, for populous numbers; For it is thought that ſeven hundred thouſand ſoules reſide therein, which if it be true, it is well-neere twice as much, as may be ſaid of *Paris*.

Shall I come backe againe, and tell you of *Ieruſalem*, *Tyrus* and *Sidon*? Alas, they are but names; and all the miſeries denounced by the Prophets, have broken their bones aſunder, and bruiſed them like a rod of iron. The few Cities of *Europe*, the poore harbours of *Aſia*, the port Townes of the Ilands, and the two Caſtles of the *Helleſpont*, ſtand upon no better termes. Only *Algier* lifteth up the head of a ſtrong Caſtle, proteſting a generall entertainment to Pirats, and bragging of the defeature of *Charles* the Emperour.

Now if you demand, how from ſo ſmall a mole-hill ſuch mountaines have beene raiſed? know, That in the yeare of grace 1300. did *Ottoman*, the ſonne of *Zichis*, ſtep before other Families, and (as if hee were adopted the darling of ſucceſſe) in his fathers behalfe, obtaine juriſdiction over *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, and moſt part of *Pontus*. His ſucceſſour *Orchanes* conquered the great Citie of *Pruſia*, and made it the Seat of his Kingdome, but in the two and twentieth yeare of his Progreſſe he was ſlaine by the *Tartars*, and left his ſonne *Amurath* to ſucceed both in his honour and family; who perceiving the diſſention of the *Greekes*, and diviſion of the Empire, ſpent not his labours without a great ſatisfaction: for with the water that drave the Mill, hee drowned the ſame, and invited (as a gueſt) to this banquet of Combats, became Maſter of the feaſt. So he made a conqueſt of *Gallipolis*, *Cherſoneſus*, *Peloponneſus*, *Hadrianopole*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Myſia*, but after three and twentie yeares convulſion of the *Grecian* glory, hee was ſtabbed

with a dagger, and so gave way to his sonne *Bajacet* to fill the chaire of imperiousnesse. He began well, attaining *Phocis*, *Macedonia*, and had indangered the most part of *Thracia*, had not fortune kept him from insulting, and tript up his heeles even in the race of his Triumph. For with the losse of two hundred thousand *Turkes* against the valiant *Tamberlane*, he also lost his freedome; and how he died, our Stages have instructed Mechanicall men: yet in the meane while did *Calephin* his sonne take up the Colours of defiance, and (forbearing the revenges of *Asia*) he wrecked his anger on *Sigismond*, and determined to have over-run the other Kingdomes of *Europe*. But prosperitie was not so attendant, for ere six yeares had inlarged the branches of his strange spreading tree, the axe was put to the root; and, as in *Daniels* vision, *Nebuchadnezzar*-like, hee fell to the earth. But this stumpe sprung againe, and *Mahomet* his sonne in imitation of his fathers progresse, set forward his journey, and wan *Valachia*, *Slavonia*, and infested all the borders of the *Ionian* sea, making *Hadrianople* the store-house of his projects; wherein for foureteene yeares he raised up such ornaments of *Mars* and *Bellona*, that he terrified the Emperour of *Germanie*, and all the Confederates of *Hungarie*. Presently followed *Amurath* the second, who filled up his Inventorie with *Epyre*, *Ætolia*, *Achaia*, *Beotia*, *Attica*, and *Thessalonica*, now *Salenica*, subject to the *Venetians*, with the gulph of *Napoli* adjacent to *Nigropont*. Next him *Mahomet* the second overthrew the Schoole of *Athens*, & on a fatall day, the nine and twentieth of *May*, 1452. forced *Constantinople*: whereof when *Corinth*, *Lemnos*, *Mitylen*, *Capha*, (a Towne belonging to the *Genois*) and many other Ilands understood, they tooke the course of prostitution, and had some mercie extended. The like part played *Trebisond*, after that, God gave him leave to continue two and thirtie yeares in pompe and jollitie.

After him, *Bajacet* the second obtained *Nanpact*, *Methon*, and *Dirachium* from the *Venetians*. Then made hee a contract with Fortune for the most part of *Dalmatia*, and thought

thought to have bargained for *Austria*, but the conditions were somewhat too unreasonable, and an envious hand poysoned his bodie, as ambition had inthralled his minde; which was imputed to his sonne *Selimus*, in detestation of his long life, after whose departure this *Selimus* set forward for the conquest of *Africa*, uniting *Ægypt* and *Damascus* to the Empire.

Now behold *Fortunes wanton*, *Soliman* the magnificent, who stepped backe againe into *Europe*, and over-reached *Belgrad*, *Buda*, and *Strigonium*, leaving *Hungarie* as a sorrowfull mother mourning for the losse of her deerest infants. Yet herewith not satisfied, he besieged *Rhodes*, loading his Camels with the broken *Colossus* therein sometime erected, to which hee added the devastation of the five Churches, and *Iula*. At *Zigoth* he was arrested, with an imperious interdiction from his supreme Commander, and so died. His sonne, *Selim* the second, lived and reigned untill *Cyprus* fell from the *Venetians*, 1570. This losse resembled a stone pulled from a ruinous wall, which being loose before, did not much indanger the foundation, which the following battell of *Lepanto* did somewhat repaire; by the reputation whereof, the enemie ever since hath beene more considerate to try Masteries at Sea. After him, time wrought *Amurath* the third great Lord of Lords, over-looking the most part of *Europe*, and the West of *Asia*, more proud of *Sinan Bassa* and *Cicala*, (the one his Admirall at Sea, the other Visier of his Army) than of the conquest of a Kingdome; because by their industrie the honour of the Empire flourished, and he being a corpulent man, presumed to follow his pleasures, fatting himselfe with all the delights that luxurie and incontinencie could invent: At last, this lumpe was extinguished, and *Achmat*, the first of that name, is left at this present to manage the Horses of this Phaëtonticall Chariot.

Let no man therefore wonder at this excesse of Dominion, considering how thirteene of their Princes successively have delighted in Armes, and prosecuted warres in person;

a preſident from the worlds creation, not to be matched by any the Commanders of the firſt foure and braveſt Monarchies. Thus much for ſatisfaction of admiration: Now to the forme of Government, which is meerely tyrannicall, and different from all other, as guided by the heads, and ſtrengthened by the hands of ſlaves, who thinke it as great an honour ſo to be ſtiled, and ſo to live, as they doe with us, who ſerve in the higheſt places of Princes Courts. No man is maſter of himſelfe, much leſſe of his houſe wherein he dwelleth, or of the field which he tilleth, except certaine families in *Conſtantinople*, to whom for ſome good ſervice immunitie was granted by *Mahumet* the ſecond. No more ſurety hath he of his life (be he never ſo great) longer than *Durante beneplacito* of the grand Seignior, who diſpoſeth thereof and of his fortunes, by no other Rule than that of his will. For although theſe great ſlaves attaine to immenſive riches, yet are they but the Collectors thereof for his Treaſurie, whither at their deceaſe it returneth all, except what it pleaſeth him to beſtow upon poſterity, who never are preferred to eminent place, except (and that of late) yeares and deſert plead riſing fortunes. Inſomuch, that when a Siſter or a Daughter of a Sultan is given to wife to a Beglerbeg, the children begotten on them doe ſeldome riſe above the degree of a private Captaine, ſo careleſſe are they of Nobility, knowne parentage, kindred, or hereditary poſſeſſions.

Their Government.

Theſe ſlaves are either the ſonnes of Chriſtians, tithed in their childhoods, Captives taken in the warres, or Renegadoes, ſuch as have willingly quitted their Religion and Countries, to fight againſt both, and are to the Chriſtians the moſt ſpightfull and terrible adverſaries.

Theſe children they call *Iemoglans*, and are brought up under ſevere Tutors in divers Seraglioes, diſtinguiſhed by Wards, like thoſe in Hoſpitals, according to their ſeniorities, where all are brought up liberally, and taught to write, to reade, to handle their weapons, yea, many of them to converſe in ſecrets of State.

The *Iemoglans*, or tribute-children.

All

All of them, thrice every weeke within the courts of their houſes, learne and exerciſe ſome military diſcipline, riſe every morning before day, waſh their bodies in cold water, and then repaire to Church. After they have performed theſe duties, they are allowed a ſmall breakfaſt, and then are they againe to follow their Bookes, or ſeverall diſpoſitions. At mid-day, at foure of the clocke in the after-noone, and two houres within night, before they goe to bed, they muſt againe to pray, and he that is miſſing at any of the prefixions, is ſure to have many baſtinadoes on the ſoles of his feet. They never have liberty to walke abroad, no, not ſo much as to approach the gates of their College, no, nor ſuffered to ſpeake with any Chriſtian or ſtranger.

Their preferments.

It ſhould ſeeme that they remove from Chamber to Chamber, according to their Antiquities and Proficiencies. For thoſe of the firſt Chamber (or Ward) are firſt preferred, yet not according to Senioritie, but according to the worth of his calling, and the worthineſſe of the perſon. The meaneſt place that at firſt theſe young Gentlemen (for ſuch is their reſemblance) attaine unto, is to attend the grand Seignior in his Seraglio, as a Page or Groome of his Chamber, and thoſe are they that are of extraordinary capacities and dexterity of wit, and therefore called to great places of honour and dignitie.

The reſidue (being alike brought up in their youths) are either preferred to be *Chauſes*, *Ianizars*, *Spaheioglans*, and *Siliſtarſpaheis*, or taken into the Port, or Gardens, to ſervile drudgeries and inferiour offices, as to fetch Hey, Wood, and ſuch like proviſion, for the Stables, the Court, and the Kitchins.

A *Beglerbeg*.

Out of the firſt ranks come the Beglerbegs. The word ſignifieth Lord of Lords. They were but two, the one of *Greece*, the other of *Natolia*, but now by reaſon of their many conqueſts, they are alſo accounted to be many. Next under the *Baſſa*, their office is to command all the Horſemen in thoſe Countries wherein they are appointed to ſerve. The *Sanziaks* are Governours of Cities, and Colonels of the

A *Sanziak*.

foot, and command all officers of warre and peace within their territories.

A *Chaush*.

The *Chaushes* goe on Embaſſies, and execute commandements: They are as Purſevants, or under-Sheriffes: Attend on the Emperour on Horſe-backe, and on the Courts of Juſtice, carrying a weapon on their ſhoulders, reſembling a Mace, and can alſo ſolicite the cauſes of Clients.

The *Spachi*, and their diſtinctions.

Theſe are, as it were, the heads of this imperious government. The hands are the *Spachi* & *Ianizars*, the maine nerves and ſupporters of this admired bodie. The *Spachi* are Horſemen, weaponed for the moſt part at once with Bow, Mace, Launce, Harquebuſh and Cemiter, whereof they have the ſeverall uſes, agreeing with their fight, flights, or purſuments. Of theſe there are reckoned to bee two and thirty thouſand, the one halfe of them are called *Spachioglans*, and ride on the right hand of the *Sultan*, when they are in the field; and the other are termed *Siliſtarſpachies*, and march on the left hand. Of the *Timariots* in place convenient. But the *Ianizars* are thoſe that carry the greateſt fame throughout the *Ottoman* Empire, both in the Field, the Court, and the City, inſomuch that the *Sultans* themſelves have beene afraid of their inſolencies, yet terme they the Emperour Father, (for no knowne friend beſides have they to relie on) and hee againe in time of war committeth his perſon to their truſt, valour, and fidelity. In the Citie ſixteene thouſand are ſaid to be continually abiding, who are there imployed as Conſtables, for keeping of the peace, and obſervation of good orders: for Clerks of the Marker, to look to the prices, and wholeſomneſſe of victuals: for arreſting of offenders, and warding of the gates. Some are appointed to guard the houſes of Ambaſſadours, or of ſuch particular Chriſtians, who will bee at the charge, either about the Citie, or in their travels, towards whom they ſhew themſelves both civill and faithfull. Notwithſtanding amongſt themſelves (as I ſaid before) they are very inſolent and mutinous, in regard of their great multitudes, and many privileges, ſo dangerous is an armed Souldier in a rich and peaceable City.

The *Ianizars*, and their diſtinguiſhments.

City. For whereas their first privileges were given them for safety of the Provinces, as rewards of their abstinence and vertues, as also to re-answer their benefactors confidence. In these daies their insolencies are become so exorbitant, that they will seldome obey any Authority; but by combining themselves together in mutiny, will tyrannize the Countries committed to their charges, in such rude manner, that they seeme not onely to play the Princes over the people, but doe also terrifie their greatest Officers.

In them, two properties are to be noted; their birth-place, & training. As concerning their birth-place, they are not chosen out of *Asia*, but out of *Europe*; for they ever accounted the *Asians* effeminate and cowardly, alwayes more ready to flie than willing to fight, but the *Europians*, hardy, couragious, and good men of war. The *Asians* they terme after their owne name, *Turks*; but the *Europians*, *Rumi*, that is, *Romans*. Their birth-place.

As concerning their Training, they are taught when they are young: and therefore no marvell, if as they grow in age, so they increase in strength, activity, and courage: for these three vertues make a perfect Souldier. The tithing of Springals is made every third yeare, unlesse occasion constraine a quicker election; as it hapned in the *Persian* war, wherein they were forced not onely to make more haste than ordinary, but also compelled to take up Turkish *Azamoglani*, which was never seene to be put in practice before. When these young lads are brought to *Constantinople*, they are surviewed by the Captaine of the *Ianizars*, who registreth their names, their Parents, and their Countrie, in tables. From thence, some are sent into *Natolia*, and other Provinces, to learne their Law and Language; where being nuzled in the superstitious customes of them, with whom they converse, they turne *Mahumetans* before they have discretion to discerne good from evill. Another sort is distributed into the offices of the *Seraglio*: The third sort (of the faireſt complexions, and comliest proportion) are appointed to services in the Port of the Grand Seignior. During the time that they are counted *Azamoglani*, they have Their training

no

no certaine Governour, nor trained up in preſcript orders, but ſome are ſet to keepe Gardens, ſome to manure Fields, others to manual occupations, and to diſpatch houſhold buſineſſe, as aforeſaid. At riper and abler yeares, they are called into the Schooles of the *Azamoglani*, (for ſo they are ſtill termed till they are inrolled in the ſcroule of *Ianizars*) and then delivered over to preſcribed Schoole-maſters, who traine them up in exerciſes of labour and travell, allowing them ſpare diet and thin clothing. When they are well profited in that profeſſion, whereunto they have moſt addicted their minds, then are they inrolled either in the roll of the *Ianizars*, or of *Spachie*. For their maintenance, the one ſort are allowed no leſſe than five Aſpers, nor more than eight a day, the other ten.

Their allowance.

Being inrolled for *Ianizars*, immediatly they enter into action, to Garriſons, or to wait in the Port.

Their licentious liberty.

In their journeys and expeditions, they count it religious ſervice to ſpoile the cottages and houſes of Chriſtians, who muſt not finde fault with any outrage: whatſoever they bargaine for, they muſt carry it at their owne prices. They are ſubject to no Judge but their *Aga*; and he neither can give judgement of life and death upon any of them, but in caſes of ſedition and mutinies, and that ſeldome and very ſecretly. They enioy many immunities and privileges; by reaſon whereof they are crouched to, and feared of all men.

The election of the Emperour is in their power; for unleſſe they approve and proclaime the Election, the inſtalment and inveſtiture is of doubtfull force. Every Emperour comming to the Crowne giveth them ſome donative, and augmenteth their pay, ſo that the more the Emperours, the greater will be their entertainment. In any dangerous war, part of them goe forth with their *Aga*, or his Lieutenant, but theſe are the laſt men that come to blowes. There is not amongſt the *Turkiſh* Honours an Office more ſubject to envie and jealouſie than this Captainſhip; for hee and the *Beglerbeg* of *Greece* may not chooſe their Lieutenants, but the grand Seignior only: The generall favour of the *Ianizars* is his aſſured deſtruction.

The

The number commonly is foure and twenty thouſand, but in our times they carry not their wonted reputations, becauſe both *Turkes* and *Aſians* are inrolled for *Ianizars*; whereas in former ages none were admitted but the *European* Chriſtians. Beſides, contrary to their cuſtome, they marry wives without limitation. By their long reſidence about *Conſtantinople* (than the which there is not a more effeminate City in the world) they are growne vile, baſe, and men of ſmall ſervice; yea lazie, inſolent, and proud above meaſure. It is the received opinion, that in their proweſſe and diſcipline, conſiſteth the flouriſhing eſtate of this Empire; but the degenerate carriage of theſe men at this preſent (as I have before related) may afford us good hopes, by the favour of the Almighty, ſhortly to ſee an end of their licentious tyranny, as heretofore it hath befallen to the preceding Monarchies,

Some ſay forty thouſand.

Beſides theſe *Ianizars* he hath the *Azapi*, a baſe Beſonio, fitter for the ſpade than the ſword, entertained rather with numbers to tire, than by proweſſe to defeat Armies, oppoſing them to all dangerous ſervices; yea, to fill trenches with their ſlaine carcaſſes, and then to make bridges with their ſlaughtered bodies, for the *Ianizars* to paſſe over to the breaches. And as the *Romans* had their Legions and *Auxiliaries*, the one the flowre of their Chivalrie, the other as an aid or augmentation; even ſo the *Turke* accounteth his ſtipendarie horſemen or Timariots; the ſinews of his armes; the *Alcanzi* (ſuch as he preſſeth out of Townes and Villages) Scar-crowes, and for oſtentation; the *Ianizars* as the *Pratorian* Legions, and the *Azapi* as a rabble of Peſants; being indeed meere hindes, and tied to ſerve on horſeback for certaine privileges which they hold, in number about thirty or forty thouſand, without allowance of any pay, ſave what they get by ſpoile and rapine.

The *Azapi*, properly belonging to the Gallies.

Beſides theſe, he hath at command the *Tartars*, as *Auxiliaries*, whereof there are likely threeſcore thouſand, who live by ſpoile, and ſerve alſo without pay. In their Marches they ſcoure the Country two daies journey before: next them

The *Tartars*.

them follow the *Achangi*, then the *Timariots*, then those few *Azamoglani* that bee, and lastly the *Ianizars*. The *Chauses* ride on horse-backe (and carry Bowes and Arrowes, besides their Maces and Cemiters) after whom followeth the *Sultan*, with the Officers of the Court, and Archers of his guard; the *Spahies*, as aforesaid, incircling the flankes of this brave battell. The Pages, Eunuches, and carriages, followed by an other sort of *Auxiliars*, called Voluntaries, make the Reare: And these follow only upon hope to be entertained in their roomes of the slaine *Spahies* and *Ianizars*; their Commanders being nothing curious (in these times) to receive those that be not the sonnes of Christians into Orders. Thus have we lively described his forces at land.

Forces at Sea. At Sea; there is no Prince furnished with better meanes for building of Ships, than he; for not only the woods of *Epyre* and *Sicilia*, but also of *Nicomedia* & *Trapezond* are so huge, so thicke, and full of tall Trees, fit for all sorts of buildings, that a man would take the Trunkes, falling sometimes by violence of storme from the bankes of their Woods into the *Euxine* Sea, to be Triremes already built and framed. They can want no workmen to fit and square this Timber; for vile Covetousnesse hath drawne whole flocks of Christian Shipwrights into their Arsenals. The yeare after his defeature at *Lepanto*, he shewed his Navie whole and entire, yea, itching to cope with the Christian *Armada*. Neither can hee want a competent number of Marriners: for out of the Gallies which he maintaineth in *Lesbo*, *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, and *Alexandria*, and from the Havens of *Tunis*, *Bugia*, and *Algier*, he is able to draw a sufficient proportion of Sea-men and Gally-slaves, as often as occasion requireth, to furnish his Royall Army. The experience hereof we have seene at *Malta*, at *Lepanto*, and *Goletta*. Of warlike furniture his store is infinite, his Ordnance innumerable; out of *Hungary* he carried five thousand; in *Cyprus* he won five hundred; at *Goletta* few lesse. The siege of *Malta*, wherein they discharged threescore thousand Bullets, may well declare their abundance

abundance of powder and ſhot: at *Famaguſta* they diſcharged an hundred and eighteene thouſand: at *Goletta* in nine and thirty daies, they raſed with their unceſſant vollies a Fortification which was forty yeares in building: in the laſt *Perſian* warre, *Oſman Baſſa* drew after him five hundred field peeces. Where ever they come, they never ceaſe playing with their Ordnance, till they have laid all levell with the ground; if that prevaile not, they goe to worke with Spade and Pickaxe: if that faile too, they will never give over till they have filled the Ditches with the bodies of their ſlaughtered ſouldiers.

They are Lords of three things, wherewith they terrifie the whole world: multitudes of men unconquerable; militarie Diſcipline (if ſo at this day) uncorrupted; of Corne and proviſions, ſtore infinite. Multitudes in times paſt have bred confuſion, and commonly we have ſeene great armies overthrowne by ſmall numbers; but the *Turkiſh* multitudes are managed with ſo good order, that although it be farre more eaſie to range a ſmall Armie than a great, yet even in order have their great Armies ſo excelled our ſmall ones, that I muſt needs conclude, that they goe farre beyond us both in diſcipline and numbers; herein giving place, no not to the ancient *Romans*, much leſſe to any moderne Nation, how warlike ſoever. And this their due commendation conſiſteth not onely in Armes, but in thirſt, patience, and hard diet; as for Wine, by their Law they are utterly forbidden it. In the field every ten ſouldiers have their Corporall, to whom without grudging they dutifully obey. You ſhall never ſee Women in their Armies; their ſilence is admirable, for with the becke of the hand, and ſigne of the countenance, they underſtand without words what they are to doe: rather than they will make any noiſe in the night, they will ſuffer their ſlaves and priſoners to eſcape. They puniſh theft and quarrelling extremely. They dare not (for their lives) ſtep out of their rankes to ſpoile Vineyard or Orchard. They feare not death, beleeving their deſtinies to be written in their foreheads, inevitable. The valiant are aſſured of

preferment,

preferment, the cowards of puniſhment. They are never bilited in Townes, nor ſuffered to lodge one night within them. To keepe them in breath and exereiſe, their Princes are alwaies in action with ſome neighbour or other, being very jealous of the corruption of their Diſcipline.

The which notwithſtanding, either time, pride, or the covetouſneſſe of the great ones hath much impaired. For in compariſon of what they have beene, they are now nothing equivalent to thoſe of other Chriſtian Princes. The *Florentine* (in deſpight of him) with ſix ſhips only hath ſo kept the bottome of the Streits for theſe ſix yeares paſt, that they have not dared to hazard the Revenue of *Ægypt* by Sea; but have ſent it over land with a guard of Souldiers. And becauſe the Gallies dare not looke upon ſuch Inſtruments; and yet the Admirall, ſuppoſing it no policy to let them lie unaffronted, hath done what he may to imploy and encourage the Pyrats of *Algier* and *Tunis* to undertake the ſervice. And in truth, they have many tall Ships (the ſpoile of Chriſtian Merchants) warlike appointed, yea growne expert in Navigation and all kinde of Sea-fights, by the wicked inſtruction of our fugitive Sea-men, and other Renegadoes. But falſe men will alwaies deale falſly; having no mindes to attempt any enterpriſe, where the victory is like to prove bloudy, and the booty worthleſſe.

The Royall Navie is ſet forth in the beginning of *May*, to annoy the enemy, to ſuppreſſe Pyrats, to collect tribute, and to reforme diſorders in the maritime Townes. It conſiſts not of above threeſcore Gallies, which are all that can be ſpared from imployment in other places. In *October* the Admirall returneth from his circuit; and during Winter the Armada is diſperſed, and the Gallies drawne into their dry Stations. Meane time the Pyrats, both Chriſtian and Mahumetan flie out, and rob on the *Ægean* and *Mediterran* Seas uncontrolled, more than by the defenſive ſtrength of the aſſailed. Thus is he ſerved, and thus enabled to maintaine his Servitors.

Adminiſtration of Iuſtice.

For the civill and politicke government of theſe Eſtates, he

he causeth a Councell to be holden foure daies in the weeke by the *Bassaes*, whersoever the Prince sojourneth; if it bee in the time of peace, then at *Constantinople*, or in some other Towne, according to occasions, within his Dominions: if in warre, then it is kept within his Pavilion. In this Councell called *Dyvan*, where audience is open to every suter, first they consult of Embassies, and of answers to be made unto them; of matters of State and of Soveraignty, of the meanes to provide for decayed or ruinated Provinces, of Murders and Condemnations. And secondly, adde the Suppliants, Complainants, or Suters, speak without Advocate or Atturney, and is forced to answer presently to the information of their Adversarie, if they be present, or otherwise to prove their accusation by witnesses. Upon hearing of both parties, judgement definitive is given, and may not bee repealed.

Revenues ordinary, besides *Timariots.*

Now as touching his Treasure, It is generally received, that he enjoyeth little lesse than fifteene millions of ordinary Revenue. And where some men thinke, that out of so large a Dominion a greater Revenue may be raised, therein they deceive themselves; in not calling to remembrance, that the Nation give their minds to nothing but warre, nor take care of any thing but provision of Armour and Weapons; courses fitter to destroy and to waste, than to preserve and inrich Provinces. Whereupon, to give courage to their Armies, and to continue them in the love of warfare, they suffer them to spoile the people, hardly leaving them wherewith to hold life and soule together. And therefore the poore men, not sure of so much as their houshold provisions, much lesse of their wealth, (which by time and industry they may gather) take no more paines about their Husbandry and Traffick than they needs must; yea, no more than their owne necessity, as neere as they can, shall enforce them, to make cleere at the yeares end. For say they, Why should we sow, and another reape? Or why should we reape, and another devoure the reward of our labours? This is the cause; that in the *Ottoman* Dominions you shall see admirable huge

Woods,

Woods, all things laid waſte; few Cities well peopled, and eſpecially the better part of the fields lying unmanured. An aſſertion eaſily and probably to be proved by *Conſtantinople* it ſelfe. No object in the world promiſeth ſo much afarre off to the beholders; and entered, ſo deceiveth expectation; the beſt of their private buildings being inferiour to the more contemptible of ours, and is ſaid to containe but ſeven hundred thouſand ſoules, halfe of them *Turkes*, and the other halfe *Iewes* and *Chriſtians*, and thoſe for the generall *Grecians*. An eſtimate neere which (as I have heard) our *London* may affoord. And no wonder: for in our Countries, by the abundance of people ariſeth the deareneſſe of victuals; but in *Turkie*, through the ſcarcity of Inhabitants, the greateſt number of the Husbandmen periſh with carrying proviſion, and other neceſſaries to the remote places, thorow which their Armies are to travell. In their Gallies likewiſe falleth moſt commonly ſo great a mortality, that of ten thouſand Rowers haled from their houſes, ſcant the fourth part returneth againe. This the rather hapneth, becauſe the *Turkes* in Winter time (as aforeſaid) mooring their Gallies, doe not inure their Sea-men and Gally-ſlaves to change of aire, and the diſcommodities of tempeſtuous Seas in all ſeaſons.

The whole trade of Merchandize for the moſt part is in the hands of *Iewes* or *Chriſtians* of *Europe*; *Epidaurians*, *Venetians*, *Frenchmen*, and *Engliſhmen*. In ſo large a Territory as the *Turke* hath in *Europe*, there is never a famous Mart-towne, but *Conſtantinople*, *Capha*, and *Theſſalonica*; In *Aſia*, but *Aleppo*, *Damaſco*, *Tripoli*, and *Adena*; In *Africke*, *Cair*, *Alexandria*, and *Algier*.

Extraordinary. Although the ordinary Revenues are no greater than aforeſaid, yet the extraordinary ariſe to a richer reckoning, and that by confiſcations and preſents. For the *Baſſaes* and great Officers (as Harpies) ſucke the very bloud of the people, and after they have heaped up ineſtimable riches, for the moſt part they eſcheat to the coffers of the Grand Seignior. It is reported that *Ibraim Baſſa* carried from *Cair* ſix millions,

millions, and *Mahumet Visier*, a farre greater thasle. *Occhiali*, besides other riches, had three thousand slaves. The *Sultana*, Sister to *Selim* the second, received daily five and twenty hundred *Chechini*, and for the ease of pilgrims and travellers, (journeying betweene *Cair Meca*) she began to trench a water-course along the way; an enterprize great, chargeable, and majesticall.

Yea, to give you an estimate of his Revenues, I have seene a particular of his daily expences, amounting by the yeare to one million, nine hundred threescore and eight thousand, seven hundred thirty five pounds, nineteene shillings eight pence sterling, answered quarterly, without default; with the allowance of foure hundred ninety two thousand, an hundred threescore and foure pounds, foure shillings, and eleven pence; which is for every day, five thousand three hundred ninety and three pounds, fifteen shillings and ten pence; upon which account runneth for his owne diet, but one thousand and one Asper a day, according to the frugall custome of his Ancestors, amounting in sterling money by the yeare, to two thousand one hundred ninety two pounds, three shillings eight pence. Amongst five and forty thousand *Ianizars*, dispersed thorow his whole Dominions, every one at six Aspers a day, is expended five hundred ninety one thousand, and three hundred pounds. The tribute-children farre surmount that number, and are allowed one with another three Aspers a day. The five Bassaes, besides their ordinary revenue, receive one thousand Aspers a day: and of ordinary revenue, the chiefest receiveth for his Timar or annuitie, threescore thousand Ducats; the second, fifty thousand Ducats; the third, forty thousand; the fourth, thirty thousand; and the fifth, twenty thousand. In *Europe* he maintaines three *Beglerbegs*, *viz.* in *Greece* one, another in *Hungary*, and a third in *Sclavonie*, at a thousand Aspers a day; the fourth in *Natolia*; the fifth in *Carmania* of *Asia*, at like allowance. The Admirall receiveth two thousand one hundred and ninety pounds: the Captaine of the *Ianizars* one thousand nine hundred and

fiftie pounds, beſides his annuitie of twenty thouſand Ducats by the yeare. The *Imbrabur Baſſa* (Maſter of the Horſe) receiveth three hundred and eight and twenty pounds, his annuitie is fifteene thouſand Ducats. The Captaine of the *Spahi*, or Horſe-men, receiveth one thouſand nine hundred threeſcore and one pounds; the *Capigi Baſſa* (head Porter) one thouſand foure hundred and fourteene pounds. The *Siſingar Baſſa* Controller of the Houſhold, two hundred threeſcore and three pound. The *Chaus Baſſa* (Captaine of the Penſioners) two hundred threeſcore and two pounds ſixteene ſhillings, beſides his annuitie of ten thouſand Ducats. The reſidue of the foreſaid account is expended upon inferiour officers and attendants upon the Court, Citie, and Armies, every man receiving according to his place and calling (*viz.*) the Maſters of the Armory, Maſters of the Artillery, Phyſitians, Porters of the Court and Citie, Archers of his Guard, Servitors of his Stable, Sadlers, Bitmakers, Captaines of Gallies, Maſters, Boat-ſwaines, Purſers, Shipwrights, and ſuch like.

Where, note by the way, That a Sultany is equall to the Chechini of *Venice*, and ſixſcore Aſpers amount to a Sultanie.

To raiſe his Donatives to a high reckoning, it is a cuſtome, that no Ambaſſadour appeare before him empty-handed; no man may looke for any office or honourable preferment, if money be wanting: no Generall may returne from his province (or journey) without preſents: and you muſt thinke, that ſo magnificent a Prince will ſwallow no triſles.

The *Vaivods* of *Valachia* and *Moldavia*, hold their eſtates by vertue of their bribery, and yet are often changed: For the Eſtates are given to the beſt Chapmen; who make good their dayes of payment, oppreſſe the people, and bring the Commons to extreme povertie. Notwithſtanding all this, we have ſeene the *Perſian* warre to have drawne drie his Coffers, and emptied his Treaſures. Not long ſithence, both at *Conſtantinople*, and thorow the whole Empire, the

value

value of Gold was raiſed above beleefe; inſomuch that a *Chechin* of Gold went for double his value, and the alay of Gold and Silver was ſo much abaſed, that the *Ianizars* finding themſelves aggrieved thereat, brought great feare, not onely upon the Inhabitants, but alſo to the Grand Seignior, in threatning, That they would ſet fire on *Conſtantinople*. In *Aleppo* threeſcore thouſand Ducats were taken up of the Merchants, in the name of the Grand Seignior.

But although his Revenues are not ſo great, as the ſpacious apprehenſion of ſo mightie an Empire, may ſeeme to produce; yet hath he an aſſiſtance of greater value than his ſureſt revenues, and that is, his Timariots, or ſtipendaries. For it is the cuſtome of the *Ottoman* Princes, to ſeize on all the land which they take from their enemies; and aſſigning a ſmall parcell (peradventure none at all) to the ancient Lords, they divide the reſidue into Timars, to every Servitor a portion, *viz.* to every one about foure and twenty or thirtie Acres of our meaſure, with ſeed to ſow it; Upon condition to pay halfe the fruits the ſeventh yeare, and halfe of the twelfth. Herein conſiſteth the chiefeſt preſervation of the *Ottoman* Empire; for unleſſe, upon this conſideration, the care of manuring the Land were committed to theſe Maſters; and they againe ſet it over unto others for their profit and lucre, all would lye waſte thorow the whole Empire: themſelves affirming, That whatſoever the Grand Seignior once treadeth with his horſe-hoofe, (were it not for this courſe) there never after would grow graſſe againe. With theſe Timars, he alſo maintaineth an hundred and fifty thouſand horſe-men, excellent well armed, and alwayes readie at their owne charges to march whither their Leaders will command them. So great a Cavalry can no other Prince maintaine, with the yearely expence of fourteene Millions of Gold. Which maketh me to wonder, that ſome Writers comparing the Turkiſh receits with the Entrado of the Chriſtians, never ſpake word of ſo huge a member of the Turkiſh Puiſſance. It is reported, that in the warre of *Perſia*, the *Turke* conquered ſo much land, that thereof he erected forty

The Timariots.

Report ſaith, that this is againe reconquered by the *Perſian*.

thousand Timars, and a new Exchequer at *Tauris*, from whence he receiveth yearely a Million of gold.

By these troopes, the Grand Seignior so aweth his subjects, that they no sooner can stirre, but (as so many Falcons) these Timariots are presently on their necks; And this is the drift of this dispersing them thorow the Provinces. So that one part of them is alwayes readie at the sound of the Trumpet upon all occasions to march, while the other stay at home to keepe the Inhabitants in their due obedience.

With his Treasure his Bassaes intermeddle not. But two generall Treasurers (or over-seers) are chiefe dealers therein; the one residing in *Romania*, the other in *Natolia*. The *Cadaliſquers* have the administration of Justice, who assist the *Bassaes* in the *Divan*; Neither doe any sit there but the twelve *Beglarbegs*, the Princes children (being Presidents in their fathers absence) and some certaine of the *Cadies*, to assist in matters of Law and difficultie, as is used with us in the Court of Star-chamber.

Administration of Justice.

This Court is holden foure dayes in the weeke by the *Bassaes*, whersoever the Prince sojourneth: if it be in the time of peace, then at *Constantinople*, or in some other Town, according to occasions within his Domi ions: if in Warre, then it is kept within his Pavillion. In this Counceil called *Divan*, (where audience is open to every suter) they consult of Embassies, and of answers to be made unto them, of matters of State and of Soveraignitie, of the meanes to provide for decayed or ruinated Provinces, of murders and condemnation. The Suppliant, Complainant, or Suter, speaketh without Advocate or Atturney, and is forced to answer presently to the information of his Adversary, if he be present, or to prove or disprove his accusation by witnesses. Upon hearing of both parties, judgement definitive is given, and may not be repealed. When the Councell hath sitten seven or eight houres, the *Bassa visier* maketh true relation to the Prince of all that hath beene handled; if he lye, it is present death: For the Prince often listeneth at a window, termed *Dangerous*, right against the *Divan*, being made in such sort that

that he may heare and ſee, and not be perceived: Though he be ſeldome there, yet are they alwayes ſuſpitious: After he hath heard the diſcourſe and advice of his Councell, he ſeldome gain-ſayeth, but confirmeth or moderateth the ſame. Theſe things thus ordered, they are written and regiſtred by Officers appointed.

To the management alſo of the Civil Government, they, as the Chriſtians, have many ſeverall degrees of *Civilians*: or rather Church-men; which is a kinde of Eccleſiaſticall Law, the profeſſours whereof are all of the Clergie, if I may ſo terme them. And to the training up of theſe profeſſors, there are certaine Houſes (or Colleges) called *Medreſſe* in *Conſtantinople*, *Andrianople*, *Burſſia*, and other places, in which they live, and ſtudie their Sciences: wherein they have nine ſeverall degrees.

The firſt, are called *Saffi*, and are the puiſne Students, or Novices.

The ſecond, are *Calfi*, Readers (or Tutors) unto the firſt.

The third, are *Hogi*, Writers of Bookes; for they have no Printing.

The fourth, are *Naipi*, or young Doctors, who are not yet ſo well ſtudied in their Lawes, as to be profound, or abſolute Judges, but yet are of ſufficiencie to ſupply a Judges place, in caſe of abſence.

The fifth, are *Cadi*, who are both Judges and Juſtices, to puniſh offences. Of this ſort, there is one atleaſt in every Citie thorowout all the Grand Seigniors Dominions, they are diſtinguiſhed from other men by their high Turbants, being at leaſt two yards in compaſſe.

The ſixth, are called *Mudreſſi*, who are as Suffragans unto their Flamins, or Biſhops. Their authoritie ſtretcheth to over-looke *Cadies*, and to ſee that they doe their duties in their ſeverall charges.

The ſeventh, are *Mulli* (Biſhops) and are the principall Church-governours next unto the *Muftee*. Their office is to place and diſplace Church-men at diſcretion.

The eight are *Cadeleſcari*: they are two great and principall Judges (or Cardinals) the one of *Grecia*, the other of *Natolia*. *Selimus* the third added another over the Provinces of *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, and part of *Armenia*, equall in authoritie to the former. Theſe ſit every Seſſion in the foreſaid *Divano* amongſt the *Baſſaes* to determine temporall ſuits, being (as it were) chiefe Juſtices in dignitie and authoritie.

The ninth and principalleſt is the *Muftee*: Hee commandeth and governeth all Church-men (or Judges) whatſoever; and his ſentence in matters of Law and Religion is uncontrollable: yea, the greateſt Baſhaws in matters of Law or difficultie referre all to his deciſion without appeale. Such is his greatneſſe, that he may not abaſe himſelfe to ſit in the *Divano*; neither when he commeth into the preſence of the great Seignior will he vouchſafe to kiſſe his hand, or to uſe greater reverence towards his Highneſſe, than his Highneſſe will afford unto him. And therefore when hee entereth the Grand Seigniors Chamber hee will preſently riſe, and then both ſit downe face to face, and ſo confeire. And theſe be the degrees, and no other, by which the pooreſt ſcholler may aſcend unto the higheſt place of Honour in this Turkiſh government.

Borderers. Toward the Eaſt, from *Tauris* to *Badſara* lye the *Perſians*; Toward the South, and the *Perſian* Gulfe, the *Portugalls*. Toward the Red-ſea, *Ethiopia*. Upon the Weſt, the *Kerffe*, and the Kingdome of *Naples*; On the North, border the *Polonians* and the *Germans*.

The Perſian. Without all queſtion the *Turke* farre excelleth the *Perſian* in militarie diſcipline: for *Mahumet* the ſecond tooke *Uſſumcaſſan*, *Selim* the firſt, (and after him his ſonne *Soliman*) deſeated *Iſmael* and *Tamas*. *Amurath* the third, by his Lieuetenants tooke from them all *Media*, the greater *Armenia*, and their chiefe City *Tauris*. Their battalions of footmen, and the uſe of great ordnance, which the *Perſians* wanted, (and knew not how to manage,) were the chiefe occaſions of theſe their good fortunes. And although the *Perſians* have

have sometime prevailed in horse-fights, yet hath it beene alwayes with losse of ground, not to themselves onely, but to their Confederates also. For *Selim* the first tooke from the *Mamelukes*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*: and *Amurath* the third almost extinguished the Nation of the *Georgians*, their furest allies.

To the *Portugals* hee is farre inferiour; for in Sea-fights and Sea-forces there is as great inequality betweene them, as betweene the Ocean, and the *Persian* Gulfe. The *Portugals* have in *India* Havens and Castles, Territories and Dominions, plentifull in timber, provision, and all sorts of warlike furniture for the Sea, not without many great Princes, their Allies & Confederates: whereas the *Turke* hath no one place of strength in the *Persian* Gulfe, except *Balsara*. That tract of the Sea-coast of *Arabia*, which standeth him in stead, hath but foure Townes, and those weake, and of small esteeme, which is sufficient to indure: So that in this Gulfe, as likewise in the Red-Sea, he hath small meanes to rigge out any strong *Armada*. Besides the soile is utterly barren of timber fit for building of Gallies: for which scarcity whensoever he had occasion to set forth a Navie, hee was constrained to send downe his stuffe from the Havens of *Bithynia* and *Cilicia*, by *Nilus* to *Cair*, and from thence to convey it over land upon Camels backes, to his Arsenall at *Suez*. What successe his fleets have had in those parts, may bee read in the discourse of *Portugal*: for the *Portugals* take great care to prevent him of setting foot in those Seas, yea, when they but heare that hee provideth Seaforces, they presently make out, and spoile whatsoever they light upon. The *Portugals*.

For Captains, Souldiers, Armes, and Munition, he is better provided than *Prester John*; for this Prince hath a large territory without munition, & infinite Souldiers without weapons; *Barnagasso* his Lieutenant lost all the aforesaid Sea-coast of the Red-Sea, and brought the *Abessine* into such extremity, that to obtaine peace he promised payment of a yearely tribute. *Prester John*.

The Xeriffe. In *Afritke* he hath a greater jurisdiction than the *Xeriffe*: For he is Lord of all those Provinces which lie betweene the Red-sea, and *Velez de Gomera*: but the *Xeriffe* hath the richer, the stronger, and the better united. Neither of them for the neighbourhood of the King of *Spaine*, dare molest one another.

The *Polander*. The residue of his neighbours are the Christians, and first the King of *Poland*: what either of these Princes can effect the one against the other, hath beene manifest by their forepassed actions. In some sort it seemeth that the *Turke* feareth the *Polaques*: For, upon sundry occasions being provoked (as in the reigne of *Henry* the third, in that war which *Ivonia Vaivod* of *Walachia* made with the said *Turks*, wherin great numbers of *Polaques* served) and (in the reigne of *Sigismund* the third,) notwithstanding the incursions of the *Kosacks*, and the inrodes of *Iohn Zamoschius*, Generall of *Polonia*; he stirred not, neither with wont-like disdaine, once offered to revenge so great an indignity. Againe, They, since the unfortunate journey of *Ladislaus*, never enterprized journey against the *Turks*, no, nor at any time aided the *Walachians* their neighbours, their friends and Confederates, but suffered whatsoever they held upon the *Euxine* Sea to bee taken from them. But the smothering of this wrong I rather attribute to the base minde of their King, than to want of good will or courage, either in the Gentry or Nobility. *Sigismund* the first, being by *Leo* the tenth moved to warre upon the *Turke*, answered; Few words shall serve; first make firme peace betweene the Christian Princes, then will I be nothing behinde the forwardest. *Sigismund* the second bare a minde so farre abhorring from war, that he also never made attempt against this enemie, but being injured by the *Moscovite*, he let him likewise doe that what he would, unrevenged. King *Stephen*, a great politician, thought the warre of *Turki* full of danger, notwithstanding discoursing with his familiars, he would often say, that if he had but thirty thousand good footmen joyned to his Polonian Horsemen, hee could willingly have found in his

his heart to have tried his fortune with this enemie.

The Princes of *Austrich* are borderers by a farre larger circuit of land than any other Potentate, and being constrained to spend the greatest part of their revenues in the continuall maintenance of twenty thousand footmen and horsemen in garrisons; they seeme rather to stand content to defend their owne, than any way minded to recover their losses, or to inlarge their bounds. *Ferdinands* journey to *Buda* and *Possovia*, was rather to be counted couragious, than prosperous: the reason was, not because his souldiers wanted strength and courage, but skill and discipline. For numbers he was equall to the enemie, and reasonably well furnished with necessaries, but his troopes consisted of *Germans* and *Bohemians*, Nations by influence heavie, slow, and nothing fit to match the *Turkes*, skilfull and ready in all warlike exercises. The *Austrian.*

The *Venetians* likewise are borderers for many hundred miles space by Sea and land: but they maintaine their estate by treaties of peace, by traffike and presents, rather than by open hostilitie; providing very strongly for their places exposed to danger, and avoiding all charges and hazard of warre, yea, refusing no conditions, (if not dishonourable) rather than willing to trie their fortune in battell. And the reason is, not because they want money and sufficiencie of warlike furniture, but souldiers and proportionable provisions for one sole State to provide against so extraordinarie an enemie. The *Venetians.*

For, if time hath proved, that neither the Emperours of *Trapizond* and *Constantinople*, nor the *Sultans* of *Ægypt*, nor the puissant Kings of *Persia* and *Hungarie*, have beene able to maintaine themselves against this enemie; who can but commend this honourable State, for their warinesse, and moderate carriage?

For howsoever of custome, for affectation, or admiration we carry to Antiquity, we use to extenuate things present, and (like old men) we fashion our selves to extoll the ages past, and complaine of times: yet if we will speake without

without partiality, we must needs confesse, that never since the worlds first creation in any age was there found a body of warre so politickly devised, so strongly cemented, and so severely disciplined as is this, for greatnesse and powerfulnesse.

Which the effects thereof may well witnesse, with the fortunate successe of continuall victory. I may not stand here to recount the extreme diligence and circumspection of *Ottoman*, the first raiser and founder of this Empire; nor the wily wit and cunning of his sonne and successor *Orchanes*, who first passed his Turkish forces into *Europe*, after he had taken *Prusia* from the *Greeks*, and subdued *Carmania*: nor yet the wisdome and dexterity of *Amurath*, in espying of advantages, and prosecuting of them: Nor will I make any long discourse to intreat of *Bajacet*, who conquered *Bulgaria*, and destroyed *Bosnia*: neither of *Amurath* the second, who in person fought six and thirty battels, and in all departed Conquerour: And yet his sonne *Mahumet* the second exceeded him, and all before him. Equall to him was *Selim* the first, who in eight yeares razed and extirpated the whole Empire of the *Mamelukes*, defeated two *Sultans*, and adjoyned to the purchases of his predecessors *Ægypt*, *Cerenaica*, and *Syria*, a good part of *Arabia*, and all that which lieth betweene the *Syrtes* of *Ægypt* and *Euphrates*. And more than this, did in a pitched field overthrow the *Sophy* of *Persia*. The memory of *Solyman* is yet fresh, who for Armes was no whit inferiour to his ancestors, but for gravity, constancie, civill carriage, and fidelity of his word, went beyond them all. He wan the Island of the *Rhodes* from the Knights of S. *Iohn of Ierusalem*, tooke *Belgrade* from the *Hungarians*, with a great part of that Kingdome; and from the *Persians Babylon*, and *Dyerbecha*, the two maine fortresses of the Turkish Empire in those quarters. All which notwithstanding this honourable State, having both before them, and on both their skirts this so powerfull an enemy, covering both Sea and Land with his forces, have to this day by their provident wisdome, so governed

their

their affaires, that in despight of him they have hitherto maintained themselves not onely in liberty, but also in prosperity and reputation of greatnesse.

His last neighbour is the King of *Spaine*, betweene whom there is no great difference, you shall heare the *Spaniard* say, that the Kings revenues (they meane those of *Europe* only) exceed the Turkish: for he receiveth more than foure millions out of his Provinces of *Italy* and *Sicilie*, two and upward out of *Portugal*, and three from the *Indies*, one yeare with another. In these onely he equallizeth the *Turke*, yea, and in the ordinary revenues of *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Belgia* he farre exceeds him. But what can you finde (say some men) to compare to his *Timars*? First I answer, that as the Kings revenues are farre greater than the *Turks*; so also his Subsidies which he levieth extraordinarily (of late times for the most part turned into ordinary, as his *Croisados*) doe amount to as much as the entire profits of some whole Kingdome. His tenths of the spirituall livings, are able to maintaine one hundred strong Gallies: his escheats in *Spaine* and *Naples*, bring more into his Coffers than a man would thinke. His benevolences and presents sent him from *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Millan*, and the *New-world*, are infinite and magnificent. Not long since *Castile* granted a contribution of eight millions of gold to be paid in foure yeares, which summe amounteth to the *Turks* whole Revenue of one yeare. What should I speake of his Commendams of the orders of *Montegia*, *Calatravia*, *Alcantara*, and S. *Iames*, which were enough, if he had nought else to suffice him: he is great Master of the said orders, and thereby hath meanes to advance and enrich his servants, whomsoever he pleaseth, as freely as if he were King of *France* and *Poland*. Also in *Spaine* he keepeth three thousand good horsemen, and as many in *Flanders*; in *Millan* foure hundred men at Armes, and a thousand light-horse: in *Naples* fifteene hundred men at Armes, and a great company of light-armed *Italians*. The number of his fouldierie in *Sicily* is one thousand five hundred. Neither are his feodaries lightly to bee esteemed, The *Spaniard*.

esteemed, who upon necessity are bound by their tenures, at their owne charges to serve personally in the field, especially if you consider their numbers, wherein are reckoned three and twenty Dukes, two and thirty Marquesses, nine and forty Viscounts, seven Archbishops, (for they likewise in this case are bound to contribute, as the great Lay-Lords) three and thirty Bishops. And in *Naples* fourteene Princes, five and twenty Dukes, seven and thirty Marquesses, foure and fifty Earles, foure hundred forty eight Barons, to speake nothing of *Portugal*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Millan*. Lastly, you must note, that these troopes to whom the *Turke* granteth these Timars, are not so renowned for their valour, as for their number: For the Timars and profits of their Villages and possessions, together with the greedy desire of enriching themselves with the demaines of their Farmes, hath bred such love of ease and peace in their mindes, that they are growne cowardly and base minded; by their good wills hating the travels of warre and journeyes, and marching with a greater desire of returning home to enjoy the pleasures of their Gardens, and the plenty of their Granges, than with stomacks to cope with their adversaries, or to enrich themselves by hazard. For if by a little pillage, fierce and valiant Souldiers have become cowards, and men of small service; what will faire possessions, a pleasant seat, a rich dairy, and wife and children left behind, bring to passe? I may well say, and say truly, that these *Timariots* are fitter to bridle and keepe under the subdued Provinces, than to fight in field against armed Nations: and to this use it is good policy to maintaine them. For who knoweth not that the Turkish subjects doe hate his Government, his Religion and Tyranny? For Religion onely, the *Moores* and *Arabians*, who differ in opinion: and for Religion and Tyranny, the Christians, who make more than two third parts of his Subjects. For jealousie hereof, hee is forced to keepe the greater part of these troops at home, unlesse hee should lay naked his estates to infinite casualties. To speake in a word, his Cavalrie is so farre and wide dispersed thorowout the

the Provinces, that they cannot eaſily be drawne to any famous journey in great numbers, without loſſe of long time; neither are they able to ſtay long from their houſes, but they will fall into diſeaſes and extremities: ſo that if the Grand Seignior had no other aids neerer hand but theſe *Timariots*, hee might happen to make very many unfortunate journeyes.

The experience of fore-paſſed exploits, doth well ſhew the difference of their ſeverall forces. The loſſe of the Spaniſh Fleet at *Zerby*, may bee put in the balance againſt the Turkiſh flight from *Malta*. The loſſe of *Goletta*, againſt the taking of the Rocke of *Velez*. *Tunis* is alwaies to be taken at his pleaſure, who hath a liking thereto. The Spaniſh King never enterprized any ſole journey againſt the *Turke*; but he hath valiantly defended his owne at *Malta* and *Oran*. I will ſpeake nothing of the defeature at *Lepanto*, for other Princes had their ſhares therein.

A treaty of truce was mentioned betweene both Princes not many yeares ſince, and equally accepted of both parties. For the one was inveſted in the Warre of *Perſia*, the other in the commotions of the Low Countries. Theſe Warres, by reaſon of their remote diſtances, were extreme chargeable to both Princes, but worſer to the King than to the *Turke*: for although *Perſia* be farre from *Conſtantinople* (from whence the principall ſinewes of the warre were to bee drawne) yet it bordereth upon *Meſopotamia* and other ſubdued Provinces, from whence his Armies were ſupplied with proviſions and treaſures, but *Belgia* is farre diſtant from any part of the Spaniſh Dominions. The *Turke* hath to doe with the *Perſian* (a State without any mighty confederate worth ſpeaking of) but the King was ingaged in a warre (of greateſt difficulty) favoured by the *Engliſh*, the *French*, and the *Germans*, Nations ſeverally equall in all points to the *Perſian*.

Of

Of those Countries which the Turkes *terme* Romania.

AND now that we have runne over the ſpacious Provinces of this mighty, rich, and dreadfull Potentate; we will alſo in ſome ſort, to the pleaſure of the Reader, relate many the particulars of thoſe good and ancient Regions, which at this day this Saracenicall Nation termeth by the names of *Romania* and *Natolia*. *Romania* at this day is taken for that part of Chriſtendome which was anciently called *Grecia*, and containeth the Provinces of *Thrace*, with his *Cherſoneſus* vulgarly, the ſtreight of *Gallipoli*, *Macedon*, *Epyre*, now *Albania*; *Achaia*, now *Livadia*; *Peloponneſus*, now *Morea*; and the Iland of the *Archipelago*.

Untill the comming of *Cyrus* King of *Perſia*, theſe Provinces remained in freedome, but of all others he firſt gave them the yoke of ſubjection. After him *Xerxes* the ſonne of *Darius*, with the ſucceeding Princes of *Perſia*, did no leſſe afflict them. When their turne was paſt, *Philip* King of *Macedon* acted his part, and united them under his owne Dominion, untill the daies of *Perſeus*, whom the *Romans* ſubdued and ſubjected. But the *Roman* Empire being divided into the Eaſt and Weſt, the *Grecians* beganne their Empire under *Conſtantine* the Great, and ruled honourably many ages, untill the deſcent, firſt of the *Goths*, ſecondly of the *Bulgars*, thirdly of the *Sarazens*, and laſtly of the *Turks*, who ſlew their Emperour, and ſeized on the Empire. Who at this day (except ſome Relikes, remaining under the *Venetian* Dominion) poſſeſſe the greateſt part thereof, as well upon the Continent as in the Ilands. Thoſe that are under the *Venetian* juriſdiction (ſaith *Bellonius*) little differ, eſpecially in Religion, from thoſe that are tributary to the *Turke*: for both ſorts being mingled, thoſe that are ſubject to the *Turks*, live like the *Turks*; and thoſe that live under the *Venetians*, doe as doe the *Venetians*. So unſpeakable is the rudeneſſe of either, that through all their Cities you ſhall

not

not finde a Schoole to instruct their youth. Promiscuously all speake the *Greeke* tongue corrupted from the ancient, but some better than others. The Burghers subject to the *Italians*, speake *Italian* as well as *Greeke*, but the *Villagois* altogether *Greeke*. And so the *Grecians* which are subject to the *Turke*, in Cities speake *Turkish* and *Greeke*; the *Villagois* onely *Greeke*; and in places of Trafficke they borrow one from another, according as their businesse is with those with whom they negociate. And as they differ in language, so doe they in attire. Those that serve the *Venetians*, goe apparelled like *Venetians*; those that live under the *Turke*, like *Turkes*. Both the Ilanders and those that live on the Continent, as well in *Europe* as in *Asia*, although subject to *Turkie*, keepe their ancient Christian faith. Long agoe they rejected the primacy of the Latine Church, and elected to themselves Patriarches, whom they acknowledge for their chiefe Pastors, and have appointed them their severall Sees. Whom not onely the *Grecians* thus obey, but likewise all those Provinces which follow the *Greek* Church, as *Circassia*, *Walachia*, *Bulgaria*, *Moscovia*, *Russia*, the better part of *Polonia*, *Mongrelia*, *Bosnia*, *Albania*, *Sclavonia*, some part of *Tartarie*, *Syria*, *Croatia*, and generally all the Provinces about the *Euxine* Sea. In number they are foure, *viz.* the Patriarks of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Ierusalem*, and *Antioch*.

Of these, the Patriarch of *Constantinop'e* is Primate; sitteth in *Constantinople*, and chiefly moderateth over the *Caloieri*, (so are the *Greeke* Priests termed) which reside in Mount *Athos*, and generally over all Christians, professing the rites of the *Greeke* Church thorowout *Europe*; and for the Monasteries of Mount *Athos*, and all other dispersed over *Europe*, he paieth the *Turke* yearely 12000. ducats. Patriarches of *Constantinople*.

The Patriarch of *Alexandria* moderateth in *Ægypt* and *Arabia*, and his dwelling places in *Memphis* and *Cair*, are not much inferiour to his of *Constantinople*. Of *Alexandria*.

The Patriarch of *Ierusalem* absolutely moderateth in *Iudea*, & over all Professors of the *Greeke* Religion thorowout *Syria*. Of *Ierusalem*.

Syria. And must of necessity every yeare, on the fifteenth day of *August*, efficiate at the solemne Service in the Monastery situated upon Mount *Libanus*.

Of *Antioch.* The Patriarch of *Antioch* precedeth in those Monasteries and Greeke Churches, which are in *Beritus*, *Tripolis*, *Aleppo*, and other places of *Asia*. And in these places, as in all other, the *Turke* permitteth the *Grecians* to use their consciences freely, so they performe their due and accustomed tributes.

A Nation no lesse scattered than the *Iew*, but infinitely more populous; three parts of the Inhabitants of all *Greece* and *Romania* being *Grecians*, besides those who dwell in the Ilands of the Mid-land Sea, *Propontis* and *Ægeum*. Infinite numbers there are of them also in the lesse and greater *Asia*, and in *Africa* not a few. A people once so excellent, that their precepts and examples doe still remaine as approved Canons to direct the minde that affecteth vertue: Admirable in Arts, and glorious in Armes, famous for Government, and passionate affectors of freedome; but now drowned in ignorance and contented slavery, having (as it should seeme) utterly lost their mindes with their Empire. So base, as to be imagined, that they had rather remaine as they be, than indure a temporary trouble to redeeme their pristinate estates, delighting in nothing but in ease, in shades, in dancing and drinking.

Thrace. *Thrace* hath on the East the *Euxine* Sea, the *Thracian Bosphorus*, *Propontis*, and *Hellespont*: on the North, the Mount *Hemus*; upon the West, the higher *Mysia*, and part of *Macedon*; on the South, the *Archipelago*. It is a most Noble Province, cold, plaine, and admirable populous, stored with Graine, Pulse, and excellent Wine towards the Sea-side: but towards the up-land (lying more subject to cold) it is not so fertile nor wooddy.

In it stands many goodly Cities: *Philipopolis*, *Nicopolis*, *Hadrianopolis*, and amongst many other *Constantinopolis*, by Heaven erected to be the head of an Empire; as the onely seat which the *Romans*, *Greekes*, and now the *Turks*, have chosen

choſen and reputed to be moſt commodiouſly ſeated, not for the government onely of the Empire, but as they conceit of the whole world.

Gallipolis is another famous portion thereof: I will not ſtand to deſcribe theſe trivials, yet is it a place of great moment, and therein reſideth a Governour, or Lord Admirall, without whoſe licence no ſhip of what Country ſoever may paſſe the ſtreight, but he muſt there caſt Anchor at leaſt for three dayes, untill the Turkes have made full ſearch, whether they tranſport any ſlaves or prohibited wares by ſtealth, or no. *Gallipolis.*

Next followeth *Macedon*, a fertile region incloſed with hils, and neere the *Ionian* ſea, plaine and woodie. That it was once the Empreſſe of the Eaſt, it is well knowne, but at this day it is Turkiſh, and without any famous Cities, ſave in a peece of *Albania*. In it is nothing memorable but the Mount *Athos*, or the holy Mount. It is 75. miles in compaſſe, three dayes journey long, and halfe a dayes journey broad, reſembling the ſhape of a man lying with his face upward, whoſe higheſt Cone, alwayes covered with ſnow, is ſeene thirtie miles off at Sea. It is exceeding fertile in Graſſe, Fruit, Oyle, and Wine. Long agoe it was dedicated in honour of Saint *Baſile* to the Greeke *Caloieri*, and endowed with privileges, which at this day it enjoyeth by the *Turkes* good favour; that is to ſay, that no man neither *Grecian* nor *Turke* may inhabit in this place, except he be a Prieſt. So that their number in theſe dayes are about ſix thouſand, diſperſed into twentie and foure Monaſteries, ancient and warlike, ſo built for feare of theeves and pyrats, although there be no ſuch great cauſe. In theſe Monaſteries are many relickes, which cauſe great concourſe of people, and they are ſtately built, and richly adorned. *Macedon.*

This hill is in as great requeſt with the *Grecians* for their ſanctimonious ſtrictneſſe of life, as is *Rome* with the *Latines*; yea, the *Turks* themſelves doe ſend hither many bountifull almes. None of them live idly, but muſt doe ſomewhat, and ſo doe daily for the œconomike of the houſe; as to

dreſſe Vines, fell Timber; yea to build ſhips, and ſuch like mechanicall labours. They are poorely clad, like Hermits, neither weare they ſhirts of Linnen, but Woollen; and them they ſpin, and ſow themſelves, never giving themſelves to ſtudie: and that more is, many of them can neither write nor read. And yet notwithſtanding, if any man have occaſion to journey by their houſes, he ſhall, if he pleaſe, finde viands ſcot-free, according to his calling.

Epyrus. *Epyre*, now *Albania*, was once a very famous Province, as witneſſeth *P. Æmilius*. It had in it ſeventie Cities, now deſtroyed, and turned into ruines, or Villages, meanly inhabited. For the moſt part it is woodie, and barren, but neere the ſea, fertile and adorned with very beautifull havens.

Achaia. *Achaia* is a very goodly Region, as may be gathered by the goodly Cities, which therein once flouriſhed (*viz.*) *Delphos, Thebes, Athens, Megara*, & many moe now deſtroyed.

Peloponneſus. So is *Peloponneſus*, termed by *Plinie* the bulwarke of *Greece*. It yeeldeth all things that man can deſire, either for life or pleaſure. And although the ancient Cities be now defaced, yet is it for quantitie, the beſt peopled part of *Greece*. It is now under the *Turke*, and counted the beſt *Sangiak-ſhip* in *Turkie*, as bound to bring at the commandment of the *Beglerbeg* of *Greece*, one thouſand horſemen under his owne pay. It is worth yearely fourteene Ducats. The Ilands adjoyning unto theſe large continents, I will not diſcourſe of: for as they are diverſe in worth and eſtimation, ſo are they many in number, and (for the moſt part) not worthy relation.

Dalmatia. *Dalmatia*, is at this day divided into *Sclavonia, Dalmatia* and *Albania*. *Sclavonia* lieth upon the Weſt, *Albania* upon the Eaſt, and in the middle, *Dalmatia*. In all fertilitie it is as good as *Italy*. Of a Countrie firſt waſted by *Caſar Auguſtus*; ſecondly by the *Gothes*; thirdly by the *Turkes*, and at this day ſhared amongſt three ſuch Lords, as are the *Venetians*, the *Turke*, and the Emperour; it may be ſaid to be reaſonable well inhabited. And ſo it is having many fine Cities in it, as *Iadera, Raguſa, &c.* Howbeit, that part which

which is ſubject to the *Turke*, lieth almoſt deſart, by reaſon of their continuall inrodes.

Boſſina, or *Maſia ſuperior*, is alſo a parcell of *Illyria*, and erected into a Turkiſh *Beglerbeg-ſhip*, having under it nine *Sangiaks*. *Servia*, now *Raſcia*, lieth between *Boſnia* and *Bulgaria*; it was taken by the *Turke* 1438. and reduced into a *Sangiak-ſhip* under the *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*. *Bulgaria*, which ſome take for the lower *Maſia*, is ſo famous a Province, that the Turkiſh Emperour hath erected it for the cheife Seat of the *Beglerbeg* of *Europe*; under whoſe command are twentie and one *Sangiaks*. *Maſia ſuperior.* *Servia.* *Bulgaria.*

Valachia containeth the two Provinces of *Moldavia* and *Tranſalpina*. *Valachia* is a plaine and fertile Countrey ſmally inhabited, and deſtitute of fire-wood; but ſtored with excellent Horſe, Cattell, and Mines of Gold and Silver, if the people durſt dig them for feare of the *Turkes*. It is 500. miles long, and 120. broad. It hath one Archbiſhop, and two Biſhops, and is more populous than *Moldavia*. They ſpeake both one language, being almoſt halfe *Italian*. This Countrey and *Moldavia* are plagued with three bad neighbours, *viz.* the *Turkes*, the *Tartars*, and the *Caſſoks*. They follow the Greeke Church, and in matters of Religion obey the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. They are the ſame which in ancient times were called *Daci*. The *Turks* have often attempted with their mightieſt powers to have made a finall conqueſt of theſe Provinces, but they have hitherto bin valiantly reſiſted, and repulſed, partly by the Natives, and partly by the *Polonians*, *Tranſylvanians*, and the *Caſſoks*, in diſlike of each others bad neighbourhood. Yet is it tributarie to the Grand Seignior, and payeth him yearely twentie foure thouſand Chechini. *Valachia.* The reaſon of the deſolation of theſe Countries.

Moldavia, being in a manner round is almoſt 300. Engliſh miles over every way. It hath two Archbiſhopricks, and two Biſhopricks, and is exceeding fertile in Corne, Wine, Graſſe, and Wood. It affordeth great plentie of Beefe and Mutton, and therwith feedeth *Polonia*, a great part of *Germanie*, & the populous citie of *Conſtantinople*. A great & fat Oxe *Moldavia.*

in this Country is valued but at thirtie ſhillings, a Sheepe at three ſhillings. The tenth whereof (which of duty is yearely payed to the Prince) amounteth to 150000. The Clergie and Gentrie (for they alwayes can make beſt ſhift for themſelves) contribute no parcell hereof. It hath a ſmall River paſſing thorow the Country, and falleth into *Danubius*, neere unto *Gallatz*, called *Pruta*, the water whereof (as alſo of *Danubius*) is unwholſome to drinke, for it cauſeth the body to ſwell. In 1609. certaine Engliſh Gentlemen travelling 240. miles in this Country, could meet but with nine Townes and Villages in all the way, and yet for above a hundred miles ſpace together, the Graſſe groweth at leaſt one yard high, and rotteth every yeare upon the ground for want of Cattell and manurance. On the Eaſt, it hath the black Sea, on the Weſt *Podalia*: on the North the *Tartars*; and on the South the *Danubie*, and the Country of *Bulgaria*. It payeth yearely unto the Great *Turke* by way of Tribute 3200. Chechini, beſides one thouſand horſes, ſent yearely unto *Conſtantinople* for a preſent, from both theſe Princes, of *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*. It alſo payeth tribute to the *Polander*, but how much I cannot ſhew you.

Therin dwell many *Armenians*, *Iewes*, *Hungarians*, *Saxons*, and *Raguſians*, who foreſtall the whole traffick in thoſe parts bartering their Corne and Wine into *Ruſſia* and *Polonia*, and their Skins, Wax, Hony, powdered Beefe, Butter and Pulſe, into *Conſtantinople*. The Malmeſey likewiſe, which is tranſported out of *Creet* into *Poland* and *Germany*, is carried thorow this Country, whereof the *Vaivod* receiveth a maſſie impoſt.

Of thoſe Countries which at this day the Turks *terme* Natolia.

THat which the *Turkes* at this day terme *Natolia*, or *Turcia major*, once *Aſia minor*, comprehendeth the Provinces of *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Aſia* it ſelfe, *Lycia*, *Galacia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and *Armenia* the leſſe; and in theſe

Provinces

Provinces of ancient times flouriſhed the States and Kingdomes of the *Trojans*, of *Mithridates*, of *Craſus*, of *Antigonus*, of the *Paphlagonians*, of the *Galathians*, of the *Cappadocians*, and *Phrygians*: All which at this day are not ſufficient to ſatisfie the onely ambition of the Turkiſh tyranny. The Inhabitants for the moſt part are Mahumetans, and naturall Turkes, of ſimpler natures than the Turkes of Europe, and nothing ſo cruell as the Renegado Chriſtians. Yet are there many Chriſtians among them in many of theſe Regions, following the Rites of the Greeke Church. Among theſe Turkes, there is no acknowledgement of Superioritie, Bloud or Nobility, but all are equall ſlaves to the Grand Seignior, over whom he appointeth *Beglerbegs* and Sanziaks. They are either a kinde of idle or lofty people, for they are ſmally induſtrious, and were it not for their ſlaves, their grounds would generally lie unmanured.

Pontus and *Bithynia* are now united under one name, and called *Burſia*. Here once reigned the great King *Mithridates*; and here ſtood the famous Cities of *Chalcedon*, *Nicomedia*, *Apamaa*, *Pruſia*, *Nice*, and *Heraclea Ponti*. *Pontus, Bithynia, Burſia.*

Aſia propria, now *Sabrun*, is the peculiar Province of *Aſia minor*, & containeth in it many famous Provinces; as *Phrygia major & minor*, *Caria*, *Myſia*, &c. In *Phrygia minor* ſtood that Noble citie of *Troie*, famous at this day (ſaith *Bellonius*, an eie-witneſſe) for its very ruines of wals, gates, circuit, and marble ſepulchers, found upon the wayes without the wals. *Aſia minor.*

Pamphilia, now *Caramania*, is one of the old ſeven *Sangiakſhips* of *Turkie*, and yeeldeth 8000. ducats of yearly revenue. In this Country, as alſo in *Cilicia*, are woven thoſe fine cloths which we call Chamblets, watered and unwatered, they are made of the haire of Goats ſo fine and white, as no Silke can ſurpaſſe them in thoſe two properties. *Caramania.*

Cappadocia, now *Amaſia*, is a goodly Country, and the ſeat of the Turks eldeſt Son. In it are many goodly cities, as *Trapezond*, once the ſeat of the *Comneni*, Emperors of *Trapezond*, *Cappadocia or Amaſia.*

whoſe Name and Progenie *Mahumet* the ſecond utterly extinguiſhed.

Cilicia. *Cilicia* now part of *Caramania*, is a good Country: the Inhabitants are given to paſturing of Goates for lucre of their fleeces, of which they make their Chamblets; but otherwiſe, neither given to Fiſhing, Navigation, nor Husbandrie. At the foot of Mount *Taurus* (ſaith *Bellonius*) are divers ſmall Villages, and excellent paſtures about them, which for the fertilitie thereof ſhould ſeeme to be one of the Turkiſh Races: from thence he culleth out every yeare ſix hundred horſe of ſervice, which they highly eſteeme, and name *Caramanni*.

Armenia minor. *Armenia minor* is a better ſoile, and more populous than *Cappadocia*, and round about incircled with tall, huge, broken, and wooddie mountaines.

Arabia triplex.

THe three *Arabiaes* are likewiſe a parcell of the Empire, which is a marvellous great Country, included between two huge boſomes of the ſea, in manner of a *Peninſula*, *viz.*: upon the Weſt and Eaſt with the *Arabian* and *Perſian* gulfes, upon the South with the Ocean, and upon the North with *Syria*, and *Euphrates*.

The Inhabitants are indifferently called *Arabians*, *Saracens*, or *Moores*: Thoſe are the true *Arabians* which live out of Cities in Tents, diſperſed over *Syria*, *Ægypt*, and *Africke*: theſe give themſelves to feed cattell, and droves of Camels. Thoſe which inhabit Cities, are called *Moores*, and were once of ſuch puiſſance, that they not onely ſubdued *Syria*, *Perſia*, and *Troglodytica*, but likewiſe *Ægypt*, a great part of *Africke*, and almoſt all *Spaine*, with the Iland of *Sicilie*, and the Kingdome of *Naples*.

Two hundred yeares they kept poſſeſſion of theſe peeces, but of ſome part of *Spaine*, 700, even untill the dayes of our fathers. And further, this accurſed generation at this day, is not onely ſpread over all the Southerne coaſt of

Aſia,

Asia, (*viz:*) *Persia*, *East India*, and the Islands of the *Indian* Sea, but are likewise advanced with great prosperitie unto divers wealthy Kingdomes, famous Cities, & worthy Mart-townes, yea, over all the South-coast of *Africke*; Under this people, the *Turkes* were first called into *Asia* to beare armes.

Of their manners we have spoken elsewhere. In their Religion they are *Mahumetans*, for in this Countrie that false Prophet first opened his superstitious Wardrobe.

Arabia Deserta

This is a vast Countrie, full of Desarts, yet well inhabited with populous & warlike multitudes, especially toward *Euphrates*, and the Mountaines of *Arabia felix*, whither Merchants resort. The residue towards the West is sandy, by which if a man be to travell, he must have the Starres to his guide, company for his safeguard, and provision for his diet: Otherwise he shall surely lose his way, surrender his goods to the theevish *Arabes*, or starve in the Desart for want of food.

To secure the which passages, as well against those who live on the side of *Euphrates* towards *Egypt*, as through all *Arabia* (*Petrea* and *Deserta*) the Grand Seignior entertaineth the king of those *Arabians* which inhabit *Mesopotamia*. And for this his service, as a Turkish Sanziak hee holdeth *Ana* and *Dir*, two townes situated upon the said river. He is a poore King, but accompanied with 10. or 12. thousand beggerly subjects, living and lying in tents of course blacke Hair-cloth: which forces notwithstanding, these wilder ones are so infinite in multitudes, and so unpossible to be brought unto a more civill manner of living; that for their danger toward strangers, and the continuall spoiles, which they commit upon those parts of the *Turkes* Dominions, which every way border upon them, necessitie inforceth him also, to maintaine two other garrisons; the first of twelve thousand in *Cairo*, the other of one thousand five hundred in *Damasco*.

Wherein it is to be noted; That sithence those of *Damasco*, doe not only defend that peece, but are also distributed, thorow other cities of *Soria* (as *Aleppo*, *Antiochia*, and *Ierusalem*)

Salem one thousand five hundred men were not able to sustain, and answer to such a charge, unlesse by being both *Ianizars* and *Timariots* also, they have many followers and attendants. Who (as elsewhere I have shewed you) are not onely mightie in reputation, and powerfull in number, but also every yeare accustomed to spare and cull out strong troops, warlikely and pompously provided to send into *Hungarie*.

For, surely without this order, all the passages of the *Caravans*, which yearely come from *Balsara*, and the Red-sea, would become so infectious, that neither *Bagdet*, nor *Damasco*, could receive the commodities of those parts, to the annuall losse of two millions of Entrado to the grand Seignior.

Amongst these it was, that Sir *Anthony Sherly* travelled, and found them so well governed, that without any wrong offered, he passed thorow them all in such peace, as he could not have done, being a stranger, amongst civiller bred people. The King gave him good words, without any kind of barbarous wondring, or other distastfull fashion. But at his returne to the river, he found the Master of his House, Master of his Boat, accompanied with a great sort of *Arabs*, who in conclusion, *vo'ens nolens*, forced him to send his Master three versts of cloth of gold, as a present for beholding his person.

Arabia Petrea. Towards *Syria*, this is somewhat fertile, yet smally commended for that propertie by the Ancients; for indeed it is exceeding barren, and wanteth necessarie sustenance, wood, and fresh water. The memorable things herein are, the Mountaines of *Sinai* and *Oreb*, upon the former whereof, is at this day builded a Monasterie of Christians, following the Greeke Church, and the onely receptacle (or Inne) for way-faring Christians: other place of releese is there none.

Arabia Felix. *Arabia Felix* is a very large Province, better manured and watered than the other. It is adorned with Noble Cities, and full of villages; especially towards the sea side, where are many excellent places of trade. The residue, except the sand, is made manurable, either for feeding of Cattell or Camels, in which places live infinite swarmes of divers Nations,

ons, by grazing and husbandrie. It bringeth forth whatsoever will grow in *India*, and that twice a yeare, in abundant manner, besides *Cassia*, Cinamon, Myrrh, &c. and soly, as much Frankincense, as will serve all the world. It yeeldeth also metall, and excellent pearle all along the coast by fishing. It sendeth abundance of horse and sheepe into *India*, whose tailes weigh forty pounds. In it are many famous Cities, as *Medinat Al-naby*, *Mecca*, *Zidem*, *Zibit*, and *Aden*.

This City of *Aden*, together with the whole Country, was in the yeare of our Lord 1538. fraudulently surprised by the Turke, and their King hanged. It is now strongly fortified, and erected into a Stately Turkish *Beglerbeg-ship*.

Turcomania, *in times past a part of the greater* Armenia.

Turcomania comprehendeth no small portion of *Armenia major*: what remaineth is accounted in *Georgia*. Upon the North lieth *Colchis*, (now *Mongrelia*:) Upon the West *Euphrates*, and the lesse *Armenia*: upon the East that remainder of the greater *Armenia*, which is counted in *Georgia*; Upon the South *Mesopotamia* (now *Dierbechia*) with the people *Curdi*. It is invironed with Mountaines, and beautified with plains, amongst the which *Periander*, (now *Chalderan*) *Antitaurus* (now *Mons-niger*) are most renowmed. It is generally exceeding fertile, and stored with Cattell, but marvellously subject to deepe snowes. Situation.

The people by nature are much given to theft and spoile, as descending from the *Tartars*, and so at this day lead their lives, living in Tents and Hovels attending and pasturing their cattell; Yet some of them inure themselves to tillage, and mechanike Trades, in weaving of Chamblets, and Hangings, watered and unwatered: of the like qualities. Nature of the people.

ties are the *Curdi*, and ſome ſuppoſe that theſe *Curdi* inhabit the ancient ſeats of the *Chaldeans*, whereupon it is called at this day *Curdiſtan* by the *Turkes* and *Perſians*, but by the *Arabians Kelaan*, that is to ſay, *Chaldea*.

The *Curdines*.

Georgia, by the *Barbarians* termed *Gurgiſtan*, comprehendeth the ancient *Iberia*, with part of the greater *Armenia*, and peradventure *Atropatia*. Upon the Weſt lieth *Mengrelia*, upon the North *Zuiria* (once *Albania*,) upon the Eaſt the middle *Atropatia* (now *Siruan*,) upon the South that part of the greater *Armenia*, which now is called *Turcomania*.

Gurgiſtan, or *Georgia*, in times paſt *Iberia*.

For the greater part it is covered with Mountains, Woods, and thickets, and in that regard inconquerable for the difficulties of the mountainous paſſages. It is notwithſtanding fertile, and adorned with many large plaines and vallies, from whence ariſe many famouſed Rivers, as *Cirus* and *Araxis*, ſpringing from the Mountaine *Taurus*, and running thorow the whole Province, untill at laſt it diſgorge it ſelfe into the *Caſpian*.

The Inhabitants are termed *Georgiani*, of S. *George*, whom they advow their Patron and Advocate. But this is but a vulgar errour, ſeeing both *Plinie* and *Mela* make mention of the *Georgiani*, one hundred yeares before the birth of Saint *George*, the famous ſouldier and martyr. They are Chriſtians, according to the *Greeke* Church, with ſome ſmall difference. They are very populous and warlike, ſtrong of body, and valorous in fight, even untill our times, mantaining their libertie in the midſt of the Mahumetans, ſometimes following the fortunes of the *Turkes*, ſometimes of the *Perſians*. But at this day, they have not onely loſt their wonted libertie, but alſo many Fortreſſes and Cities, as *Teflis*, *Lori*, *Cliſca*, *Gori*, and *Tomanis*, and withall, ſome of of them have imbraced the Turkiſh infidelitie.

Paleſtine,

Paleſtine, or the Holy Land.

Paleſtine is one of the moſt excellent Provinces of *Syria*, as well in regard of habitation, as of many famous acts done therein, and celebrated in holy Scripture. Under the generall name whereof are comprehended *Idumea*, *Iudæa*, *Samaria*, and *Galile*. Anciently it was called *Canaan*, of *Chanaan* the ſonne of *Cham*, whoſe poſteritie divided the Land amongſt them, and under that name it continued untill the invaſion of the *Iſraelites*, who called it after their owne denomination, *Iſrael*.

It was alſo called *Philiſtim* of the *Philiſtians*, once a powerfull and mighty people: after that, the *Land of promiſe*; and now laſtly, *The holy Land*.

It is ſituated betweene the *Arabies* and the mid-land Sea; Northerly upon part of *Phœnicia*; Eaſt-ward upon *Libanus*; South-ward and South-Eaſt upon *Arabia*, and Weſtward upon that part of the *Mediterran*, which is termed the *Syrian* and *Phinicean* Seas. Situation.

From the very beginning (as witneſſeth the holy Scripture) it hath beene a moſt famous Province, and afterward more renowned for the Birth, Miracles, and Paſſion of our Saviour *Chriſt*. Diſtant from the line 31. degrees, and extending unto thirty three, and ſomewhat upward. So that in length from **Dan*, unto **Beerſheba*, it containeth no more than one hundred and fortie miles; where broadeſt, not fiftie. A Land that flowed with Milke and Hony; Adorned with beautifull mountaines, and luxurious vallies, the rocks producing excellent waters, and no part emptie of delight and profit. The ayre very temperate, and the bodies of men healthfull, and patient of labour.

**Now Ceſaria Philippi.*

**Now Gibelin.*

The ancients will have it to be ſituated in the midſt of the world, where it is neither pinched with extremitie of cold, nor vexed with over-much heat. And therfore the *Iſraelites* ſay, *This is to be the land which God promiſed unto Abraham.*

For ſite it is very pleaſant, for plaines and hils no leſſe delightſome,

lightſome, rich in divers ſorts of Manufactures, and well watered. Where although it raine but ſeldome, yet was the ſoile bateſull, and that by teſtimonie of Scripture, averring it to be a Land excelling all other in goodneſſe and fertilitie.

So that their graine was moſt delicate, their increaſe abundant, and their Roſes moſt ſweet. Rue, fennell, and ſage, and ſuch like pot-hearbs it brought forth of its owne accord. Olives, Figges, Pomegranets, and Palme trees are very frequent, with ſome ſtore of Vines. For, although the *Saracens* are forbidden the drinking of Wine, yet make they abundance thereof, and very good, for the uſe of ſtrangers, dwelling in the Country. They make three harveſts, yet have they neither Peares, Apples, Cherries, Nuts, nor any other fruits common with us: theſe are brought them from *Damaſcus*. Some fruits, as Oranges, and the Apple of Paradiſe, they have and preſerve upon the trees all the yeare long. It did once yeeld Balme, not now; but is ſtored with Honey, and Sugar Canes; ſo is it with Goats, Swine, Hares, Partridges and Quailes, as alſo Lions, Beares, and Camels. And in many places ſo peſtred with Rats and Mice, that if it were not for certaine Birds devouring thoſe Creatures, it were impoſſible to have any Harveſt.

Iordan runneth thorow the middeſt of the Countrie, whoſe water is moſt delicious, and therein ſtrangers are accuſtomed to waſh themſelves. In its courſe, it maketh two lakes, the one in *Cana* of *Galilie*, the other at *Tyberias*, which is called *Genazereth*, and at laſt diſgorgeth it ſelfe into the *Mediterran* Sea. Upon the bankes thereof grow Withies, Tamarisk, and many other ſorts of ſhrubs and weeds, of which the *Arabians* make their darts, weapons, launces, and writing pens.

Iordan.

The former of theſe two lakes is eſpecially filled when the Snowes diſſolve and runne from *Libanus*. In the Summer it is drie, and bringeth forth abundance of ſhrubs and flags, wherein Lions, and divers wilde beaſts do ſhroud their carcaſſes. The Lake of *Genazereth* runneth moſt cleerely, and yeeldeth divers ſorts of fiſh, as Carps, Pikes, &c.

It

It is not ſo broad, but that a man may ſee from one ſide unto the other, as conſiſting of ſixteene miles in length, and ſix in breadth. The plaines round about are barren for the abundance of buſhes, which hinder the husbandman from manuring the ground. Yet the *Iewes* induſtrie doe much amend it, and dwell about the bankes thereof for the fiſhing ſake.

Mare mortuum, otherwiſe the Lake *Aſphaltites*, ſo called of his bituminous ſavour, was a place once woody and full of ſalt pits, which for the pleaſantneſſe thereof was reſembled to Paradiſe; and therein ſtood *Sodome*, *Gomorrah*, and the three other Cities, which for their ſinne againſt Nature, were therein drowned and burnt by the doome of God. At this day it ſendeth forth ſmokes and fogs as from an infernall furnace, wherewith the whole valley adjacent for halfe a dayes journey is made barren. It neither yeeldeth Fiſh nor Fowle, and whatſoever creature is caſt therein, though bound hand and foot, it ſwimmeth on the face of the water. *Aſphaltites.*

The land was once moſt populous, as appeareth by the muſter of *David*, who numbred thirteene hundred thouſand men, able to beare armes, beſides the Tribe of *Benjamin*. As long as they continued their upright and religious obedience to the ſervice of God, the Land proſpered; but aſſoone as they forgot God, they ſuffered many miſeries, and thoſe perpetuall, untill they were cleane deſtroyed, and forced to flye every way. For to ſpeake nothing of ancient time, the 73. yeare after Chriſt, *Ieruſalem* was taken and deſtroyed by *Titus*, with the ſlaughter and captivitie of infinite thouſands. In the yeare 136. it was reſtored by *Ælius Adrianus*, new named *Ælia*, and given in poſſeſſion to the *Iewes*. In the time of *Conſtantine* and *Helena* (his mother) it fell into the hands of the Chriſtians, & ſo continued untill the yeare 609. at what time it was ſacked by the *Perſians*, but left unto the Chriſtians, and ſo continued untill the dayes of *Henry* the fourth, at what time it was againe taken by the *Sultan* of the *Sarazens*, and the Chriſtians cleane baniſhed. Forces.

In

In the yeare 1097. in a generall Councell for the deliverie of the holy Land, the *Crossed* Knights were instituted throughout Christendome, and *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne* chosen Generall of three hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horse. These Knights did many famous acts; recovered the land, instituted a Monarchie, and sometime with good fortune, and sometime with losse, continued the defence thereof, untill the yeare 1290. in which yeare it was utterly subdued by the *Soldan* of *Ægypt*. In whose possession it continued, untill the yeare of our Lord 1517. and then was it overcome by the Turkish Armies, who at this day retaine it in miserable servitude. And so it resteth, peopled with men of divers Nations and Sects; as *Saracens*, *Arabians*, *Turkes*, *Hebrewes*, and *Christians*: whereof some follow the Latine Church, some the Greeke: as the *Grecians*, *Syrians*, *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Nestorians*, *Iacobites*, *Nubians*, *Maronites*, *Abassines*, *Indians*, and *Ægyptians*, every one having their peculiar Bishops, whom they obey.

Galilie. *Galilie* upon the North is environed with the steepe hils of *Libanus* & *Amilibanus*, upon the with West *Phœnicia*, upon the East with *Celosyria*, and upon the South with *Samaria* and *Arabia* the desart. The soile is most fruitfull, yeelding all sorts of trees, and divided by *Iordan*: upon whose bankes stand very many townes and villages, and so well watred either with mountain-torrents, or springs, that no part thereof lyeth unmanured.

Nazareth. The Countrie is more famous, for that in it standeth (amongst the rude Mountaines) the small village of *Nazareth*, the place of our Lords conception: and at this day, there is a small Chappell archt and built under ground, whereinto a man must descend by staires: Here (some say) the Angell appeared unto *Mary*, and foretold her, that she should conceive and bring forth our Lord.

The Inhabitants are *Arabians*, short and thicke men, rudely apparelled, and weaponed with bows, swords, and daggers. In this region likewise, standeth the Mount *Thabor*, whose North part is inaccessible, and whereon our Lord was transfigured.

Samaria

Samaria lyeth in a moſt delicate plot of *Paleſtine*, but in bigneſſe not comparable to *Iudea*, or *Galilie*. The ſoile is partly mountainous, partly champian, pleaſant, fruitfull; and very well watred with freſh and ſweet water. The Citie is now ruinated: But *Naplos* for pleaſure and delight is inferiour, to none other. It is ſituated upon the ſide of a hill, the eighth part of a mile, from whence a man may behold the ruines of a great Temple neere unto that Well, where (as men ſay) Chriſt ſate, when he asked water of the *Samaritan* woman. *Samaria.*

Iudea far excelleth any part of the reſidue of *Paleſtine*, & at this day enioyeth its ancient fertilitie. The tribe of *Iuda* ſo named it, and in it, as in the reſt of *Paleſtine*, were very many worthy Cities, whereof *Ieruſalem* was the chiefe ſeate of their Princes, the receptacle of the Patriarks, Prophets, and Apoſtles: the originall place of our Faith, and the glory of the Chriſtian world. By the *Barbarians*, at this day, it is called *Godz* or *Chutz*. It ſtandeth on an eminent place, as whereunto a man muſt every way aſcend. *Iudea.* *Ieruſalem.*

S. *Ieroms* opinion was, that it ſtood not only in the heart of *Iudea*, but in the very center of the World, as having *Aſia* on the Eaſt, *Europe* on the Weſt, upon the South *Lybia* and *Africa*, and upon the North *Scythia*, *Armenia*, *Perſia*, with the reſidue of the *Pontique* Nations.

What the glory hereof hath beene, may be conjectured out of *Tacitus*, who reporteth, that in the beginning of the ſiege, it contained two hundred thouſand ſoules. At this day it numbreth not above five thouſand inhabitants, although many Pilgrims daily reſort thither for devotion ſake.

It was once ſtrongly and fairely walled, but now weakely, and therin it ſheweth nothing now ſo famous, as the Sepulchre of our Lord Chriſt, whoſe Temple encircleth the whole mount of *Calvarie*, ſituated upon a plaine plot of ground, high, round, and open at the top, from whence it receiveth light: but the Sepulchre it ſelfe is covered with an Archt-Chappell, cut out of the maine Marble, and left unto the cuſtodie of the Latine Chriſtians.

Whoſoever

Whosoever is desirous to see this Sepulchre, must pay nine crownes to the *Turke*; so that this tribute is yearely worth unto him, eight millions of Ducats.

Mount *Calvarie.*

One hundred and eight foot distant from this Tombe is the Mount (called *Calvarie,*) whereon our Saviour Christ was crucified by the treacherous *Iewes*. In this place are many other religious Reliques. And the pilgrims which come thither, are alwaies lodged according to their owne professions; that is to say, the *Latines* with the *Franciscans*, without the Citie by Mount *Sion*: the *Grecians* are lodged with the *Caloieran Greekes*, dwelling within the Citie by the Sepulchre: And so every other Nation, *Abassines*, *Georgians*, *Armenians*, *Nestorians*, and *Maronits*; who all have their proper and peculiar Chappels. Those *Franciscans*, which follow the Latine Church, and are for the most part *Italians*, were wont to create the Knights of the Sepulchre, and to give testimoniall unto pilgrims of their arrivall there.

Valley of *Iehosaphat.*

Without this Citie is the Valley of *Iehosaphat*, and therein the tombes of the blessed Ladie, and S. *Anne*. The territorie adjoyning is exceeding fruitfull in Vines, Apples, Almonds, Figs, and Oyle: the Mountaines are no lesse stored with all sorts of Trees, wilde Beasts, and Spiceries.

Bethlem.

Besides *Ierusalem* standeth *Bethlem*, now destroyed, and shewing nothing worth looking on, save a great and stately Monasterie of the *Franciscans*; within which is the place where Christ was borne. *Rama* is now likewise ruinated, the Arches and Cesternes yet remaining by the witnesse of *Bellonius* his owne eye, are greater than those of *Alexandria*, but not so thicke.

Gaza.

Gaza is now a Turkish *Sangiak-ship*: the soile about fertile, and the inhabitants *Grecians*, *Turks*, and *Arabians*.

Idumea.

In holy Writ this Region is called *Edom*, and by other Authors *Nabathea*. Toward the sea and *Iudea* the soile is fertile, but towards *Arabia* desart and barren. Some say it is inexpugnable for its Desarts and want of water: yet is it stored therewith, but hidden, and knowne to none but the natives. Of old they were a turbulent, unquiet, and seditious

tious people; and so at this day, they are like to the villainous and roguish Neighbours, the *Arabians*.

Next bordereth *Phœnicia*, as part of *Syria*, exposed to the sea, and bordering upon *Galile*. Of old it had many famous Cities, as *Tripolis*, *Beritus*, *Sydon*, *Tyrus*, *Ptolemais*, *Capernaum*, *Emissa*, and others: Amongst the which, *Tyre* and *Sydon* were most famous. *Tyre* was a goodly Citie, a Colonie of the *Sydonians*, and round about encircled with the Sea, untill *Alexander* in his siege joyned it to the continent. *Phœnicia.*

At this day it hath two harbours, that on the North side the faireſt and best thorowout the Levant, which the *Cursores* enter at their pleasure; the other choked with the ruines of the Citie. So is it, and *Sydon*, now the strong receptacles of the stiffe-necked *Drusians*; A generation (they say) descended from the reliques of those Noble Christians, who under the conduct of *Godfrey of Bullen*, descended into those parts; and being by time driven unto harder fortunes, betooke themselves to the Mountaines; from whence, they could never be expulsed, neither by the *Saracens*, nor yet by the *Turkes*. Allowed they are libertie of Religion, and no other tribute imposed upon them, than is upon the naturall Subject, the one being no good Christians, and the other, worse Mahumetans.

Sydon was onee no lesse famous; now contracted into a narrow compasse, shewing only in her ruines the foundations of her greatnesse. The Inhabitants are of sundry Nations and Religions (as the *Tyrians*) yet governed by a succession of Princes, whom they call *Emirs*; And whose Seigniorie (augmented by armes and tyrannie) stretcheth from the River of *Canis* to the foot of *Mount Carmel*, containing a large extent of ground, and therein many Cities, whereof *Saffet* is the principall. The Grand Seignior doth much envie him for suffering the *Florentines* to harbour and water within his Port of *Tyrus*; which he is glad to excuse by the waste of the place, and inabilitie of resistance. But the truth is, that hee is a strong, rich, and potent Lord in these *Sydon.*

parts, partly presuming upon the strength of his invincible Forts, and partly upon the advantage of the Mountaines; yet having besides in continuall pay fortie thousand souldiers, some *Moores*, some *Christians*; and if the worst should fall, thee hath the Sea at hand, and the *Florentine* to friend; with whom, he knoweth that a massie Treasure will worke no small effects, towards the purchase of some rich Seignioric.

To conclude, he is too strong for his neighbours, and able to make a long defensive Warre against the *Turke*, if his tyrannie could assure him of fidelitie in this people.

Acon. *Acon* or *Ptolomais*, is strongly fortified triangular-wise, two parts whereof lye upon the Sea, the third toward the land. The soile about is very fruitfull and delicious. The Citie adorned with a beautifull Hospitall, strong and well bulwarked, once belonging to the *Teutonicke* Knights. It hath also a very faire Haven, capacious of any ships comming from the South: now under the *Sanziack* of *Saffet*, and usurped with the rest of that Province, by the foresaid *Emir* of *Sydon*. In this wofull Towne dwell not above two or three hundred Inhabitants, and those in patcht up ruinous houses.

Beritus. *Beritus* is an ancient Citie, once an Episcopall See, now famous for Trafficke and Merchandize, as the Mart-towne whereunto all the ships comming from *Europe* doe arrive. It is situated most safely, and almost inexpugnable.

NOw following mine Author, and having finished this tedious discourse of this great Empire, by the patience of my Reader, I will once turne backe againe and relate the Originall, the manners, the discent, and the Religion of this warlike and infidelious people, composed partly of Natives, lineally descended from the *Scythians* and *Tartars*, and partly of Apostata and *Renegado* Christians.

Generally the Natives have broad visages, correspondent to the proportion of their members, faire and tall, and somewhat inclined to grossenesse. Their haire they regard not,

not, ſave onely that of their beards. They are of a groſſe and dull capacitie, wayward, ſlow and lazie, hating husbandrie, and yet above all people in the world covetous and deſirous of riches, yea, ſelling all places of Juſtice and Government to their beſt Chapmen. Amongſt one another exceeding courteous, and as ſervile toward their ſuperiours; in whoſe preſence they keepe admirable ſilence, and yeeld due reverence: but toward ſtrangers they are all faſhioned of pride, inſolencie, and boaſting, thinking no Nation in the world to equalize them; in their ſpeech, entertainment and geſture, bewraying their inherent inſolence; faithfull to none, but where fidelitie may produce advantage. By nature, they are as idle, and given to exceſſive eating and drinking, ſitting cloſe by it three dayes together, and ſecretly not abſtaining from Wine, although by their Law they are forbidden the drinking thereof. No leſſe are they addicted to lechery and lothſome unnaturall venery, exceeding credulous, ſuperſtitious, relying upon dreames, fortunes, divinations and deſtiny, beleeving every mans fortune to be written in his forehead, impoſſible to be avoided: the fundamentall reaſon why they adventure like brute beaſts, into ſo many deſperate dangers.

As concerning their Religion, a man might write much, but we ſtudying brevity, doe relate, that generally, as a people too too credulous, they embrace many abſurd and triviall opinions, touching the Creation and end of the world, of Paradiſe, Heaven, Hell, the Earth, the creation of Man, and *Mahumets* journey to Heaven, even ſuch and ſo groſſe, as would make our children to laugh, if they heard them fabled. They doe all acknowledge one *God*, they reverence *Chriſt*, not as the Sonne of *God*, but as a Prophet borne of the Virgin *Mary*, and not crucified on the Croſſe, but ſome other man foiſted in by the ſubtiltie of the *Iewes*. Idols and Images they will not endure, and obſerve the Friday, as wee doe the Sabbath. They keepe a Lent of thirtie dayes, which they call *Ramadan*, and faſt all day; but in the night they make amends for all, abſtaining from nothing that

commeth to hand, ſave Swines fleſh, Wine and Women. Next this Feaſt followeth their Eaſter, by them termed *Bayram*, it continueth three dayes, and during that time, they take no delight in any paſtime. This feaſt falleth not at all times alike, but ſometimes in the Winter, ſometimes in the Spring, and ſometimes in Autumne; by reaſon that they account not their yeare according to the courſe of the Sun, but of the Moone: the riſing whereof at firſt quarter they adore, bearing the Figure thereof, as we the Croſſe, in their Enſignes.

They are circumciſed *Iew*-like, but not as they on the eighth day, but at the eighth yeare. They have no Bels after the manner of Chriſtendome, neither will they ſuffer the Chriſtians to have any, but five times in one day and night, their Prieſts aſcend the Steeples, with their lowd roarings and out-cries to call and aſſemble the people to prayers. By their good will they will not be called *Turkes*; for in the *Hebrew* tongue that denomination ſignifieth a *Vagabond* or *baniſhed man*, and is accounted a word of diſgrace; and therefore forſooth they muſt be ſtiled *Muſolmani*, that is, *Right-beleevers*.

They have likewiſe amongſt them (as amongſt the Papiſts) foure Orders of profeſſed perſons, (*viz.*) the *Torlaci*, the *Darviſi*, the *Calenderi*, and the *Hughie mali*; the moſt wicked Sect of all the reſidue, giving themſelves to all impoſture and uncleanneſſe.

They are not very daintie to converſe with Chriſtians, but with ſmall intreatie will eat, drinke and trafficke with them; yea, and ſometimes marry the daughters, permitting them to live peaceably after their conſciences: but to the *Iewes*, they are moſt inſociable, deteſting their company, and hating their tables, accounting them the baſeſt people in the world, neither will they marry with any of that progenie, nō, nor receive them into the Mahumetan Religion, unleſſe they be firſt baptized. By their Lawes they may have but foure wives, yet by preſcription every man taketh as many as he can well maintaine: one of theſe

is

is accounted the wife; to her the reſidue are underlings, and may at any time be divorced. Their women goe ſeldome abroad, but if they doe, they maske their faces, are gallantly attired, and ſhine in gold, Stone, and Jewels: Twice a weeke (as doe men) they frequent the Baths. They never blaſpheme the name of *God*, nor of *Mahumet*, nor of *Chriſt*, nor of our *Ladie*, nor of any other *Saints*, but if any bee heard ſo to offend, he is grievouſly puniſhed, let him be of what calling or religion ſoever. At Dice and Cards they never play, but only at *Alveolo*. They are very charitable, diſburſing their Almes, not only to *Turkes*, but alſo to *Chriſtians*, and men of all profeſſions, yea to brute beaſts, ſometimes buying quicke Birds, which for charities ſake, they will againe let flye at libertie. Their garments are long, and open before to the foot, except their ſhirts, which they weare without their Broges, ſo that as they goe they are openly ſeene. Their rayment is very faire and coſtly, *viz.* of cloth, ſilke, imbrodery, and ſet with pearle. They cover their head with a Turbant, except thoſe of the diſcent of *Mahumet*; theſe weare altogether greene, but the Chriſtians inhabiting among them, weare no one colour, but as they pleaſe (greene except.) They are all clothed in long garments like the *Turkes*, and are not diſtinguiſhed by any apparell they weare (of what profeſſion ſoever they be) but only by the attire of their heads. In ſalutations they never uncover their heads, neither doth the meaner ſalute his better; the left hand with them is the place of honour, and the better ſort ride about their affaires on horſebacke.

In diet they are very rude; they fare baſely, and groſſely, and yet they eat thrice a day, at morning, noone, and evening, alwayes without Table-cloth or Napkin; not ſitting orderly at Table, but on the ground, or ſome low ſtoole, with their legges acroſſe, Taylor-like. They feed upon all ſorts of fleſh, except Porke, which is forbidden them by their Law. Their chiefeſt food is Rice; and the *Aſian Turks* care not much for Fiſh, but the *European Turks* for nothing more. By Law they forbeare Wine, and therefore drinke

water, whereunto the better ſort mix either Honey or Sugar, and in cold weather in ſtead of a toſt they throw in a burning coale, to take away the offenſive operation of this raw Element. They make great uſe of *Opium*, and there is not one of them but eateth it, beleeving that thereby his courage increaſeth, and thereby leſſe dreadeth the hazard of warre. They make water, cowring downe like women, and their private buildings for the moſt part conſiſt of timber and morter, very narrow and ill contrived; wherein to ſay truth, they are not intenſive, eſteeming it an hainous ſinne to beſtow more coſt upon the frame, than is likely or convenient to laſt longer than during the life of one man: but in building of Temples to the honour of God, in providing for publike receptacles of travellers, in erecting Hoſpitals, publike Baths, watering places for men and cattell, and fountaines to waſh away their imaginary pollutions, before they enter into their *Meſchits*, they are moſt ſumptuous, moſt prodigall. No leſſe a pride take they in building of Conduits, in erecting of Bridges, and in paving of high-wayes, all which in *Turkie* you ſhall ſee very carefully repaired, & as a man may ſay, ſumptuouſly and magnificently provided for.

Except upon the frontiers, in *Turkie* you ſhall ſee no fortified Cities, but rather the wals, that have beene fortified, ruinated, and the fields waſted, according to their proverbe, *Quà Ottomanicus aliquis tranſivit, ibi nec folia nec gramina proveniunt.* And not untruly, for as ſoone as they have conquered any Province, they extinguiſh the great ones, eſpecially thoſe of royall bloud, & as for the wealthieſt Burgers, they tranſport them into remote Provinces, already inured, and ſubjected to their Lawes and Government; not forcing their conſciences, but onely deſpoyling them of their armes, reſtraining them of liberty to travell out of their limits, and forbidding them to ſerve any other Potentate, in prevention of rebellion. In invention of engines againſt their neighbours they are admirable induſtrious, not caring to obtaine that by craft and faithleſſe cowardize, which they cannot gaine by force, or the effuſion of much bloud: but

thoſe

thoſe baſe projects not prevailing, without reſpect of honour or military glory, they are not aſhamed to betake themſelves to their heeles. Yet to ſpeake truth, they are good ſouldiers, and to their eſpeciall advantage excellently diſciplined, being obedient to their Commanders, moſt laborious in the fabrikes, content with a ſmall refreſhment of victuall, and that moſt groſſe, contrary to gluttonous behaviour of all Chriſtian warfare. Their Armes are a Launce, a Bow, and a quiver of Arrowes, an iron Mace, a Battle-axe, and a Cemiter, and thoſe enchaſed with Gold and Silver: beſides their great Ordnance, whereof at this day they are Lords of infinite peeces.

This Empire beganne to take root in the yeare 1300. under the fortunes of one *Oſman* or *Ottoman*, from whom the ſucceeding Princes of that houſe have derived and uſurped the ſurnames of *Ottoman*, even as the Emperours of Chriſtendome have continued the title of *Ceſars*, ſince the firſt *Roman Iulius*. From that time, untill the yeare 1608. and from that *Ottoman* untill this *Acmach*, wonder it is to relate how in the ſpace of three hundred yeares, from ſo meane a Captaine, ſo baſe a people, and in ſo ſhort a time, (conſidering the growth of the *Roman* Empire) this Soveraignty is now growne to be the terrour of the world, and almoſt to equallize that of the *Romans*. How long every particular Prince reigned, and what exploits they performed, I rue to record, and meane not to relate: onely let me remember you of that devilliſh policie of theirs, how one brother at his firſt comming to the Crowne murdereth all the reſidue of his fathers children, and male-competitors, thereby preſuming to live ſecure and feareleſſe of innovation: *judicet Deus*.

They firſt ſeated the modell and majeſty of their Empire in *Pruſia*, a City of *Bithynia*; then they tranſported it to *Hadrianople*, and laſtly to *Conſtantinople*. In which Imperiall Citie is now his Court or Palace, three or foure miles in compaſſe, wholly incloſed with a ſtrong wall, and ſituated the pleaſanteſt of any Palace on the face of the earth, termed by them the Port, or *Seraglio*. Within the incloſure of this

wall are many pleaſant Parkes, ſweet Fountaines, ſumptuous Arbours, and innumerable lodgings richly built, eſpecially thoſe wherein the great *Turke* himſelfe reſideth. Within this incloſure likewiſe, are two other incloſed receptacles or lodgings for women; in the one are continually kept at leaſt fifteene hundred damoſels, out of which are culled one hundred and fifty for the daily ſervice of the Emperour, and thoſe ſequeſtred into the other of the leſſer lodgings.

For his guard he maintaineth daily by turnes foure thouſand footmen, by them ſtiled *Ianizars*, *viz.* ſlaves, by way of tribute haled in their infancies from the boſomes of their Chriſtian parents. Hee hath alwayes in Court likewiſe attendant on his perſon fifteene hundred horſemen (beſides thoſe that ſerve under the Beglerbegs) and thoſe are divided into foure claſſes or orders, *viz.* *Spazi*, *Ulufagi*, *Seliftari*, and *Caripici*, all payed out of his *Caſna*, or Exchequer. Beſides theſe Pretorian bands, he likewiſe maintaineth out of his Exchequer not ſo few as ten thouſand *Ianizars* garriſoned, thorow all parts of his Empire, under ſeverall leaders, acknowledging no other Lord, Soveraigne, or maintainer, but the grand Seignior.

Moreover, hee hath another order of Souldiery, termed *Timariots*, what they are, and how maintained, you have heard before. So many as at this day are raiſed in *Europe*, are thought ſufficient to entertaine eighty thouſand horſemen: thoſe in *Aſia* or *Natolia* fifty thouſand; and thoſe wreſted from the Crowne of *Perſia* forty thouſand; What are raiſed in *Syria*, and the adjacent Regions of *Egypt* and *Africa*, have not beene eſtimated, but all theſe ſerve under their Sanziaks, and they at the commands of their Beglerbegs or Colonels.

The Court is commonly ſtiled by them *Capi*, that is, the Port, wherein are many great Officers, by us ſpoken of before: But thoſe whoſe ſervices are onely deſtinated to uſes within the Seraglio, are for the moſt part Eunuches, with their rabble of under-Eunuches. Without the Seraglio, are

alſo

alſo divers honourable Offices for the government of the Empire, the chiefe whereof is their *Mufti* or Pope. In the ſecond ranke are their *Cadeleſchers, viz.* chiefe Juſtices. After the *Cadeleſchers* follow the Vice-Roy *Baſſaes*, (Counſellours of eſtate) whoſe number is uncertaine; in old time three or foure, but of late nine. The Preſident of theſe the *Turkes* terme Vice-Roy. And in truth, it is a place of great dignity and authority in managing the affaires of the State, as the man with whom the grand Seignior doth onely communicate his weightieſt intentions, and ſecreteſt deliberations.

And were it certaine, either for yeares, or life; For profit and honour, this place would not be much inferiour to the eſtate of many great Princes in Chriſtendome. But ſuch is the tyranny of this Monarch, that upon every ſuggeſtion and jealouſie, he is ſometime deprived, and ſometime ſtrangled. Within theſe ſixteene or ſeventeene yeares laſt paſt, it hath beene obſerved, that fourteene of theſe Officers have thus beene uſed. Five have died naturall deaths after deprivement, and nine deprived and afterwards murdered.

In the next place appeare the *Beglerbegs*, (maſters *del Campo*) the chiefe whereof is he that is termed of *Romania* or *Grecia*: The ſecond of *Anatolia* or *Aſia*. The third is the *Denizi Beglerbeg*, that is to ſay, the Lord high Admirall. And theſe three *Beglerbegs* have equall place and authority with the former *Baſſaes* in the *Divano*, or place of publike audience.

Before the laſt warre of *Perſia*, this Empire was undergoverned by forty *Beglerbegs*, who likewiſe had under them two hundred and ſeventy Sanziaks: But ſince thoſe times this number hath beene much augmented, *viz.* in *Europe* reſide ſeven: In *Affrike* foure: In *Aſia* twenty nine.

The *Turkiſh* Arſenals for ſhipping are foure; the firſt is at *Pera*, and containeth three and thirty docks or ſtations for ſo many Gallies: The ſecond is at *Gallipolis*, and containeth twenty, both under the charge of the high Admirall and his ſervitors. The third is at *Suez* upon the Red-Sea, containing

five

five and twenty ſtations: and the fourth laſt, at *Balſara* in the *Perſian* gulfe, conſiſting of fifteene Gallies, and theſe two laſt under the charges of the *Beglerbegs* of *Balſara* and *Cairo*.

In the time of *Selimus* we reckoned one million, and three hundred thirty three thouſand Chriſtian ſoules to live within his Dominions, not accounting thoſe that enjoyed freedome of conſcience by privilege, nor thoſe that then were ſubject to the *Egyptian* Sultan, whom the ſaid *Selimus* vanquiſhed.

The *Iewes* likewiſe live diſperſed over his whole Dominions, in ſuch infinite numbers, that ſcarce no Towne nor Village, but is very populouſly repleniſhed with their families, ſpeaking divers languages, and uſing the trade of Merchandize in royall and rich faſhion.

A people ſcattered over the face of the earth, hated by all men amongſt whom they live, yet of incredible patience; as ſubjecting themſelves to times, and to whatſoever may advance their profit: worldly wiſe, and thriving whereſoever they ſet footing. Men of indifferent ſtatures, and beſt complexions. Thoſe that live in Chriſtendome are the relikes only of the tribes of *Iuda* and *Benjamin*; the other ten (ſome ſay) are loſt: Others, that they be in *India*, or driven by *Salmanaſſer* into the extreme parts of the North.

Their owne Country, after the expulſion of the *Egyptian* Sultans by *Selimus*, at this day is adjoyned unto the Crowne of the *Ottoman* Empire: being governed by divers Sanziacks, all under the *Baſſa* of *Damaſco*. It is now inhabited by *Moores* and *Arabians*: Thoſe poſſeſſing the vallies; theſe the mountaines. Of *Turkes* there be ſome few: of *Greekes* many; with other Chriſtians of all ſects and Nations; eſpecially of ſuch as impute an adherent holineſſe to the place. Thoſe *Iewes* that live here, are not proprietors of any land therein, but live as ſtrangers and aliens, and pay their duties to their Lords.

The *Arabians* are ſaid to be deſcended from *Iſmael*, dwelling in tents, and removing their aboads, according to opportunity

tunity of prey, or beneſit of paſturage; not worth the conquering, nor can they be conquered, retiring to places inacceſſible for Armies. A Nation from the beginning unmixed with others, boaſting of their Nobility, and this day hating all mechanicall Sciences. They hang about the skirts of the inhabited Countries, and having robbed, retire with wonderfull celerity. They are of meane ſtature, raw-boned, tawny, having feminine voices, of a ſwift and noiſleſſe pace being behinde you, and upon you before you bee aware. Their Religion (if any) Mahumetiſme, their Language extending as farre as their Religion. Yet if any one of them undertake that conduct, he will performe it faithfully, not any of the Nation offering to moleſt you. Then will they lead you by unknowne waies, farther in foure dayes than a man can travell by *Caravan* in fourteene.

Perſia.

Perſia, and the *Perſian* glory hath beene often obſcured: Firſt, by the *Arabians*, who (to bury in oblivion the memory of former reputation) enacted by Law, according to the cuſtome of Conquerours, that the people ſhould no more be called *Perſians*, but *Saracens*. Secondly, by the *Tartarians*, led by *Chingis*. And laſtly, by *Tamerlan* and his followers.

But not long before the daies of our Anceſtors, by the vertue of *Iſmael Sophy* (of whoſe originall and fortunes, for the better underſtanding of this Hiſtory, it will not bee amiſſe to diſcourſe) the King-dome might truly have beene ſaid to have recovered its ancient ſplendour, if the *Turkiſh* depredations upon the Natives, had not through bloud and devaſtation, inforced this *Iſmael* to re-people the Country with *Tartars*, *Turcomans*, *Courdines*, and the ſcumme of all Nations: who though they live in a better Country, yet doe they nothing reſemble the ancient and noble deſcended

Perſians;

Persians; but at this day retaine the inheritance of their bad, trecherous, and vilde dispositions.

When *Mahumet*, after the decease of his first wife (who adopted him her heire) by her riches and his new superstition, had gotten him a name amongst the vulgar, he married for his second wife *Aissa*, the daughter of one *Abubacer* a great rich man, and of high authority in those quarters. By this mans continuance, and the friendship of *Oman* and *Ottomar* his kinsmen, hee gathered together a great rabble of *Arabians*, and partly by faire meanes, and partly by colour of Religion he became Master of many bordering Territories; and also about the same time gave *Fatime* his Daughter (by his first Wife) to *Halie* his Cousin: and to him after his death, all his earthly substance, making him the head of his superstition, with the title of *Caliph*.

Abubacer, by whose countenance *Mahumet* became gracious, taking in ill part the preferment of the young man; by the aide of *Omar* and *Ottomar* (whose desires, wholly built upon hope of succession, by reason of the old mans yeares, and for kindred sake, were inclined rather to see *Abubacer*, than *Halie* to bee their *Caliph*) beganne openly to resist *Halie* and to spoile him, and his wife *Fatime*, of all the substance which was left them by the Uncle. *Abubacer* died: *Omar* and *Ottomar* succeeded. *Omar* was slaine by a slave; *Ottomar* in a private quarrell; after whose death *Halie* succeeded. Against him rose *Mavie*, who accusing him as accessary to the death of *Ottomar* his Lord, caused him to be slain neere *Caffa*, a City within two daies journey of *Babylon*, where likewise he lieth buried: The place is called to this day *Massadel*, that is, the house of *Halie*. After his decease the Inhabitants of *Caffa* proclaimed *Ossan*, the son of *Fatime*, *Caliph*; but him likewise *Mavie* opposed, and slew by poison. Then was he absolute *Caliph*, and after him his sonne *Iazit*. *Ossan* left behinde him twelve sonnes, one whereof was called *Mahumet Mahadin*. The *Moores* say, he never died, but that hee shall returne againe to convert the world; and therefore they keepe alwaies ready in the

Mosque

Moſque of *Maſſadella*, a horſe gallantly furniſhed, where in their foppery they affirme, that this worlds converſion ſhall firſt begin. Upon theſe differents of *Halie*, *Abubacer*, *Omar*, *Ottomar*, and *Mavie*, have mighty factions of armes and opinions ariſen amongſt the ſectaries of this new ſuperſtition. The *Perſians* labour to prove *Halie* true *Caliph*, by the laſt Will of *Mahumet*; the *Arabians* ſtand as ſtifly to the three firſt. When from the yeare of our Lord God 1258. to the yeare 1363. the *Moores* had no *Caliph* (*Muſtapha Mumbala* the laſt *Caliph* being ſlaine by *Alcu* King of the *Tartarians*) a certaine Nobleman in *Perſia*, named *Sophi*, Lord of *Ardevel*, deriving his pedegree from *Halie*, by *Muſa Cereſin* his Nephew, and one of the twelve ſonnes of *Oſſan* (in memory of whom he altered the forme of the Turbant) by his vertue and valour, won great credit and eſtimation to his new faction.

To him ſucceeded *Adar* the ſonne of *Guine*, to whom *Aſſembeg*, a powerfull Prince in *Syria* and *Perſia*, gave his daughter in matriage. But his ſonne *Iacob-beg*, fearing the power and eſtimation of *Adar*, cauſed him to be ſlaine, and delivered his two ſons, *Iſmael* and *Soliman*, to his Captaine *Amanzar*, willing him to caſt them in priſon in *Zaliga*, a Caſtle in the mountaines: but *Amazar* deteſting the tyranny of his Lord, conveied the children to his owne houſe, and brought them up like Gentlemen amongſt his owne ſonnes; and falling ſicke of a deadly diſeaſe, forecaſting what might happen after his deceaſe, gave them horſes and money, willing them to flie, and to betake themſelves to their mothers houſe and tuition. *Iſmael* the eldeſt was no ſooner returned to his mothers place, but he vowed revenge for his fathers death, and after ſome fortunate expeditions, tooke upon him the cauſe and protection of the followers of *Halie*, from whom hee derived his pedegree. Hee made the Turbant higher, and ſent Ambaſſadours to all the Orientall Mahumetans, to exhort them to unity in Religion and Cogniſances. By theſe meanes and fortune of his armes, he became a terror to the Eaſt, and ſlew *Oſſan* then Uſurper of the *Perſian* State,

State, with his ten brethren, except *Marabeg*, who ſaved himſelfe, and fled to *Soliman* firſt Emperour of the *Turkes*, imploring his aid. This *Iſmael* at the Lake *Vay*, overthrew with a great ſlaughter the Prince of the *Tartars Zagatai*, and in heat of his victory had paſſed the River *Abbian*, if his Aſtrologian, in whom he greatly truſted, had not foretold him that his paſſage ſhould bee proſperous, but his returne unfortunate. Hee left to his ſonnes a moſt ſpacious Empire, bounded with the *Caſpian* Sea, the *Perſian* Gulfe, the Lake *Sioc*, the Rivers *Tygris* and *Oxus*, and the Kingdome of *Cambaia*, which Provinces containe more than twenty degrees from Eaſt to Weſt, and eighteene from North to South. And although theſe Kingdomes lying within theſe bounds held not immediatly of the Crowne of *Perſia*, yet all acknowledge the *Perſian* for their ſoveraigne Prince, that is to ſay, the Kings of *Mazam*, *Patan*, *Guadel*, and *Ormus*.

Georgia and *Mengrellia*, being Chriſtian Countries, according to the ſuperſtition of the *Greeke* Church, ſubmitted to certaine conditions, as toleration of Religion, payment of Tribute, and diſclaiming to aſſiſt the *Turke* againſt them; and ſo obtained a kind of peace and protection untill againe the *Perſians* declined, by the fortunes of the *Ottomans*. The like courſe ranne *Media*, now called *Servan*, *Dierbechia*, once *Meſopotamia*; *Cuſiſtan*, the inhabitation of the *Suſiani*; *Farſiſtan*, the Country of the *Perſians*; *Strava*, once *Hircania*; *Parthia*, at this day called *Arac*; *Caramanie*, now *Sigeſtan*, *Caraſſa*, *Sableſtan*, and *Iſtigin*, whoſe ancient names were *Drangia*, *Bactria*, *Parapamiſus*, *Margiana*. Of theſe Regions, thoſe which lie neereſt to the *Perſian* Sea are moſt plentifull, by reaſon of the Rivers every where diſperſed thorow the whole Land. Amongſt theſe Rivers, the moſt famous is *Bindimir*, to whoſe waters the Inhabitants are much beholding, conveying it by trenches, and other inventions into their grounds, to their great eaſe and commodity. The Provinces lying upon the *Caſpian* Sea, for their Rivers and temperature, doe likewiſe participate of the ſaid fertility,

tility, especially all those quarters which are watered with the River *Puly-Malon*, falling into the Lake *Burgian*: the residue of the Province is dry; by reason whereof, Townes and Villages are seldome seene in those places, unlesse it be by some springs or waters side.

The most ample and magnificent Cities of *Persia*, are *Istipias* the chiefe seat of *Bactria*, thought to be one of the pleasantest Cities of the East. *Indion*, the chiefe City of *Margiana*, situated in so fat and fertile a territory, that therefore *Antiochus Soter* caused it to be walled about. *Candahar*, the chiefe seat of *Pamaparisus*, famous for the trafficke of *India* and *Cathaia*, whither the Merchants of those Countries doe resort. *Eri*, the chiefe City of *Aria*, so abounding with Roses, that thereof it should seeme to take the name. *Barbarus* saith, it is of thirteene miles compasse. *Ispaa* the chiefe seat of *Parthia*, so spacious for the circuit thereof, that the *Persians* hyperbolically terme it, the halfe World. *Chirmaine* is the chiefe seat of *Caramania*, renowmed for the excellent cloth of gold and silver woven therein. *Eor* is a noble City, and so is *Custra* of *Susiana*. But all these for beauty and magnificence may bow and bend to *Syras*, seated upon the River *Bindimire*. Cities.

It was once the chiefe seat of *Persia*, and as some thinke, called *Persepolis*. *Alexander* the Great burnt it to the ground at the intreatie of his Concubine; but afterward, being ashamed of so vile an action, caused it to bee re-edified. It is not at this time so great, as in times past, yet it is thought to bee one of the greatest Cities in all the Orient, with its suburbs, which are in compasse twenty miles. It is a Proverbe among the *Persians*; *Quando Suars erat Siras, tunc Cairus erat ejus Pagus*: yet they account it not very ancient, neither are they of their opinions, who will have it the head of *Persia*. *Tauris* and *Casbin* are famous Cities, and besides their magnificence they may glory, that in them the Kings of *Persia* for the most part keepe their residences.

The forme of Government of this Nation, is not like the Government of any other Mahumetan people; neither is there Government.

there to be seene the like policie in any place in the whole East, as amongst the *Persians*, being a Nation nobly minded, liberall, sociable, and farre from affectation. All the rest hate Nobility, and depending upon the faith and service of slaves, doe either murder their brethren, or put out their eyes. But amongst this people Nobility is honoured: The Kings intreat their brethren kindly and magnificently, and they allow in their dominions many noble, rich, and mighty Barons; of which sort there is not one besides to be found through the whole *Ottoman* dominions. They likewise grace gentility, and highly esteeme their service on horseback: they delight in Musicke and Learning, they study Poesie, and therein become excellent. They give their minds to Astrologie: all which good parts, the *Turke* (being dogged, proud, sparing, and contemptuous, as respecting neither consanguinity, neighbourhood, nor any things else, save the name of a slave) doth utterly reject and despise.

They boast of their bloud and affinity, wearing good clothes, and desiring pleasure, which they give life unto by solemnizing of feasts, especially in matters of incontinency; to which they come by degrees, beginning with a modest shamefastnesse, but growing more bold, at last they set open all the doores of petulant and wanton variety: Nor are they ashamed to produce instances of *Ahasuerus*, banquetting in *Susa* with all his Princes one hundred and eighty dayes: Of *Balthasers* solemnities with his Concubines, and of many other, whose inventions and customes set on flame the already burning fire of voluptuousnesse. The *Turke* contemneth such formality, yet runneth the race of strange luxurie, with a more impudent violence, but seeming more solide.

Forces. The security of this state consisteth rather in prowesse than numbers. They maintaine three sorts of Souldiers; one sort the King keepeth in continuall pay, and alwayes about his owne person: The second, is the *Timariots* (for his Kingdome likewise as doth the *Turke*, in lieu of wages, allotteth certaine quantities of Land to great numbers of horsemen:)

The

The third are *Auxiliaries*, which ſerve for prey, and thoſe are onely *Georgians* and *Tartarians*. To ſpeake of the two firſt, (the eſſentiall ſinewes of this King and Kingdome) they are all horſemen: For where Princes relie only on the valour of their Gentry, there is little regard had of the footmans ſervice. The like reaſon may be given for their want of ſhipping: for although on the one ſide lieth the *Caſpian*, and on another the *Perſian* gulfes, yet to this day were they never owners of any warlike ſhipping. If they chance to ſaile upon the *Caſpian* (a Sea eight hundred miles long, and ſix hundred broad) they dare not venter into the maine, but hovering by the ſhore, timorouſly ſaile from one place to another. Of the *Perſian* Sea the *Portugals* are Lords.

Their Marſhal diſcipline.

It aboundeth in metall, of excellent fineſſe, eſpecially in the Province of *Cazan*. They had not the uſe of artillery, neither the art of defending, beſieging, aſſaulting, mining, or intrenching of fortreſſes, & all becauſe they made no account of the uſe of footmen, to whom theſe ſervices doe properly belong, as it doth to horſemen, to fight in plaine and open field. But at this day, being continually beaten by the ſcourge of the Turkiſh Armies, they have by little and little drawne in ſome Chriſtians amongſt them, and amended their errours, to the great griefe and diſhonour of the Turkiſh forces. Beſides theſe wants, they were infeſted with other more grievous miſchiefes, and thoſe were civill diſſentions ariſing of the greatneſſe and diſloyalty of their Sultans, with length of journeyes, and the ſcarcity of navigable Rivers. And thoſe Rivers which they have, are not in uſe with forren Nations; or elſe ſo little, that ſmall eaſe ariſeth thereby, for that they fall into the *Caſpian* or *Perſian* Seas. The Inland Regions are ſandy, and utterly deſtitute of water: How can then the forces of that Land make any commodious or ſpeedy Rendevouz, when halfe the land is drie and barren in ſo waſte a tract, not one River ſerving for navigable tranſportation, as doth the *Loir* in *France*; *Po* in *Italy*; *Viſtula* in *Poland*; *Scheld* in *Flanders*, and ſuch like in other Kingdomes?

Deſarts. There are alſo many deſarts, and many mountaines diſ-joyning the Provinces farre aſunder. Herein it reſembleth *Spaine*, where for want of navigable Rivers (except towards the Sea-coaſt) traffike is little uſed, and mountaines and Provinces lie unmanured for ſcarcity of moiſture. But Nature, unwilling that humane life ſhould want any eaſement, hath ſo provided for mutuall commerce in theſe ſandy and barren places, that through the labour of Camels, the want of Navigation is richly recompenced thorowout *Perſia*, & the bordering Countries. Theſe beaſts carry wondrous burdens, and will longer continue than either Horſe or Muſe. They will travell laden with a thouſand pound weight, and will ſo continue forty dayes and upward. In ſterile and deepe ſandy Countreyes (ſuch as are *Lybia*, *Arabia*, and *Perſia*,) they drinke but once every fifth day, and if extremity enforce, they will endure the want of water ten or twelve. When their burdens are off, a little graſſe, thorns, or leaves of trees will ſuffice them. There is no living thing leſſe chargeable, and more laborious, certainly ordained of nature a fit creature for thoſe ſandy and deepe places of *Aſia* and *Affricke*, wherein even man himſelfe feeleth the want of food and water. Of theſe there are three ſorts, upon the leſſer men travell; the middle ſort have bunches on their backs, fit for carrying of Merchandize; the greater and ſtronger are thoſe which carry burdens of one thouſand pound weight, theſe are their ſhips, the ſands their Seas.

Forces. What numbers of horſemen this King is able to levie, was manifeſted in the warres betweene *Selim* the firſt, and *Iſmael*; betweene *Iſmael* and *Soliman*; and betweene *Codabanda* and *Amurath*. Not one of them brought above thirty thouſand horſe into the field, but ſo throughly furniſhed, that they had little cauſe to feare greater numbers. The richer and abler ſort arme themſelves after the manner of our men at Armes; the reſidue being better than the third part of their Cavalry, content themſelves with a Scull, a Jack, and a Cemiter. They uſe the Launce & the Bow indifferently. There is ſcarce a better Musketteer in the whole world

world than the *Persian* generally is at this day, nor a sorer fellow at the Spade, or at a Mine: Of both these the *Portugals* had sensible experience at the siege of *Ormuz*, lately taken from them by the *Persian*.

Touching their riches, the common opinion is, that in the dayes of King *Tamas*, the yearely Revenues amounted to foure or five millions of Gold, who by a sudden doubling of the value of his coine, raised it to eight, and accordingly made payment to his Soldans and souldiers. But in these dayes, by the conquest of the great *Turke* they are much diminished, and it is thought that they amount to little more than two; But indeed the feodary Lands, Townes, and Villages, Tenths, Shops, &c. (which are very many) supply a great part of the pay due to the companies of those his horsemen above mentioned. Riches.

Towards the East bordereth the *Mogor*, upon the North the *Zagatai*. Towards the West the *Turke* possesseth a large frontier. With the *Mogors* he is little troubled; for as *Spaine* and *France* by reason of the narrow streight, and difficult passages over the mountaines, cannot easily convey necessaries (the life of an Armie) to infest one another: So towards the frontiers of *India* and *Cambaia* (Provinces belonging to the *Mogors*) high Mountaines, and vast Desarts, keepe good peace betweene these two Princes: yet infest they one another on the borders of *Cabull* & *Sableston*, of which certaine Lords of the *Mogors* have gotten the dominion. He commeth not neere the borders of the great *Cham*, betweene whom certaine petty Princes, and impassable Desarts doe oppose themselves. It seemeth, that toward the *Zagatai* he standeth content with those bounds which the River *Oxus* hath laid out; for he never durst passe it; and when *Zaba* King of the *Zagatai* had passed it, hee was overthrowne with much slaughter by *Ismael*. So was *Cyrus* by *Tomyris*, who slew him and all his host. The *Turk* is a borderer all alongst the western coast of this whole Empire, even from the *Caspian* Sea, to the gulfe *Saura*, a tract almost of fifteene degrees. He hath no enemy so dangerous, Borderers. The *Mogor*. The *Zagatai*. The *Turke*.

nor more to be feared, nor at whose hands in all conflicts (for the most part) he hath received greater losse. *Mahumet* the second overthrew *Ussanchan*, and tooke from *David*, his Vassall and Confederate, the Empire of *Trapezond*. *Selim* the first did overthrow *Ismael* in *Campania*, and tooke from him *Caramit*, *Orfa*, *Merdis*, and all the territory which they call *Alech*. *Soliman* put *Tamas* to flight, and tooke from him *Babylon* and all *Mesopotamia*. In our dayes *Amurath* wonne whatsoever lieth betweene *Derbent* and *Tauris*, wherein is comprehended *Georgia*, and *Sirvan*, and by building of fortresses in *Teflis*, *Samachia*, and *Eres*, assured the passages of *Chars*, *Tomanis*, and *Lori*. He is Lord of all that lieth betweene *Erzirum* & *Orontes*, a River three daies journey beyond *Tauris*. In this City he caused a Citadell to be built, not minding to leave it, as did *Selim* and *Soliman*, but thereby as with a curbe to bridle and keepe it. In this warre which lasted from the yeare 1591. to 1597. the *Turks* altered their forme of warfare: for whereas they were wont to lay their whole hopes upon their numbers, the valour of their horsemen and footmen, their store of artillery and warlike furniture, scorning to be cooped up in Castles and Fortresses, for the most part spoyling and burning whatsoever they overcame, or became Lords of, and taking as little care to keepe what they had conquered (supposing it no good policie to fortifie Castles, or strengthen Townes, by weakning of their companies) in these warres to avoid the inconveniences, whereinto *Selim* and *Soliman* were plunged, they were glad to build strong places upon commodious passages, and Citadels in the chiefest Townes, furnishing them with good Garrisons, and great store of Artillery. This warre cost them very deare; for by surprises, by famine, and extremities of weather, infinite thousands perished, yet alwayes to the losse of the *Persian* or his Confederates. In the field the *Persian* is farre inferiour to the *Turke* in numbers and goodnesse of footmen, in Ordnance, in all sorts of warlike furniture, and (the chiefe stay of a State) in obedience of subjects. Notwithstanding, if *Selim*, *Soliman*, or *Amurath*,

rath had not beene allured thither either by rebellion, or inteſtine diſcords, they durſt not have medled with this warre. *Selim* was called in to the aid of *Mara-beg* the ſon of *Oſſan*, a mighty Prince in *Perſia*. *Soliman* came in aid of *Elcaſo*, the brother of *Tamas*, hateful to his Soveraigne, for his ambition and aſpiring humour, and in the end abuſed the credit and good will of the people toward *Elcaſo*, to the furtherance of his owne deſignments. *Amurath* never tooke weapon in hand againſt this people, before he underſtood by the letters of *Muſtapha*, *Baſſa* of *Van*, that all *Perſia* was in uprore about the election of a new Prince, thereby certifying him that ſome had choſen *Iſmael*, ſome *Ainer* (both ſonnes of *Tamas*) and that *Periacocona* ſlaying her owne brother *Iſmael*, and betraying *Ainer*, had procured the Kingdome to *Mahumet Codobanda*. After this miſchiefe fell thoſe fatall jarres betwixt *Codobanda* and his ſonne, and betwixt the *Turcoman* Nation (a mighty family in *Perſia*) and the King: A faction no leſſe diſaſterous to the State of *Perſia*, than the warre of *Turkie*.

Againſt the *Portugal*, for want of Sea-forces hee ſtirreth not, and againe, for want of Land-forces the *Portugals* are not able to moleſt his upland Countries. *Tamas* being counſelled to make a voyage againſt *Ormus*, asked what commodities the Iſland brought forth, whether Corne, Cattell, Fruit, or what other good thing? When it was anſwered, that the ſoile was utterly barren and deſtitute of proviſion, but excellently well ſeated for traffike and navigation, ſcoffing at the motion, he replied: That of this kinde of Revenue he had releaſed unto his people above 90000. *Tomana*.

One *Tomana* maketh twenty French Crownes.

Truth is; that he wanteth ſhipping to put the *Portugals* out of thoſe Seas: where theſe ſtead not, he is content to reigne from *India* to *Arabia*, Eaſt and Weſt; and from the *Caſpian* to the South ſide of the *Perſian* gulfe. And as for theſe ninety thouſand *Tomana* (being in our account eighty thouſand French crownes of annuall Revenue) ſaid to bee decreed in the dayes of this *Tamas*, upon the generall cuſtomes of importation and exportation, thorowout the

whole Realme; I can give my Reader no other ſatisfaction; why to thinke the ſtomacks of great Princes can at any time be cloyed with ſuch ſurfets; unleſſe hee be pleaſed to imagine, that after this Prince (or his Predeceſſor) had received one or two diſmall overthrowes by the Turkiſh forces, and that not ſo much by their valours, as by his owne deficiencie in ſhot, ordnance and diſcipline: he ſet on foot this Proclamation. Firſt, to induce his owne people to manuall thrift, and mutuall commerce: And ſecondly, to allure Gentlemen and forren Merchants to frequent his Dominions. Without the which inticements, peradventure they might be unwilling to hazard their eſtates from farre Nations amongſt ſuch barbarous and unſure cuſtomers. For ſure hee was, that his Neighbours could not, and the *Portugals* would not ſupply thoſe neceſſities, which concerned the life and eſſence of an intire Eſtate.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

Of India, *commonly called* Aſiatica, *or* Eaſt-India.

INdia *is a ſpacious portion of* Aſia, *the moſt Noble part of the World, and far exceeding any other apportionment, comprehended under one name,* Tartarie *only excepted: As that, which without other addition lifteth up her Title alone, to challenge all the Territories betweene* China *and* Perſia;

Persia; A conteinue almost twelve hundred leagues; yet divided into many Kingdomes: Amongst whom he is principall, that most obtaineth by force and popularitie. The Region is most wholesome to inhabit, by the favour of the Westerne winds; but in regard of its spatiousnesse, subject to diverse Temperatures: As in some places to heat, viz. towards the Equator: In some, to temperatures, or rather to cold; as towards the North. But generally for goodnesse of situation, health and fertilitie, it is farre better than any other Countrey. And therefore seldome, or never feeleth famine, or scarcitie: the misery whereof is prevented by the benefit of Rivers, as in Ægypt. For the two great Rivers of Indus and Ganges water it thorowly, which being divided into a thousand brookes, insulteth of two Summers, temperature of Aire, with duplicitie of increase. And that, wee are but Adventurers for those delicacies, which shee vilipendeth; and yet not admitted to the understanding of one halfe of her worth: yet hath it its Desarts, scorching Sands, places infested with wilde Beasts, and unpeopled by reason of impenetrable woods. And although the Region wanteth Wheat, yet aboundeth it with divers sorts of fruits, of Pulses, of Barley and Rice. Vines they have none, but rare; and therefore brew their Beverage of Barley and Rice. Fruit-trees, and trees fit to make linnen cloth of, they have in abundance, and out of the Palme they produce Wine, Vinegar, and fruit to eat. The particular of their Silkes, Bombasies, Elephants, Serpents, Spices, Stones, and divers famous Rivers being well knowne, I will not stand to recite: The natures and fashions of the Inhabitants briefly I will, who being diversly dispersed into divers Regions and Principalities, doe diversly differ in language, visage, habit, manners, and religion.

Both men and women imitate a noble pompe, as not incountred abroad nisi magna comitante caterva, *using many odours in their baths and washings; nor are they without oiles, and perfumes, jewels, pearls, and other ornaments, befitting the businesse they intend.*

Of whom, the foure principall Nations that inhabit this tract, are the Indians, *viz. the Natives, and they for the most part are* Gentiles. *The second are the* Iewes, *and they are dispersed here, as elsewhere, over the whole face of the earth. The third are the* Mahumetans, *whereof some are* Persians, *and some* Scythians, *now called* Mogors, *living in the upland Countries. The fourth are the* Moores *or* Arabians, *who within these two hundred yeares, usurping upon the maritime coasts of the Country, have built themplaces and Cities very fit for Trafficke, and expulsed the Natives into the more Inland Countries. And now of late, besides those ancient Christians which Saint* Thomas *converted, there reside many* Portugals *natives and Mesticos, who are daily converted by the industry of the Iesuits, to the Christian beleefe: who have taught them to baptize Children, and to fast. Wherein they are now tedious observants, as all barbarous people are, the best maintainers of customes and ceremonies, especially where the* Roman *Church instructeth. The* Portugals *intruded by armes, prayers and policie; Their purchases I account to be so farre from the name of a Conquest, as was the possession of the* English *from the Crowne of* France, *when they held nothing but* Calais *in* Picardie. *Howbeit for state and ostentation, every third yeare a Vice-Roy is sent to* Goa, *from whom, and from whence all inferiour deputations have their directions and governments. Here he hath his Councell, his Nobles, his Chancery and Iustices, as is used*

in

in Portugal, *from whence in Civill cases the parties may appeale to* Portugal, *but in Criminall, no one person, except he be a Gentleman. He is very magnificent in State, and never goeth abroad, unlesse to Church; and then attended with musike, and accompanied with all the principall Gentlemen and Burgers of* Goa, *on horseback, with a guard of souldiers, before, behinde, and on each side. It is a place of great honour and profit: For besides the presents which the bordering Princes round about* Goa, *send them at their first entrances, for contraction of peace and friendship by their Embassies, they have also the management of the Kings revennes and treasure, with absolute allowance from his Majestie to give, spend and reward, as best pleaseth him.*

When a new Vice-Roy arriveth (the time of the former being expired) hee presently dispatcheth his Lieutenants, with sufficient authorities in their Masters name, to receive the possession of the Government of India, *and to prepare the Palace: Whereupon the old Vice-Roy maketh quicke and cleane riddance of all Utensils; neither leaving one steole in the Palace, nor one peny in the Treasury: So that these great Officers by reason of their short time of imployment, have enough to doe; The first yeare to furnish their house with necessaries; The second, to gather treasure, and to respect the causes that moved them to come into* India; *The third, and last yeare, to prepare themselves, and to settle their businesses in order, lest they be overtaken and surprised by the approach of a new successour. The like is to be understood of all the Captaines in the Forts, and of all other Officers throughout these* Indies.

The

The Great Mogor.

IT hath alwayes beene beleeved, that the territory lying betweene *Ganges*, and the Riuer *Indus*, hath evermore beene subject to great and mighty Monarchs. For (to be silent in matter of more ancient memory) about the yeare of our Lord 1300. there reigned in the Kingdome of *Delos* an *Arabian* Prince, of the sect of *Mahumet*, named *Sanosaradin*, (as *Iohn Barros* reporteth) of so great power & strength, that he enterprised the conquest of *Asia*. Upon which resolution forsaking these Regions, in which *Indus* and *Ganges* take their beginnings, with a mighty Army by little and little he subdued those Princes, and people which did oppose against him, untill he pierced to the bounds of *Canora*, where it beginneth at the River *Bate* about *Chaul*, and stretcheth betweene *Bate* & the Gulfe of *Bengala* to *Cape Comerine*. When he had wonne so large and famous a territory, resolving to returne to *Delos*, he left *Abdesis* his Lieutenant in *Canora*. This man encouraged by the victories of his Master, and presuming upon his owne good fortune, bereaved the *Gentiles* of the greater part of *Canora*, and having gathered a most mighty and populous Army compacted of Gentiles, Mahumetans, and Christians, after he had reigned twenty yeares, he died in the height of his prosperity, leaving his sonne *Mamudza* behinde him: whom the King graced with his fathers regencie, upon condition to pay him a yearely tribute: which payment the young man neither regarded, nor shewed himselfe loyall to his Soveraigne in many things. It happened that *Sanosaradin* dying in the warre which he made against *Persia*, left behinde him a sonne of so abject and base a spirit, that *Mamudza* hereupon tooke courage to entitle himselfe King of *Canora*, calling the Countrey *Decan*, and the people *Decainai*, that is, illegitimate. After this, hee erected eighteene

eighteene Captaine-ships, and divided his dominion among them, assigning to every one his limits, onely with this penalty, to finde alwayes in a readinesse a certaine number of footmen and horsemen. To prevent future rebellion hee chose these Captaines, not out of the orders of his Nobility, but from the number of his slaves. Nay more than this (to be assured of their loyalty) he cõmanded that every one of them should build him a house in his royall City *Bider*, in which their children should remaine: and that once every yeare at the least, they should make their appearance in his Court.

But because all authority, which is not as well underpropped with its proper vertues, as grounded upon the affections of the people, is of small continuance; so happened it to this Prince, for his slaves and vassals having soveraigne authority put into their hands, made no more account of him than of a Cipher, stripping him poore Prince without respect of reverence, of all his dominions, saving his chiefe Citie *Bidor*, with the territory adjoyning. For every one of a Lieutenant became an Usurper of those States, which were committed to his trust; the mightier alwayes oppressing the weaker, so that all in the end became a prey to a few. Two of them are famous at this day; the one stretching his dominion to the borders of *Cambaia*; the other to the skirts of *Narsynga*; the first called by the *Portugals Nissamalucco*, the other *Idalcan*, either of them being so puissant, that in the yeare 1571. *Idalcan* beleagred *Goa* with an Army of five and thirty thousand Horse, threescore thousand Elephants, and two hundred and fifty peeces of Ordnance. *Nissamalucco* besieged *Chaul* with lesse forces, but better fortune: For though he did not force it, yet he brought it into a hard pinch, with the slaughter of twelve thousand *Moores*. In those Countries in which *Samaloraisin* began his Empire, not above threescore and ten yeares agone, a great Prince (whom the East people call the great *Mogor*, in the same sense as we call the great *Turke*) laid the foundation of a mighty Empire: for as the King of *Bierma* in our times greatly hazarded the States of *Pegu* and *Siam*, and the bordering Nations;

Nations; even ſo the *Mogor* turned topſie turvy the Kingdomes lying on the River *Ganges*. The received opinion is, that they tooke their originall from *Tartaria*, and that they came from the coaſt where the ancient *Maſſagetæ* (a people accounted invincible at armes) did once inhabit, and liuing as it were lawleſſe, and under no manner of government, by invading of their neighbours, procured unto themſelves the ſoveraignty of ſpacious Kingdomes. By the River *Oxus* they border upon the *Perſians*, and are at continuall enmity with them, ſometime for Religion, and ſometimes for enlargement of the bounds of their Empire. The chiefe City is *Shamarchand*, from whence came *Tamerlan*, and of whoſe bloud theſe *Mogor* Princes doe boaſt that they are deſcended. The predeceſſor of him (who is now Prince of the *Mogors*) was very famous in the Eaſt; for in the yeare 1436. being ſolicited by King *Mandao* of the North (from whom *Baburius* King of *Cambaia* had taken his Kingdome) to aid him againſt the *Cambaian*, he is reported to have brought with him an infinite number of ſouldiers, which wee may conjecture out of that which *Maffeus* writeth of the army of the ſaid King *Baburius*: to wit, that this King had under his Standard one hundred and fifty thouſand horſe, whereof five and thirty thouſand were barbed. The number of footmen was five hundred thouſand. Amongſt theſe were fifteene thouſand forren ſouldiers, and foureſcore Chriſtians *French* and *Portugals*. At which, by what meanes, or by what way they ſhould come thither, I doe not a little wonder. Their Galleon (which they called *Dobriga*) ſuffered Ship-wracke in the Chanell of *Cambaia*.

I know, that if theſe preparations and proviſions for war be compared with our forces of Chriſtendome, they will hardly be taken for true: but we have already declared the cauſes, why the Princes of the Eaſt and South may gather greater Armies than wee can, and conſequently that thoſe things which are ſpoken of their incredible ſtore, and wonderfull proviſion of furniture, may bee anſwerable to their levies and proportions. And as they are able to levie millions

lions of men (for arming and for feeding them, they take no great care;) ſo likewiſe doe the Provinces afford great plenty of proviſion, and an ineſtimable multitude of their uſuall warlike Engines: for they carry nothing with them ſave that which is neceſſary and needfull for ſervice: Wines, Cates, and ſuch like, which cannot but with great expence, labour, and trouble be carried along with Armies, are by theſe men wholly omitted and utterly rejected. All their thoughts tend to warlike proviſion, as to get Braſſe, Iron, Steele and Tinne, to forge Pieces, and caſt great Ordnance; Iron and Lead to make Bullets; Iron and Steele to temper Cemiters; Oxen and Elephants to draw their Artillery; Graine to nouriſh their bodies; Metals to arme them, and Treaſure to conſerve them.

They are all tyrants, and to preſerve their eſtate, and induce ſubmiſſive awednеſſe, they hold hard hands over the commonalty, committing all government into the hands of ſlaves and ſouldiers. And to make theſe men faithfull and loyall, they ordaine them Lords of all things, committing unto their truſt, Townes, Caſtles, and expeditions of great weight: but the expectation of the Prince is often deceived by the rebellion of theſe vaſſals, for ſometimes they uſurpe whole Provinces, and impoſe upon the people all kinde of injuries. But let good Princes thinke it as neceſſary to build their ſafety on the love of their ſubjects, as upon the force of their ſouldiers. Feare admitteth no ſecuritie, much leſſe perpetuity: and therefore theſe tyrants expecting no ſurety at the hands of their ſubjects, truſt wholly upon their men of warre, flattering them with promiſe of liberty, and beſtowing upon them the goods of their ſubjects as rewards of their ſervice. So with vs, the *Turke* ſtrengtheneth his State with *Ianizars*, and as he coveteth to be beloved and favoured of them (to that end beſtowing upon them the riches and honours of the Empire) ſo they acknowledge no other Lord and maſter, I may very well ſay, father and protector. And ſo many of the *Malabor* Princes uſing & accounting the Commons but as beaſts, lay all their hopes.

hopes and fortunes on the *Naiors*: the Kings of *Ormus*, *Cambaia*, *Decan*, and *Achan*, lay all upon the ſhoulders of theſe ſlaves. In a word as a lawfull and juſt Prince hath a great regard and ſingular care to have the liking and love of his people, by which being guarded and environed (as with a ſtrong rampire) hee is able to withſtand all attempts; ſo contrariwiſe, tyrants knowing themſelves hatefull to their ſubjects, imploy their whole ſtudy how to win the favour of their ſouldiers and ſlaves, thereby to repreſſe innovations at home, and invaſions from abroad. Seeing therefore the ſafety and foundation of their greatneſſe is built on the entertainment of their Souldiers, as their *Naiors*, their *Ianizars*, free or bond, ſtrangers, or ſubjects, yea, whatſoever they be, it muſt needs follow, that onely actions of warre may be the end and ſcope of their cogitations; as likewiſe that they be very prodigall to keepe their eſtates very well furniſhed and appointed with ſouldiers and proviſions. And theſe reaſons I take to be ſufficient inducements to beleeve the reports of this King of *Cambaia*, and theſe other barbarous *Indian* Princes. For (beſides that I ſpake of before) it is reported that with this army did march a thouſand peeces of Ordnance, among which were foure Baſiliskes, every one drawne with an hundred yoke of Oxen; five hundred Wagons laden with Gun-powder and Bullets, two hundred armed Elephants, five hundred Cheſts full of Gold and Silver to pay ſouldiers wages; beſides many Princes and petty Lords, with their Followers, Merchants, Victualers, Artificers, and their Seruants, numberleſſe. Notwithſtanding this his incredible preparation, hee was twice overthrowne by *Marhumedio*: once in the Territory of the City of *Doce*, and another time at *Mandao*, from whence diſguiſing his apparell to ſave his life, he fled to *Diu*. Being out of danger and feare, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Soliman*, with a preſent eſteemed worth, 60000. Crownes, deſiring his aid in theſe warres. But afterward weighing in his minde, that theſe affaires required ſpeedier ſuccours, hee contracted a league with thoſe *Portugals* which were neereſt adjoyning, to

make

make them his friends and partners of the Warre: the composition was, that he should permit them to build a Castle in the Iland of *Diu*.

Now to speake of *Marhumedius*, his fortunes were not much unlike to those of *Tamerlan*: for as this Prince brought terror and feare upon the inhabitants of *Persia* and *Asia*; so did that no lesse innovation and trouble upon *India* and the *Orient*: This defeated in battell *Bajazet* Emperour of *Turkes*; that overthrew *Baburius* King of *Cambaia*, and his army farre greater than his owne: both of them had the sirname of Great. When the *Mogors* understood of the riches of *India* and the fertility thereof, they never ceased by a continuall course of victory their armes and invasions, till they had made themselves Lords of the Provinces, lying betweene *Caucasus* and the Sea *Ganges*, and the River *Indus*. In this tract are contained seven and forty Kingdomes. For *Adabar* the successor of *Marhumedius* won *Madabar*, with the better part of *Cambaia*. Of what goodly consequence this Province is, may bee imagined by the famous City of *Madabar Campana* (so called for situation upon the top of a high hill rising in the midst of a spacious plaine) and *Cambaia* (a City consisting of an hundred and thirty thousand houses) as likewise by the populous host of King *Baburius*, his warlike provision for such an army, and plenty of graine to sustaine such multitudes. I assure you, the world affords not a soile for all necessaries for the life of man (as Rice, Corne, Pulse, Sugar, Oxen, Sheepe, Pullen of all sorts, and Silke) more richer or plentifull than this Province, wherein also there are reported to be sixty thousand Burroughs; which number certainly is very great and admirable. *Guicciardine* writeth, that in *Netherland*, within the Territory of the seventeene Provinces are contained two hundred and eight walled Townes, and an hundred and fifty Burroughs, enjoying the rights and privileges of Cities, and six thousand three hundred Villages, having Parish Churches. In *Naples* are a thousand eight hundred of these, some are Townes, some but Castles. In *Bohemia* are

seven

ſeven hundred and foureſcore Townes, and thirty two thouſand Villages. In *France* (as *Iohn Bodine* writeth) are two thouſand ſeven hundred Boroughs, having Pariſh Churches, beſides thoſe in *Burgundie*, which in thoſe times were not numbred amongſt the Townes of *France*. I write this, to induce a true and abſolute judgement of the power of any Province, by the number of Pariſhes (for I know that that ought to be made according to their greatneſſe) but yet their number maketh much to the purpoſe, as in both which *Cambaia* may carry the credit and eſteeme of a moſt ſpacious, populous, and puiſſant Kingdome.

Acabar alſo conquered the rich Kingdome of *Bengala*; ſo that a man may truly ſay, that in this part of the Orient there are three Emperours; one in *Cambaia*, the other in *Narſinga*, and the third in *Bengala*: whereof *Cambaia* and *Bengala* farre exceed all the other Provinces in fertility of ſoile, and concourſe of Merchants, both riotouſly abounding in Sugar, Cotton-wooll, Cattell, Elephants, and Horſes: In *Bengala* alſo groweth long Pepper and Ginger. The firſt is watered and cut as it were into two halfes by the River *Indus*, the other by *Ganges*, having two famous Mart-townes, *Satagan* and *Catagan*.

The great *Mogor* doth likewiſe poſſeſſe the Kingdomes of *Citor*, *Mandao*, and *Delly*, wherein he keepeth his Court. He hath infinite ſtore of Horſes, Elephants, and Camels, as alſo all ſorts of Artillery and warlike furniture, by meane: whereof he is growne fearefull to the whole Inhabitants of the Eaſt. It is written of him that he is able to bring into the field three hundred thouſand horſe, and that there are within his Dominions fifty thouſand Elephants.

Some man perhaps will aske how it commeth to paſſe that this Prince (being ſo mighty, and his neighbours ſo naked, unarmed, and poore) doth not get into his poſſeſſion the Dominion of the reſt of *India* and the *Orient*? In this as in the former unlikelihoods, the wiſeſt man is ſooneſt anſwered. There are many obſtacles; one is, that as the ſpirit and body of man cannot endure in continuall travell and motion

motion (for that is onely proper to God and Nature:) ſo a continued and open paſſage is not evermore given to the ambitious apprehenſions of Kings and Princes. Great Empires ſeldome feare forren invaſions, yet oftentimes faint they under their owne weight. It is not deſtinied unto great things to ſtand alwayes at the higheſt, much leſſe to increaſe: they have their floud, but upon a remedileſſe condition, that there ſollow an ebbe. They are lifted on high, but by the irrevocable decree of Nature, that a fall ſucceed: yea, and that themſelves by themſelves decline. The greater they are, the more ſubject to mutabilitie: the larger, the harder to hold and mannage, they move but ſlowly, and of what effect celerity is in warre, who knoweth not? The greateſt conqueſt carrieth the greateſt envie with it, and greateſt care to conſerve what is got, and yet not care, but long continuance perfecteth theſe actions: and while time paſſeth, the neighbouring Nations provide (if not infeſt) for their owne ſafety; yea, moſt commonly by loſſe of time proceedeth the loſſe of victories opportunity. Hee that hath overcome his enemie, ſtandeth oftentimes in feare of his friend, yea, of ſuch as have beene fellowes and partners with him in all his fortunes: ſo that to ſecure himſelfe of theſe and ſuch like caſualties, hee is conſtrained even in the courſe of victory to ſound the retreit, and ſurceaſe his projects. Againe, continuall victory maketh leaders inſolent, ſouldiers mutinous, refuſing to paſſe forward at the command of their Generall, as it hapned to *Alexander* and *Lucullus*. Great enterpriſes even brought to their wiſhed end, enrich the purſes of certaine private men, but leave the Princes Coffers empty, who neverthleſſe muſt be at the charge to maintaine continuall companies, and keepe them in continuall pay; without which courſe the caſher'd ſouldier is ever ready to follow any faction whenſoever it ſhall be offered.

Moreover this numberleſſe Army which *Marhumedius* led againſt the King of *Cambaia*, did not onely waſte the Regions where thorow it paſſed and encamped, but likewiſe by devouring all things that the face of the earth yeelded,

bereaved it ſelfe of the meanes, which Nature in meaſure had afforded to every creature to maintaine life by: and ſo it often hapneth, that thoſe Armies which in apprehenſion ſeeme invincible for their hugeneſſe, are moſt commonly overthrowne by famine, the fore-runner of peſtilence. For proofe hereof, we have ſeene the invadations of *Attila*, *Tamerlane*, and thoſe barbarous Nations, ſtand on foot but a little ſpace, whereas the *Grecians*, *Macedonians*, *Carthaginians*, *Romans*, *Spaniards*, and *Engliſh*, have done great matters with meane Armies. For things that are moderate laſt and dure, as ſmall Rivers, which what they cannot doe in one yeare, in two or more they finally accompliſh; whereas immoderate and violent are like to torrents, making more noiſe and fury, than hurt or hinderance; violently comming, and violently againe carrying themſelves away. Therefore againſt ſuch mighty impreſſions, the ſureſt ſafety is to draw the warre out at length, and onely to ſtand upon the defenſive: for, let ſuch Armies reſt aſſured, that they cannot ſo long hold out, but they will waver, either for want of proviſion, ſcarcity of coine, infection of the aire, or infirmities of their owne bodies. The other thing is, that proſperity blindeth the winner, making him careleſſe; adverſitie ripeneth the loſer, and maketh him wary and induſtrious: ſo fortune changing her copie, the affaires of the winner decline, & the good ſucceſſe of the loſer groweth every day better than other. Beſides, conqueſts are not perfected but by proceſſe of time, old age creepeth upon the perſon of Princes, and how fit a craſie body, & a vigorous ſpirit nummed with old age, is for the conſummation of a conquered eſtate, the lives of *Iulius Caſar*, and *Charles* the fifth may ſtand for examples.

Laſtly, to anſwer thoſe, who unleſſe they be eye-witneſſes, will never be anſwered, let them know, that nothing ſo much hindereth the invaſive ambition of this Prince, as the Nature of places. For *Caucaſus* ſtretcheth it ſelfe into a thouſand branches in thoſe parts, incompaſſeth whole Kingdomes with ſome parcels thereof: by ſome it runneth by the ſides: to others, it is more defenſive than any artificiall rampier;

rampire; ſometime it wholly ſhutteth up paſſages, ſometime it maketh them inacceſſible. Theſe difficulties are more iujurious to the *Mogor* than to any other Prince, becauſe the ſtrength and ſinewes of his forces conſiſt in horſe; which as they are of great conſequence in *Campania*, ſo amongſt hils and rocks they are of ſmall ſervice. Of this quality are the frontiers of *Perſia*, and the Kingdome of *Sableſtan*, on every ſide hem'd in with that part of *Caucaſus*, which the *Grecians* call *Paropamiſe*. *Segeſtan* is likewiſe ſo invironed, that the River *Il-mento* (were it not for ſearching out infinite windings and turnings thorow naturall vallies) could hardly finde paſſage to pay his tribute to the famous *Ganges*. In *Cambaia* it ſelfe, when the *Mogors* are of ſuch fearfull puiſſance, live the *Reſbuti*, not dreading them one whit by reaſon of the ſtrength of the Mountaines. Theſe *Reſbuti* are the remainder of the *Gentiles*, that betooke themſelves to the mountaines betweene *Cambaia* and *Diu*, when the Mahumetans firſt entred theſe Countries; and ſince that day, by ſtrong hand they have preſerved their libertie, infeſting often the plaine Countrie with their incurſions. Other Provinces there are utterly barren, not onely wanting water, but all neceſſaries elſe: of this kinde is *Dolcinda*, upon the skirts of *Cambaia*, through which it is impoſſible to lead an Army. To theſe diſcommodities you may adde the loſſe of time, which Princes (being Lords of ample and ſpacious dominions) are conſtrained to make in their voyages. For the better part of Summer is ſpent before they can arrive at their *Rendevous*, with their horſes halfe dead through travell, and the Armie halfe in halfe in number and courage diminiſhed; yea, Winter overtaketh them, commodious for their enemies, and diſadvantagious for them: for they muſt lie in the field and open aire among mire and froſts, their enemies under a warme rooſe, and wholeſome harbour.

Whereupon wiſe Princes, which have beene to make long Land-journies, thorow divers Provinces of divers natures, for feare of ſuch like diſcommodities, have thought it

beſt to provide ſhipping, and to uſe the opportunity of Rivers or Sea, as did *Caſar Germanicus* in the warre of *Germanie*, after he perceived, that in the protracting of time (which was requiſite for the marching of his Armie) the greater part of his men and horſes were idle, conſumed by infirmities, labours, and the length of journeyes. But the *Mogor* is utterly deſtitute to this advantage: upon one ſide he hath no Haven, on another the *Portugals* are his jealous neighbours, who with two Caſtles of great ſtrength at *Din* & *Damain*, have ſhut up the whole gulfe of the *Cambaian* ſea.

Finally, the puiſſance of their neighbours hath beene as great a controler to their furious invaſions, as any other naturall cauſe, *viz.* the King of *Barma*, who is nothing inferiour in power and riches: for he is Lord of ſo many Kingdomes, and of ſo fierce and warlike a people, and can bring ſuch ſwarmes into the field, that he is feareleſſe of any of his *Tartarian* neighbours. And as the *Mogor* ruleth farre and wide betweene *Ganges* and *Indus*, ſo doth this King betweene *Ganges* and *Siam*. As the one deviſeth to offend, ſo by little and little the other waxeth wiſe to defend. For by nature man is more prone to provide for his owne ſafety, than ready by wrong to oppreſſe others, being alwayes more carefull to conſerve, than forward to deſtroy. It cannot be expreſſed how full of ſubtilty, ſhifts, devices, and induſtry man is to defend him and his: for hee uſeth for his owne ſafeguard, not that onely which is properly defenſive; but even that alſo which humane wiſdome hath invented, or Nature created any way offenſive. Neither ever was there any inſtrument invented for offence, but that the ſame hath beene turned to defence: Of which kinde are Caſtles built of later times, and the devices of moderne fortification; whereby few ſouldiers have reſiſted great Armies, and a ſmall place (made tenable) hath waſted the forces and treaſure of a mighty Emperour; as well witneſſed the fortunes of eight hundred *Portugals* at *Demaine* upon the coaſt of *Cambaia*, who by this Art ſcorned and deluded the whole forces and attempts of this mighty *Mogor*.

China.

China.

IN times past the Kingdome of *China* hath beene farre larger than now it is. For it appeareth by their Histories (containing the Annals of 2000. yeares and upward) and by other of their manuscript Chronicles written in their owne language (whose fragments are yet to be seene) that their Kings were Lords almost of all the Sea-coast of *Asia*, from the streight of *Anian*, to the Kingdome of *Pegu*, the Provinces of *Meletai*, *Becam*, *Calan*, *Boraga*, and other territories situated upon the North side of *Pegu*; where their monuments, with their Epitaphs & devices, are to be seen at this day. For in all the foresaid Regions, the relicks of their ancient ceremonies, wherby the knowledge of the Mathematicks (as the division of the yeare into moneths, the Zodiacke into 12. signes, true testimonies of their Empire) are taught by tradition. Neither is the time long, sithence all those Kingdomes accounted the King of *China* for their Soveraigne, sending their Ambassadors with presents to his Court every third yeare.

These Ambassadors ought to be foure at least; for before they could arrive at their journeyes end, some of them either by remotenesse of place, difficult accesse of audience, or delay in dispatch, could not but surely die; those whose chance it was to scape, the *Chinois* in some set banquet would poyson, and erect unto them stately tombes, with the inscription of their names, the place from whence they came, and with the stile of Ambassadors: thereby (say they) to commit to eternity the remembrance of the bounds of their Empire. They inlarged their dominions no lesse upon the Ocean, than upon the Continent. For they first of all invaded the Isles of the *Orient*; next unto them the *Giavi*: then the *Moluccans* and *Moores*; and lastly, the *Portugals* and *Castilians*; who hold them at this day. But none of these

Nations were equall of power and magnificence to the *Chinois*: for beſides the conqueſt of the bordering Iſles (which in regard of their numbers, their ſpaciouſneſſe and fertilitie, were of great reckoning) they became Lords of the greateſt part of all the inhabitable places in that vaſt *Archipelago*, even to *Zeilan*, where they left their ſpeech and characters, as alſo they did the like upon the oppoſite continent. We reade alſo in the papers of certaine Jeſuites, that in one quarter of the Iſland of Saint *Laurence*, they found white people, which ſaid, that they deſcended of the *Chinois*. They firſt diſcovered the *Moluccas*, gave names unto the Spices, and planted Colonies in many of them: which to this preſent keepe their old name, as *batta china à Maur*, *batta china*, *Mauri*: *batta* ſignifieth a Towne, *batta china*, a Towne of the *Chinois*. It is likewiſe though; that the Inhabitants of *Iava* deſcended from them; and to ſpeake the truth, there is no great difference betweene their manner of living, clothing, building, induſtry, trafficke, and manuall occupations. But after the ſhipwracke of fourſcore veſſels, and the loſſe of their people in the Sea of *Zeilan*, (comparing their profit with their loſſe) they reſolved to trie no more ſuch hazards, but to containe themſelves within their owne bounds. And to cauſe this Edict to be inviolably obſerved, they enacted, that none there after upon paine of the loſſe of his head, ſhould offer to ſaile into thoſe parts: the Kings themſelves did ever abſtaine from future invaſions. For ſithence they enjoy a very earthly Paradiſe, where Nature and Art are at ſtrife to content the Inhabitants, where no good thing is wanting, but much ſuperfluous, and to ſpare, what mad men would conſume their bodies and treaſures, in getting thoſe things, which are more chargeable to get, than profitable to keepe? *Polybius* writeth, that upon the ſame reaſon the old *Carthaginians* forſooke part of thoſe things, which before they had conquered. The *Romans*, after they had ſuffered a grievous loſſe of their beſt veſſels in the ſecond Punicke warre, in meere deſpaire bade Navigation adue; but afterwards perceiving that they who were Commanders

manders of the Sea, were likely to prove Lords of the Land, they built a new Navie, and at length ſaw the ſucceſſe to anſwer their lateſt opinions. Therefore can we not but aſcribe this reſolution of the *Chinois*, rather to good conſcience and adviſedneſſe, than to wiſdome, or good polic e.

When this ſurrender was reſolved in full councell, they ſet the people, whom they had vanquiſhed, free: yet ſome of their good wils remained feodaries, ſhadowing their eſtates under the wings of their puiſſance, as the Kings of *Corea*, *Lequi*, *Cauchinchina* and *Siam*. But notwithſtanding their retreit within their owne bounds, yet poſſeſſe they a dominion little leſſe than *Europe:* for from the North towards the South, it reacheth from ſeventeene to two and fiftie degrees, from Eaſt to the Weſt, are two and twenty degrees.

It is divided into eight ſeverall Kingdomes, over whom one principall Monarch controlleth; by whoſe high and illuſtrious titles of *Mundi Dominus*, and *Solis filius*, he would ſeeme to challenge all Natures immunities, and withall, that their preſcriptions before the dayes of *Adam*, were true and canonicall.

The principall Citie is called *Paquin*, neighbouring *Tartary*, out of which the Emperour never iſſueth, but in time of warre, which is as it were an exerciſe amongſt them, at that time challenging the attendance of every Nation. For, as you have read in the Hiſtory of *England*, That from the *Twede* (betweene *Northumberland* and *Scotland*) even to the *Iriſh* Seas, there was a wall, called *Picts wall*, one hundred miles long, and at certaine ſpaces fortified with watch-towers, which thorow hollow trunkes placed within the curtaines, received advertiſements of Alarmes, excurſions, and ſuch like; ſo that in a moment the whole Countrey was up in armes, and the ordinary proceedings of military diſcipline executed: So here, from the Sea to Mount *Cancaſus*, or rather *Imaus*, eight thouſand furlongs together, is raiſed a fortification, and at every miles end a ſtrong rampart, or bulwarke, wherein is continuall garriſon.

Thomas Perez the King of *Portugals* Ambaſſadour, made foure moneths journey from *Cantan* to *Nanquij*, bearing alwayes Northerly.

Nor doth he enter the field under an army of three hũdred thouſand foot, and two hundred thouſand horſe. Of which I am not incredulous, conſidering the levies of the Eaſt, five hundred thouſand men were conſumed in the civill warres of *Iuda* and *Ieruſalem*, and againſt *Iuda*, her enemies (the *Moores* and *Æthiopians*) brought ten hundred thouſand paire of hands to pull downe the wals of *Ieruſalem*.

Their manner of life is moſt obſcene and ſhameleſſe, their idolatrie vile and vicious, their incantations ridiculous, the proſtitution of Virgins to be deflowred of Idols abominable, their exorciſmes damnable, and the varietie of ſenſeleſſe profanations moſt contemptible.

It is not ſo ſpacious, but it is as fertill: for it yeeldeth not only what is fitting for humane life, but whatſoever the delicate and effeminate appetite of man may luſt after. Many Plants yeeld fruit twice or thrice a yeare, and that not only by the temperature of the ayre, but by the number of the rivers and plentie of waters, which doe both cauſe trafficke thorow every corner of the Region, and ſo water it on all ſides, that it reſembleth a moſt pleaſant and delectable garden-plot. Of this plentie there are three cauſes: one, the prodigall expences of the King in digging of trenches thorowout the whole Land: ſometime cutting thorow rockie Mountaines, ſometime damming up deepe valleyes to make them levell with high mountaines, and to draine the waters of Lakes and Mariſhes: the other, for that the whole Region is ſituated under the temperate *Zone*, and in no place, either by nature or mans induſtrie, wanteth moiſture; ſo that all creatures, taking nouriſhment of heat and moiſture, muſt needs here wonderouſly proſper. In no place Plants may take larger ſcope to ſpread their branches, nor Cattell larger walkes to wander in, than in this Country. The laſt reaſon is, for that the idle are neither ſeverely puniſhed, nor altogether tolerated, but every one is forced to doe ſomewhat, no

foot

foot of land is left unhusbanded, nor dramme of ſtuffe caſt away unwrought. Among other things note-worthy, this one is of great conſideration, that in *Cantan* they maintaine foure thouſand blind people to grinde corne and Rice; every childe is ſet about ſomewhat according to his yeares and ſtrength; thoſe only who are truly impotent in their limbs, and have no friends living to ſuccour them, are provided for in Hoſpitals. That none may excuſe themſelves, in ſaying hee can doe nothing, every one is bound to learne his fathers occupation, which is the reaſon that the children (borne as it were tradeſmen) learne their fathers occupations before they perceive it, by continuall practice becomming in time moſt artificiall mechanickes. He that cannot live at Land, ſeeketh his maintenance at Sea, (for that is no leſſe inhabited than the Land) yea, infinite houſholds live on the Rivers in Boats, without comming to Land for a long ſeaſon: Some whereof live by ferrying over people, ſome by tranſporting paſſengers and their merchandize: others keepe ſhops, others veſſels of lodging for their Merchants and Travellers. Whatſoever is needfull for cloathing, for food or nouriſhment, delight or eaſe of a civill life, is to be found in the middeſt of great Rivers. Many likewiſe nouriſh all ſorts of Poultrie, eſpecially Duckes in their veſſels: To hatch the egges and to nouriſh the young ones, they uſe not the dams as we doe, but an artificiall heat, in a manner as they doe in *Ægypt*, eſpecially at *Cair*: All night he keepeth them in his Boat, and at morning ſendeth them to feed in the fields ſowed with Rice, where all day long having fed on the weeds, to the great good of the husbandman, they returne toward evening to their Cages, at the ſound of a little Bell or Cimball. Many live by carrying Fiſh, both ſalt and freſh, into the high Countries: for in the Spring, when the Rivers riſe through thawes, and landflouds, ſo incomparable quantities of ſea-fiſh doe abound in the havens and creekes, that the fiſhermen depart rather wearied than wanting. This fiſh the Skippers buy for a ſmall matter of the fiſhermen, and keeping them alive in certaine

taine veſſels made for the purpoſe, they tranſport them into Provinces farre remote from the Sea. There they are ſold and preſerved in Pooles and Stewes neere Cities and great Townes, to ſerve the Markets and Tables of the richer *Chinois* all the yeare long. Becauſe it is forbidden any inhabitant to paſſe out of the Land without leave, and therewith neither, but for a certaine time limited, it muſt needs be that by the daily increaſe of people, the Country is even peſtered with inhabitation. It hath beene obſerved among themſelves, that for every five that have died, ſeven have beene borne. The Climate is ſo temperate, and the aire ſo wholſome, that in mans memory any univerſall peſtilence hath not beene knowne to infeſt the Country. Notwithſtanding leſt any man ſhould thinke this people to enjoy all ſweets without ſome mixture of ſowre, you muſt note that their earth-quakes are more dreadfull unto them than any peſtilence to us: for whole Cities have beene ſwallowed, and Provinces made deſart by this puniſhment. Theſe caſualties choke up the courſe of ancient Chanels, and make new where were never any before; they lay Mountaines levell with the ground, and make havocke of the people. In the yeare 1555. a deluge breaking out of the bowels of the earth, devoured an hundred and foureſcore miles of firme land, with the Townes and Villages ſtanding thereupon: thoſe which eſcaped the floud, lightning and fire from Heaven deſtroyed.

There are ſaid to be in *China* one hundred and fifty Cities, two hundred thirty five great Townes, one thouſand one hundred fifty foure Caſtles, and foure thouſand two hundred Boroughs without walls, wherein ſouldiers are quartered: of Villages and Hamlets (ſome of them containing a thouſand houſholds) the number is infinite; for the Country is ſo covered with habitation, that all *China* ſeemeth but as one Towne. They have two Metropolitan Cities, *Nanquin* and *Panquin*. In *Nanquin* toward the North, the King keepeth his Court: under the juriſdiction of the one are ſeven Provinces, under the other eight. Both of them

them are so spacious, that it is a daies journey for a horseman to ride from one end to the other. Of the number of the Inhabitants no certainty can bee produced, but according to manuscript relations, and the report of travellers, it is said, that the Kingdome containeth threescore and ten millions of living soules. This is an admirable report, and not to bee beleeved, if it be compared with the Provinces of Christendome; but surely something above conceit is to be credited to those spacious, populous, and barbarous Nations. Let us set the largenesse of their Provinces, the circuit of their Cities, their plenty and abundance of all things and in all places, either in prospering by nature or mans industry, with their number and inhabitation, and we shall finde a Country like enough to afford such a reckoning, with places, cities, and dwellings able to containe them, and nourishment sufficient to maintaine them. *Italy* exceedeth not nine millions: *Germany* (excluding the *Swizzers* and *Netherlands*) not ten, and with the foresaid Provinces not above fifteene, which number peradventure *France* may reach unto. *Spaine* is farre inferiour to *Italie*: *Sicilie* hath but one million and three hundred thousand: *England* three millions, and *Belgia* as many, if by the continuance of the warre in those Countries that number be not much decayed.

The *Italians* conceit marvellous highly of themselves, thinking no Province upon the face of the earth for wealth and people comparable to *Italie*; but they forget, that as it is long, so it is narrow, and nothing wide or spacious, neither that two third parts have not one navigable River (a want of great consequence) neither that the *Apenine*, a Mountaine rockie and barren, doth spread it selfe over a fourth part thereof. Let them not deceive themselves, nor condemne anothers plenty by their owne wants, nor measure others excesse by their handfuls. For fertility, doth *France* in plenty of Graine or Cattell give place to *Italy*? Or *England* for Cattell, for Wooll, Fish, or Metall? Or *Belgia*, for number or goodlinesse of Cities, excellency of Artificers, wealth or merchandise? Or *Greece*, for delectable situation,

on, commodious Havens of the Sea, or pleasant Provinces? Or *Hungarie* for Cattell, Wine, Corne, Fish, Mines, and all things else? But I will not stand upon these discourses; only let me tell you that *Lombardy* containeth the third part of *Italy*, a Province delightsome for battle-plaines and pleasant Rivers, without barren mountaines or sandy fields, and to be as full of people as the whole halfe of *Italy* besides. Yea, what may bee said of *Italy* for profit or pleasure, that may not bee spoken particularly of *France*, *England*, *Netherland* and both the *Panonies*? Wherefore since the Country is not onely large and spacious, but united, populous, plentifull and rich, at least let it bee beleeved and accounted for one of the greatest Empires that ever was.

Government. The Government is tyrannicall: for thorowout the Kingdome there is no other Lord but the King, they know not what an Earle, a Marquesse, or a Duke meaneth. No fealty, no tribute, or toll is paied to any man but the King. He giveth all magistracies & honors. He alloweth them stipends wherewith to maintaine their estates, and they dispatch no matter of weight without his privity. His vassals obey him, not as a King, but rather as a God. In every Province standeth his portraicture in gold, which is never to be seene but in the new Moones; then is it shewed and visited of the Magistrates, and reverenced as the Kings owne person. In like manner the Governours and Judges are honoured; no man may speake to them but upon their knees. Strangers are not admitted to enter into the Kingdome, lest their customes and conversation should breed alteration in manners, or innovation in the State. They are onely permitted to trafficke upon the Sea-coasts, to buy and sell victuall, and to vent their wares. They that doe trafficke upon the Land, assemble many together, and elect a Governour amongst them, whom they terme Consull. In this good manner strangers enter the Kingdome, but alwaies waited on by the Customers, and Kings Officers.

The Inhabitants cannot travell but with a licence, and with that neither, but for a prefixed season: and to bee sure of

of their returne they grant no leave, but for traffickes sake, and that in Ships of an hundred & fifty tun and not above; for they are jealous, that if they should goe to sea in bigger vessels, they would make longer journies. To conclude, it is a religious Law of the Kingdome, that every mans endevours tend wholly to the good and quiet of the Common-wealth. By which proceedings, Justice, the mother of quietnesse, Policy, the mistresse of good Lawes, and Industry, the daughter of peace, doe flourish in this Kingdome. There is no Country moderne or ancient, governed by a better forme of policy than this Empire: by vertue whereof they have ruled their Empire 2000. yeares: And so hath the State of *Venice* flourished 1100. yeares, the Kingdome of *France* 1200. It is a thousand two hundred yeares since they cast off the yoke of the *Tartars*, after their ninety yeares government.

For their Arts, Learning and Policy, they conceive so well of themselves, that they are accustomed to say that they have two eyes; the people of *Europe* but one; and the residue of the Nations none. They give this report of the *Europeans*, because of their acquaintance with the *Portugals*, with whom they trafficke in *Macoa* and other places, and the renowne of the *Castilians*, who are their neighbours in the *Philippina*. Arts.

Printing, Painting, and Gun-powder, with the materials thereunto belonging, have beene used in *China* many yeares past and very common, so that it is with them out of memory when they first began. Their Chronicles say, that their first King, being a great Necromancer, who reigned many thousand yeares past, did first invent great Ordnance: and for the antiquity of Printing, there hath beene Bookes seene in *China*, which were printed at least five or six hundred yeares before Printing was in use with us in *Europe*, and to say when it first began, it is beyond remembrance. But not to make our Readers beleeve reports beyond probability or credit, we must needs informe the truth, That the Arts and Manufactures of *China*, are not comparable to

curs

ours of *Europe*. Their buildings are baſe and low, but one ſtory high (for feare of earth-quakes) which makes them take up more roome on the ground than in the ayre; no marvell then if their Cities be great. Their Painting is meere, ſteyning or trowelling in reſpect of ours. Their Printing is but ſtamping, like our great Letters or Gaics cut in wood; for they cut many words in one peece, and then ſtampe it off in paper. This makes their Printing very difficult and chargeable, and therefore ſo little uſed. Of liberall Arts they know none but a little naturall Rhetoricke, which he that there excels in, is more beholding to a good wit and a fine tongue than to the precepts of his Tutor. Their great Ordnance be but ſhort and naught. Finally, they are a people rather crafty than wiſe; their common policy is made up of wari-neſſe and wilineſſe.

Forces at land.

By the multitudes of people (before ſpoken of) you may imagine the ſtate of his forces, for herein all other proviſions take their perfection. But to ſpeake ſomewhat in particular: The power of this Prince (remembring his countenance and nature, deteſting all invaſions) is more ready and fit to defend than offend, to preſerve rather than to increaſe. His Cities for the moſt part are builded upon the bankes of navigable Rivers, environed with deepe and broad ditches, the walls built of ſtone and bricke, ſtrong above beleefe, and fortified with ramparts and artificiall bulwarks. Upon the borders toward *Tartarie* (to make ſure worke againſt ſuch an enemy) they have built a wall beginning at *Chioi* (a City ſituate betweene two moſt high mountaines) and ſtretching it ſelfe toward the Eaſt, ſix hundred miles between mountaine and mountaine, untill it touch the cliffes of the Ocean. Upon the other frontiers you may behold many, but ſmall holds, ſo built to ſtay the courſe of the enemie, untill the Country forces bee able to make head, and the Royall Army have time to come leaſurely forward; for in 400. great Townes hee keepeth in continuall pay forces ſufficient upon the leaſt warning, to march to that quarter whither occaſion calleth. Every City hath a Garriſon and

and Guard at the gates, which at nights is not onely fast locked, but sealed, and may not be opened before the seale at morning bee throughly viewed. To speake truth, their souldiers, horsemen, and footmen, by land or sea, are more famous for their numbers, their gallant furniture, and plenty of provision, than for strength and courage. For the Inhabitants partly by their effeminate and wanton kinde of life, partly by their forme of government, whereby they are made vile and base, have little valour or manhood left them. They use no forren souldiers, except those whom they take in war; these they send into the in-land Countries, where being marked (to distinguish them from other) they serve more like slaves than souldiers; yet have they pay, with rewards for their good service, and punishment for their cowardize: true motives to make men valorous. The rest which are not inrolled, are not suffered to keepe weapons in their houses.

Their Sea-forces are nothing inferiour to their Land-forces: for besides their ordinary Fleets, lying upon the Coasts for the safety of the Sea-townes, by reason of the abundance of navigable Rivers, and so huge a Sea-tract full of Havens, Creeks, and Islands, it is thought that with ease they are able to assemble from five hundred to a thousand such great Ships, which they call *Giunchi*, we *Iunks*. Forces at sea.

To thinke that treasure cannot bee wanting to levie so great a number of Ships, Souldiers, and Marriners, many men affirme, that the Kings revenues amount to an hundred and twenty millions of gold, which value, although it may seeme impossible to him that shall make an estimate of the States of *Europe*, with the Kingdome of *China*; yet may it finde place of beleefe, if he doe but call to minde, First, the nature and circuit of the Empire, being little lesse than all *Europe*; Next, the populousnesse of the Inhabitants, accompanied with inestimable riches: Then the diversity of Mines, of Gold, Silver, Iron, and other sorts of Metall, the unspeakable quantity of Merchandize, passing from hand to hand, by so many navigable Rivers: so many armes and in-lets of the Sea, their upland Cities, and maritime Townes, their Tolls, Treasure.

Tolls, Cuſtomes, Subſidies; and laſtly, their rich wares brought into *Europe*. Hee taketh the tenth of all things which the earth yeeldeth; as Barley, Rice, Olives, Wine, Cotton, Wooll, Flax, Silke, all kinds of Metall, Fruits, Cattel, Sugar, Hony, Rubarbe, Camphire, Ginger, Wood, Muske, and all ſorts of Perfumes. The cuſtome only of Salt in the City *Canto* (which is not of the greateſt, nor of the beſt traffick) yeeldeth 180000. Crownes yearely: the tenth of Rice of one ſmall Towne, and the adjacent Territory, yeeldeth more than 100000. Crownes. By theſe you may conjecture of the reſt. He leaveth his ſubjects nothing ſave food & clothing. He hath under him no Earles, Lords, or Nobles of any degree, no nor private perſons indowed with great wealth.

Wherefore ſince this Empire is ſo huge, and all the profits thereof are in his hands, how can the former aſſertion of ſo great and yearely a revenue to men of reaſon ſeeme any thing admirable at all? There are two things moreover, which adde great credit to this reckoning; one is, that all his impoſitions are not paid in Coine, but ſome in Hay, ſome in Rice, Corne, Provender, Silke, Cotton, Wooll, and ſuch like neceſſaries; the other is, that the King of 120. millions which he receiveth, diſburſeth againe three parts thereof. And ſo ſince it goeth round from the King to the people, it ought to ſeeme no wonder, if the people be able to ſpare it againe for the Princes uſe at the yeares end. For as waters doe ebbe as deepe as they flow, ſo impoſitions eaſily levied ſuffice for the expences of the State, and the people receive againe by thoſe expences as much as they layed out in the beginning of the yeare.

Borderers. This King feareth no neighbour, but the great *Cham* of *Tartaria*; all the reſt acknowledge vaſſalage. Againſt this enemy the ancient Kings built that admirable wall, ſo much renowned amongſt the wonders of the *Orient*. Towards the Sea, hee bordereth upon the *Iapontans* and *Caſtilians*. The diſtance betweene *Iapan* and *China* is divers. From *Goto*, one of the Iſlands of *Iapan*, to the City *Liampo*, is threeſcore leagues: from *Canian* 297. The Iſlanders of

Iapan

Iapan doe often ſpoile the Sea-coaſts of *China* by their incurſions, deſcending on land and harrying the Countrey, more like Pyrates than men of Warre. For in regard that *Iapan* is divided into many Iſlands, and into divers Seigniories (ill agreeing amongſt themſelves,) though they excell the *Chinois* in armes and courage, yet are they not of ſufficient power to performe any action of moment againſt them. Upon another Frontier lye the *Spaniards*, of whom the *Chinois*, not without good cauſe, are very jealous, becauſe of the ſituation of the *Philippinæ* (commodiouſly ſeated for the invaſion of *China*) and the fame of the riches well knowne to the *Spaniſh*. But the King of *Spaine* wiſheth rather to plant Chriſtianitie peaceably amongſt them, whereof there was once good hope, that God had opened a paſſage. For though the *Chinois* will ſuffer no ſtranger to enter within their Dominions, yet certaine Jeſuites (zealous in the increaſing of Chriſtian Religion) in a Territory, ſo ſpacious as that is, entred with great ſecrecie and danger, and procuring the favour of certaine Governours, obtained a privilege of naturalization, ſpecially Frier *Michael Rogerius*, who in the yeare 1590. returned into *Europe* to adviſe what courſe were beſt to take in this buſineſſe. After whoſe departure, intelligence was brought from two Friers which remained behinde, that after divers perſecutions they were then conſtrained to forſake the Citie wherein they ſojourned, and to make haſte to ſea-ward. Nor plainly would the *Chinois* ſuffer the ſaid Frier *Rogerius* to come into their Countrey, as himſelfe confeſſed to an *Engliſh* Gentleman of very good worth and curious underſtanding, Mr. *W. F.* who purpoſely asked that queſtion of him. If any man of *Europe* hath beene in *China*, it is *Matthew Riccius* the Jeſuite. The *Portugals* are likewiſe eye-ſores unto them, but by the report of their juſtice and the moderation, which *Ferdinand Andrada* ſhewed in the government of the Iſland of *Tamo*, and by the Traffick which they exerciſe in thoſe ſeas, they can better digeſt their neighbour-hood, than that of the *Spaniſh*. This was the firſt *Portugal* that arrived in the

Citie of *Cantan*, and ſet on land *Thomas Perez*, Legier for *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*. But other Captaines being there afterwards diſ-embarked, behaved themſelves ſo lewdly, that they occaſioned the ſaid Ambaſſadour to be taken for a Spie, and caſt into priſon, where hee died moſt miſerably, the reſidue were intreated as enemies. At laſt it was permitted the *Portugals*, for traffick ſake, to ſet a Factory in *Macao*, where againe before they had ſtrongly fortified their Colonie, they were conſtrained to ſubmit to the limitations of the *Chinois*; to whom in ſhort time for their ſtrength, wiſdome, friendſhip, and alliance with the *Caſtilians*, they became ſuſpitious: and therefore they doe daily more and more bridle their libertie of Trafficke, carrying ſo heavie a hand toward them, that they would faine give them occaſion to leave *Macao* of their owne wils, and retire backe into *India* from whence they came.

The Kingdome of Siam.

UPon the borders of *China* (to ſpeake nothing of *Cauchinchina*, becauſe wee know nothing worth relation of that Territory) joyneth the Countrey of *Siam*, accounted one of the greateſt amongſt theſe great Kingdomes of *Aſia*. It tooke its name of the Citie *Siam*, ſituated upon the entrance of the River *Menon*: it is alſo called *Gorneo*. It reacheth by Eaſt and Weſt from the Citie *Campaa*, to the Citie of *Tavai*; in which tract by the Sea-coaſt are contained five hundred leagues, whereof the *Arabians* once uſurped two hundred, with the Cities of *Patan*, *Paam*, *Ior*, *Perca*, and *Malaco*, now in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugals*. From the South toward the North, it reacheth from *Sincapura*, ſituate in degrees, to the people called *Guconi*, in nine and twentie degrees.

The Lake *Chimai* is diſtant from the Sea ſix hundred miles: the upland circuit ſtretcheth from the borders of *Cauchin-*

Cauchinchina beyond the River *Avan*, where lieth the Kingdome of *Chencra*. Beſides the Lake of *Chimai*, the Rivers *Menon*, *Menam*, *Caipumo* and *Ana* (which cauſe greater fertilitie of Graine thorow the whole Region, than a man would beleeve) are all his. The better part of his Kingdome is environed with the Mountaines *Ana*, *Brema*, and *Iangoma*, the reſidue is plaine like *Ægypt*, abounding with Elephants, Horſe, Pepper, Gold and Tinne. In the Weſt part are huge Woods, and therein are many Tygers, Lions, Ounces and Serpents. It containeth theſe Provinces, *Cambaia*, *Siam*, *Muantai*, *Bremo*, *Caipumo*, and *Chencra*. The Inhabitants of *Lai* which border upon the North of the Provinces of *Muantai* and *Caipumo* (and are divided into three Principalities) are under his obeyſance. The firſt is that of *Iangoma*; The ſecond of *Currai*; The third *Lanea*, neere *Cauchinchina*. They inhabit a plaine and wealthie Countrey, into which the *Gueoni* (*Marke Paul* calleth their Countrey *Gangigu*) deſcending from the Mountains to hunt for men, make oftentimes cruell butcheries amongſt them: The people of *Lai* for feare of thoſe *Anthropophagi* acknowledge the ſoveraigntie of *Siam*, but they often rebell and obey as they liſt.

The wealth of the Countrey may be conjectured by the fertilitie: for being ſituated in a Plaine, and watered with moſt famous Rivers (like another *Ægypt*) it cannot but abound with plentie of all good things. It bringeth forth Rice, graine of all ſorts, Horſes, Elephants, infinite ſtore of Cattell, Gold and Tinne: Silver is brought thither by the people of *Lai*. By reaſon of this plentie, the people are drowned in pleaſure and wantonneſſe. They follow husbandrie, but take no great delight in manuall occupations, which cauſeth the Kingdome to be poore in merchandize. Amongſt many other Cities three are famous; *Cambaia*, ſeated upon the River *Menon*: which riſing in *China*, is ſo hugely augmented by the falling in of many Rivers, that his owne Channell not ſufficing for receit thereof, it rendeth the earth to diſgorge it ſelfe into a thouſand Iſlands, making a Riches.

second *Meo* is more than threescore miles long: *Meican* signifieth the Captaine, *Menon* the mother of waters. The second is the Citie of *Siam*, whose statelinesse giveth the name to the whole Countrey. It is a most goodly Citie, and of admirable Trafficke, which may the better bee imagined, by the writing of a certaine Jesuite, who reporteth, that besides the naturall Inhabitants, there are more than thirtie thousand *Arabian* households. The third Citie is called *Udia*, greater than *Siam*, consisting of foure hundred thousand families. It is said, that two hundred thousand Boats belong to this Citie, and the River *Caipumo*, whereon it is seated.

Forces. This King to shew his majestie and magnificence, keepeth a Guard of six thousand Souldiers, and two hundred Elephants: of these beasts he hath thirtie thousand, whereof hee traineth three thousand for the Warre. This is a very great matter, if you weigh their worth, and their charges in keeping.

Government. His Government is rather tyrannicall than King-like: for he is absolute Lord over all the demeanes of the Kingdome, and either setteth them out to husbandmen, or giveth them to his Nobles for maintenance, during life and pleasure, but never passeth the right of inheritance. Hee bestoweth on them likewise Townes and Villages, with their Territories, but on condition to maintaine a certaine number of horsemen, footmen and Elephants. By this policie, without any peny pay or burthen to the Countrey, he is able to levie twentie thousand horsemen, and two hundred and fiftie thousand footmen. Upon occasion he can wage a greater number, by reason of the largenesse of his Kingdomes, and the populousnesse of his Townes. For *Udia* only (the chiefe seat of his Kingdome) mustered fiftie thousand men. And although he be Lord of nine Kingdomes, yet useth he no other Nation in the Warre, but the *Siamits*, and the Inhabitants of the two Kingdomes of *Udia* and *Muantai*. All honours and preferments are bestowed upon men of service in this Kingdome.

In

In times of peace they have their warlike exercises, and in certaine pastimes which the King once a yeare exhibiteth at *Udia*, are shewed all military feats of armes upon the River *Menon*, where more than three thousand vessels (which they terme *Paraas*) divided into two squadrons, skirmish one against another. Upon the land run the Horses and Elephants, and the footmen trie it out at sword and buckler, with point and edge rebated: the remainder of their dayes they spend in riot and wantonnesse.

Their borders toward the East, reach to *Cauchinchina*, betweene whom are such huge Woods, Lions, Tygers, Leopards, Serpents and Elephants, that they cannot infest one another by armes. Toward the Lake *China* they border upon the *Chinois*. Toward the Sea they affront the *Arabians* and *Portugals*. The one tooke from them *Paiam*, *Paam*, *Ior* and *Peam*; the other *Malaca*, and the Territary adjoyning, so betweene them they bereaved him of two hundred miles of land; and contenting themselves with the command of the Sea-coasts, and with the customes arising upon the carrying out and bringing in of merchandize, they abstaine from further invasion of the Inland Provinces, and hold it good policie to keepe firme peace with this King and his Countries. Towards the West lieth the Kingdome of *Pegu*, like a halfe Moone, betweene the Mountaines of *Brama* and *Iangoma*. Towards the North lie the *Gudoni*, inhabiting the barren and sharpe Mountaines, betweene whom and *Siam* dwell the people of *Lay*. This people is subject to the crowne of *Siam*, for feare of these *Canibals*, of whom (if it had not beene for his protection) they had long agoe beene utterly devoured. Not forty yeares since the King made a journey against them with twenty thousand horse (their horse are small, but excellent good in travell) five and twentie thousand footmen, and ten thousand Elephants; part imployed for service, and part for carriage. No kingdome hath greater store of these beasts, or doth more use them. An innumerable number of Oxen, Buffals, and beasts of carriage, followed this armie, whom they slew when they wanted other provision. Bordereth.

Hitherto have wee deviſed of *Siam* and *Pegu* (as they ſtood) before the comming of the *Portugals* into *India*, but how in proceſſe of time the State was altered, you ſhall now heare. In times paſt, divers Kingdomes of *Brama* ſituated along the River towards the Lake *Chiamai* obeyed the Kings of *Pegu* under the government of Lieutenants. Sixtie yeares ſince, one of theſe Captaines, Ruler of the Kingdome of *Tengu*, by the aid of his faction, and reputation of his Vertues, entered into Rebellion, and ſlaying the Nobles of the Land, uſurped the Kingdome. Afterward he forced the Cities, and conquered the Kingdome of *Prom*, *Melintati*, *Calam*, *Mirandu* and *Ana*, all inhabited by the *Bramians*, for the ſpace of one hundred and fiftie leagues towards the North. He aſſayed likewiſe the conqueſt of *Siam*; but comming before *Udia*, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, he was forced to raiſe his ſiege and depart. Hee undertooke this journey with three hundred thouſand footmen, conſuming more than three moneths in making way for his armie thorow ſtonie Mountaines, huge Woods, and inacceſſible places, in proſecution whereof, he loſt two hundred and twentie thouſand of his Souldiers, and re-enforced his loſſes with captive *Siamits*. At his returne home, he invaded the Kingdome of *Pegu*, and won it. Afterward, in the yeare 1507. he renued his journey againſt *Siam*, and overcame the King thereof, who ſlew himſelfe with poyſon; but he tooke his ſons, and with them the better part of the Kingdome. He beleagred *Udia* with a million of men and upward. Our late Writers call this man and his ſucceſſors (becauſe their fames aroſe by the conqueſt of the Kingdomes of *Brama*) Kings of *Brama* or *Bramia*, but the *Portugals* of a more ſound judgement grounded upon neerer Neighbour-hood, call them Kings of *Pegu*.

And for that it may not ſeeme that what we write as concerning theſe infinite numbers, is either fabulous, or reported altogether upon heare-ſay; becauſe that now, here-before, and hereafter we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe of this point, wee thinke it not amiſſe to ſpend ſome time in ſhewing

ſhewing how, and by what likly-hoods, both in this, and other like barbarous dominions, ſuch huge and numberleſſe companies are levied and nouriſhed. Firſt therefore it is a ground infallible, that all Monarchies conſiſt of people, government, and revenues, and that howſoever in times of peace Princes may live at pleaſure, yet populous Armies neere home, or farre off, cannot long indure without great ſupplies, and a continuall Sea of ready money: For as the members of our bodie cannot move without ſinewes, nor motion availe us if joynts were wanting; ſo without money an Army can never bee gathered, nor being gathered, kept together, if coine be wanting; which preventeth infinite miſchances, and draweth after it Armour, Proviſion, Victuals, and whatſoever elſe is neceſſary for life or armes. And ſithence the wealth of Princes, even as of private perſons (from whoſe purſes they ſupply their occaſions) hath limits and meaſure; Let them not thinke to beginne any long warre, much leſſe to continue it, unleſſe they throughly provide aforehand: for when this torrent breaketh forth, no man can make an eſtimate what will bee the expence of reparation therein: which moved a certaine *Portugal* Captaine to tell King *Sebaſtian*, providing for his journey into *Barbarie*, that warres ſhould be accompanied with three ſtreames: The firſt, of men; The ſecond, of Victuall; The third, of Silver. For whoſoever will rightly judge of a Princes eſtate, muſt examine whether his ordinary receits be ſufficient to anſwer his ordinary iſſues, (leaving alwayes a portion to anſwer extraordinary accidents) which are ſo certaine in proofe, as all men muſt provide for, though they know them not beforehand, eſpecially in the condition of a great Prince.

The great *Turke* in his *Perſian* journies, felt the ſmart thereof, who though he be ſo potent a Prince, by default of this providence, was conſtrained to raiſe the value of his coine, and abaſe the allay, ſo farre forth that the *Ianizars* finding themſelves aggrieved thereat, raiſed commotions, ſet fire on the City of *Conſtantinople*, and rifled a great part

thereof. Neither could the King of *Spaine* have sustained the burthen of so many warres, and in so remote Provinces, if he had trusted to no other supplies than those of *Spaine*. But fortune hath given him a Countrey, prodigall in Mines of Gold and Silver, assuredly paying the expence of one yeare, with the income of another. A providence so farre from neglect, in the late reigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, that before she had any warres with *Spaine*, or had sent her forces of prevention into the *Low-Countries*, she had ready *in deposito* two millions of Crownes. And being engaged, by her politike government, she raised such an annuall assistance from the love of her subjects, against the malicious and injurious attempts of her enemies, that during her reigne she levied three millions, five hundred and nineteene thousand, five hundred and sixty foure pounds. *Iohn Iaques Trivulce* being demanded, how many things were necessary hereunto, answered three; *Money, Money, Money.*

But these grounds especially hold, when the burthen of the war lieth upon the purse of the Prince & his people: for sometime it happeneth, that the souldier liveth upon the enemies Countrey, as did the *Hunnes, Vandals, Gothes, Arabians*, and in our dayes *Tamerlane*. They entred the Provinces without controll, being unprovided of forces, and made prey and spoile of whatsoever came in their reaches. They ransacked the Cities, and fed upon the Villages. The like good lucke had the *Portugals* in the East *Indies*, and the *Castilians* in the West, but the one farre better than the other; for never any Nation conquered with lesse cost so much as the *Spaniards* have done in new *Spain* and *Peru*. But let not any people thinke to doe so in these dayes, no not in *Asia* or *Africke*, much lesse in *Europe*, where the use of great Ordnance is in perfection, and the art of fortification so ingenuous, that one Castle shall be able to sustaine, yea, well provided, to weary the forces of the greatest Potentate. The *Turkes* at *Zigeth* (a small fortresse in *Hungaria*) approved this; which in the yeare 1566. *Soliman* beleagred with three hundred thousand men of warre, and at last forced;

ced; but with ſo great a ſlaughter of his people, that ſcant the third part of this huge Army returned to their houſes. In like manner, the *Portugals* in the beginning of their *Indian* acquiſitions, with a few ſouldiers, and in little time wonne admirable victories; but when the *Barbarians* began to grow acquainted with Artillery, to allure Carpenters and Maſons to build them Caſtles, and to arme veſſels to Sea, their courages became calme, and there ſet an end to their *Plus ultra*. The like did the *Spaniſh* in the New world, to their *Non ſufficit orbis*. For after their firſt good fortunes, they found in *Nova Hiſpania* the *Chichimechi*, and in *Peru* the *Pilcoſony*, the *Chiriguani*, and the *Luchy*, people ſo deſperate to ſtop the furious courſe of their former victories, that ſithence, in almoſt one hundred yeares ſpace they have not beene able to adde one foots breadth to their new Empiry.

In the vale of *Aranco*, *Tecapell* and the Kingdome of *Chile*, when the Inhabitants ſaw them to be wounded and ſlaine with the ſhot of their arrowes, and the ſtrokes of their ſwords, they never afterward vouchſafed them their former reverence; nor carried the wonted conceit of their immortality: and now being beaten by experience, they feare not the carriere of the horſe, nor the terrour of the Harquebuſh.

If the warre be at or within our owne doores, then is it eaſie to levie ſtrong and populous forces, as wee reade of the *Crotons*, *Sibarites*, and *Gaunois*; who made head againſt the power of *France*, with foureſcore thouſand fighting men. When the warre was made in theſe populous Countries, and neere at hand, every man made one in the medlie, gallantly armed, and well provided with furniture and victuall to hold out certaine dayes: but when the warre continued longer than expectation, for want of mony and food every man retired; one to the Plough, another to his Shop, the reſt to thoſe imployments, wherby they ſuſtained themſelves and their families. The *Scots* for want of wealth never made famous journey out of the Iſland, but at home they have led mighty armies for a ſhort time, either for revenge of wrongs, or to defend their frontiers: even as did the *Romans*

for

for certaine ages, warring with their neighbours at their private charges. They tooke the field, every man provided with victuall for two or three dayes, and in one battell, and few houres, finiſhed thoſe warres. But in the journey againſt the *Vcij*, the warre continuing beyond opinion, the State was enforced to procure proviſion for the Army.

That Armies may farre eaſier be gathered in the Eaſt and *Africke*, than in *Europe*, the reaſons are many. Thoſe Regions for the moſt part are more plentifull of all neceſſaries for humane life: the people of the South are better contented with little than we: their diet is bare and ſimple, onely to maintaine life, and not exceſſe: but the *Europeans* muſt eat and drinke, not to ſuſtaine nature, but to comfort the ſtomacke, and to expell colds. Wine, which with us is dearer than bread, is not to be found amongſt them: their waters are better than our drinkes. Cookery is not in ſuch requeſt with them as with us, nor their tables accuſtomed to ſuch Cates: their banquets are onely furniſhed with Rice and Mutton. Neither doe the people of the Eaſt ſpend a quarter of that clothing which we doe: they goe to the warre halfe naked, hiding nothing but their privities: they ſtand not in need of that number of workmen which we doe, among whom the greateſt part of our life is ſpent in weaving, and deviſing ſtuffes and faſhions to cloath the carkaſſe, and adorne the body, with cloth, ſilke, colours, and embroderies. All their expences are onely upon clothing of Cotton-wooll, and that but from the Navell to the Knee.

Theſe are the reaſons which I meant to lay, why they may gather forty thouſand men with more eaſe, than we ten; and to theſe may be added this as the laſt; that, upon Ordnance & their furnitures; upon proviſions and their cariages; upon horſes, pioners, and a thouſand like neceſſaries, infinite ſummes are ſpent; of which the people of the Eaſt are uttterly ignorant, eſpecially thoſe which have not to deale with the *Portugals* or *Arabians*.

They go to War without Armour, without Curaces, Helmets, Launces, or Targets, which with us cannot be conveyed from

from place to place without great expence. *Virgil* calleth this luggage, *Injuſtam faſcem*, becauſe it ſeemeth to be needleſſe, therein degenerating much from the ancient *Roman* diſcipline ; wherein for ten dayes journie and more, every ſouldier carried his proper weapons both offenſive and defenſive, yea, and ſometimes his victuals. What ſhould we ſpeake of the Armies of the *Aſſyrians* and *Æthiopians*, of *Belus*, *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, *Cambiſes*, *Cyrus*, *Darius*, *Seſoſtris*, and *Seſacus*? were they not as huge and populous, by the report of all hiſtories, as theſe whereof wee intreat ? Or in times leſſe ancient, have not we and our anceſtors ſeene the *Arabians*, *Tartarians*, and *Turkes*, invading Provinces with Armies of three hundred thouſand people and upward ? By moderne examples, and memory of later accidents, to give credit to the ancient, I will ſet downe what hapned in *Angola*, a noble and rich Province of the Weſt *Æthiope*, adjoyning to *Congo*, reported by the letters of certaine *Ieſuites* and *Portugal* Captaines. In the yeare 1584. *Paulus Diaſius*, by the favour of God and valour of his people, upon the ſecond day of *Februarie* put to flight the King of *Angola*, and defeated his Armie, conſiſting of one million, and two hundred thouſand *Moores* : which may well prove, that theſe populous Armies are of little ſervice, and ſmall continuance, rather like violent ſtormes, than dripping ſhowres ; and though with eaſe they are gathered, yet without greater proviſion than any Province is able to afford them, they are not eaſily held together. When their proviſion is ſpent they beginne to breake, and bid adue to the action ; and that moſt commonly not in the midſt of their courſe, but even in their firſt removes, for Merchants, Victuallers, Taylors, Shoomakers, and ſuch like, follow not their warres ; and if they ſhould, then this inconvenience would follow ; that for one million of ſouldiers, it were very neceſſary to provide a million of Wagons, Packhorſes, Carters, Carpenters, Victuallers, Merchants, &c. and then neither Rivers would ſerve them for drinke, nor the fields with bread ; nor the earth for lodgings: ſo muſt they

they needs ſinke under their owne weight; which the Eaſterne Princes (leading theſe unaccuſtomed numbers upon long journeyes) in ſome faſhion forecaſting, did alwayes provide incredible maſſes of money, victuall, and ſuch like warlike proviſions, long before they entred into action; as was well ſeene in *Xerxes*, who to maintaine the great Army, as well at Sea as at Land, which he led for the conqueſt of *Greece*, ſpent ſeven yeares in preparation for the journey.

To returne to the King of *Barma*: Of late yeares he tooke the havens of *Martela* and *Pernaſor*; and turning his armes ſometime towards the North, ſometime toward the Weſt, he vexed the Princes of *Caor* and *Tipura*, tooke the kingdomes of *Aracan* and *Macin*, leading upon this journey three hundred thouſand men, and forty thouſand Elephants.

Aracan. *Aracan* is a kingdome invironed round with mountaines and woods, as with a wall or trench: the chiefe citie which giveth the name to the Countrey, is ſituated on a river fifteene leagues from the Sea, and thirty five from *Catagan*.

Macin. *Macin* is a kingdome abounding in *Aloes*: this wood, which the *Arabians* call *Calambuco*, and others *Lignum vitæ*, for the ſweet ſavour is valued by the people of the Eaſt at the weight in ſilver. In *India* and *Cambaia* they uſe it at the buriall of great Lords, in baths, and other wantonneſſe. It groweth moſt frequent in the rough mountaines of *Campa*, *Cambaia*, and *Macin*. That which is brought to us is in no eſteeme with them: the right is found (ſay they) in *Congo* and *Angola*, and the bordering Countrey, and uſed by them in all their grievous and dangerous maladies; which if it be true, I marvell that the *Portugals* will let ſlip ſo precious a commoditie.

Narſinga.

Narſinga.

IN the row of theſe potent Princes inhabiting betweene *Indus* and *Ganges* dwelleth the King of *Narſinga*. Whatſoever lieth betweene the mountaine *Gnate* and the gulfe of *Bengala*, betweene the promontories *Gnadaverne* and *Comorin*, by the ſpace of two hundred leagues, abounding as prodigally as any other province in the *Indies* with all good things, is under his dominion. The waters ſometime falling from the mountaines, ſometime from the rivers, and received into trenches, meeres, and lakes, doe wonderfully coole, moiſten, and enrich this land, cauſing the Graine and Cattell to proſper above imagination. It is no leſſe plentifull of birds, beaſts wilde and tame, Buffals, Elephants, and Mines of precious ſtones and metals. It breedeth no races of horſe for the warre, but they buy them of the *Arabian* and *Perſian* Merchants in great numbers: the like doe all the Princes of *Decan*. Within the bounds of *Narſinga* dwell five Nations different in language: he hath many ſtrong places on the Indian Ocean. *Canera* is at his command, wherein are the haven Townes of *Mangolar*, *Melind*, *Berticala*, and *Onor*: but the *Portugals* receive the cuſtome of *Berticala*, and alſo in times paſt of *Onor*. In *Narſinga* are two imperiall Cities, *Narſinga* and *Biſnagar*, by reaſon whereof he is termed ſometime King of *Narſinga*, ſometime King of *Biſnagar*.

It is undoubtedly beleeved, that this King receiveth yearely twelve millions of ducats, of which he layeth up but two or three, the reſidue he expendeth upon the troopes of his ſouldiers, that is to ſay, forty thouſand *Nairs*, and twenty thouſand horſemen kept in continuall pay. Upon neceſſitie he is able to levie a farre greater number: for beſides theſe allowances, he ſetteth out certaine lands to two hundred

hundred Captaines, on condition to keepe in readineſſe a proportion of Horſemen, Footmen, and Elephants. The wages of theſe Captaines (to ſome of whom he giveth a million of ducats yearely) may be an argument of his great revenues; for to theſe projects, this Prince and all the Potentates of the Eaſt, keepe in their poſſeſſion all the profits of the lands, woods, mines, yea, and the waters of pooles and rivers, throw their whole Dominions. No man may waſh himſelfe in *Ganges*, (which runneth by *Bengala*) nor in *Ganga*, (which watereth the Land of *Oriſſa*) before he hath paid toll to the King. The King himſelfe is now inforced to buy this water, cauſing it to be brought unto him by long journies, upon a ſuperſtitious cuſtome, either to bathe or to purge himſelfe therein. He is abſolute Lord of the bodies and goods of his ſubjects, which he ſhareth to himſelfe and his Captaines, leaving the people nothing but their hands and labour: of lands the King hath three parts, and his Captaines the reſidue. Whereupon ſithence all theſe barbarous Princes maintaine not peace and juſtice, as arches whereupon to lay the ground-worke of their Eſtates; but armes, conqueſt, and the Nurſerie of a continuall Souldierie; it muſt needs follow, that they are able to levie greater troopes of horſe and foot, than otherwiſe wee were bound to beleeve. But to induce ſome meaſure of credit, let us compare the abilities of ſome Chriſtian Princes with theirs. If the King of *France* were abſolute Lord of all the lands and domaines of his whole dominion, (as theſe men are) it is thought that his yearely revenues would amount to fifteene millions, and yet therein are neither mines of gold nor ſilver. The Clergie receiveth ſix millions, the Kings demeſnes amount to one and an halfe, the reſidue is theirs who have the inheritance, and yet here the peaſants live well in compariſon of the *Villagois* of *India*, *Polonia*, and *Lituania*. Beſides this, the King hath eight millions of ordinary revenue, ariſing of cuſtomes and eſcheats. How mighty a Prince would he be, if hee were Landlord of the demeſnes and rents of the whole Kingdome, and ſhould imploy them upon the maintenance of Souldiers,

Souldiers, as doth the King of *Narſinga*? Surely, whereas now the Kings revenues doe hardly ſuffice for the maintenance of foure thouſand men at armes, and ſix thouſand Croſſe-bowes; if this allowance were added to the former, he might as eaſily maintaine an hundred and fifty thouſand.

To returne to *Narſinga*: The King to ſee that his Captains performe their duties, once a yeare proclaimeth a muſter, whereat they dare not but be preſent. At the muſter day, thoſe who have preſented their companies defective, either in number, or furniture, are ſure to be caſhiered: but thoſe who bring their companies compleat and well armed, hee honoureth and advanceth. What forces may be gathered out of ſo ample a dominion, (armed after their manner, as aforeſaid) you ſhall gather by that which *Iohn Barros* writeth, of the Armie which King *Chriſmarao* lead againſt *Idalcan* in the journey of *Raciel*. Theſe are his words *verbatim*: Under ſundry Captaines the Armie was divided into many battalions: In the Vantguard marched *Camraque* with one thouſand horſe, ſeventeene Elephants, and thirty thouſand footmen: *Tirabicar*, with two thouſand horſe, twenty Elephants, and fifty thouſand footmen: *Timapanique*, with three thouſand horſemen, and fifty ſix thouſand footmen. After them followed *Hadanaique*, with five thouſand horſemen, fifty Elephants, and one hundred thouſand footmen: *Condomara*, with ſix thouſand horſe, ſixty Elephants, one hundred and twenty thouſand footmen: *Comora*, with two hundred and fifty horſe, forty Elephants, and foureſcore thouſand footmen: *Gendua*, with a thouſand horſe, ten Elephants, and thirty thouſand footmen. In the rereward were two Eunuchs, with one thouſand horſe, fifteene Elephants, and forty thouſand footmen. *Betel* one of the Kings Pages lead two hundred horſe, twenty Elephants, and eight thouſand foot. After all theſe followed the King with his Guard of ſix thouſand horſemen, three hundred Elephants, and fortie thouſand rootmen. Upon the flankes of this battell went the Governour of the Citie of *Bengapor* with divers Captaines, under whoſe colours were foure thouſand two hundred

dred

dred horſe, twenty five Elephants, and ſixty thouſand mercenary footmen. Upon the head of the battell ranged 200000. horſemen in ſmall troops, like our vantcurrers, in ſuch ſort and order ſcowring the Countrey, before, behinde, and on all ſides, that no novelty could ſo ſuddenly happen, but notice thereof was given at the Imperiall Tent in a moment. Twelve thouſand carriers of water, and twenty thouſand light huſwives followed this Armie. The number of Lackies, Merchants, Artificers, and Water-bearers, Oxen, Buffals, and carriage-beaſts was infinite. When the Armie was to paſſe any River knee-deepe, before the foremoſt were paſſed, there was ſcant ſufficient for the latter whereof to drinke. Before this journey the King ſacrificed in nine dayes twenty thouſand three hundred ſeventy ſix head of living creatures, as well of birds as beaſts, the fleſh whereof in honour of his Idols, was given to the poore. The ſouldiers were clothed in garments of Cotton-wooll ſo cloſe and hard quilted, that they would beare out the thruſt of a Launce or a Sword. Every Elephant was trimmed in a covering of Cotton-wooll, with a frame on his backe bearing foure men.

To their tuskes were faſtned long and broad ſwords, to cut in ſunder whatſoever ſtood in their way. The footmen were armed with bowes, javelins, ſwords and bucklers. In the fight when the King perceived *Idalcan* by the fury of his great Ordnance to make havocke of his men, and diſmay the reſidue, leaping into the head of the battell, he is reported to uſe this Prince-beſeeming incouragement: Beleeve me my companions, *Idalcan* ſhall rather boaſt that he hath ſlaine, than overcome a King of *Narſinga*. With which words and enſample, his ſouldiers all inflamed, and aſhamed of their cowardize, with a furious charge broke the enemies aray, and put *Idalcan* to flight. Amongſt other ſpoiles they tooke foure thouſand *Arabian* horſes, one hundred Elephants, foure hundred great peeces, beſides ſmall. The number of Oxen, Buffals, Tents, and Priſoners, was ineſtimable. With *Idalcan* were forty *Portugals*, with the then King

King of *Narsinga* twenty. In his reigne two of his Captaines rebel'd; *Virapanai* usurped *Negapatan*, and *Veneapatir* the territory adjoyning to *Matipura*.

Calecute.

THe most noble part of *India* is that which lieth betweene the Mountaine *Gate*, and the *Indian* Ocean. It stretcheth from *Cape Comerin*, to the River *Canqiericor*, three hundred leagues long. In this Province reigneth the King of *Calecute*, though he may not be compared with the Prince above spoken of for number and power, yet for pleasant & plentifull situation, he may be said farre to surpasse him. For the Region is so cut (as it were) into many parcels, sometimes by creekes of the Sea, sometime by Rivers, and sometime by Lakes, that Nature (as it should seeme) would have it divided into severall Provinces, as *Travancar*, *Colan*, *Cochin*, *Crangonar*, *Calecute*, *Tavo*, and *Canonor*. A few yeares agoe, *Pereimal* King of all *Malabar*, ruled these Provinces, who after he became a Mahumetan, and resolved to travell to *Meca*, there to spend the remnant of his dayes, divided the land into many principalities, but with this *proviso*; That all soveraigne authority should rest in the King of *Calecute*, with the title of *Samori*, which signifieth Emperour, or as some write, God on earth. Although the reputation of this King be much eclipsed by the *Portugals*, partly by diversion of trafficke from his Countries, and partly by assisting his rebels and vassals (the Kings of *Tavor* and *Cochin*) and though his title of *Samori* be little regarded, yet retaineth he his wonted Majestie in very good sort amongst the *Barbarians*. *Calecute* is five and twenty leagues long: *Malabar* in the broadest place exceedeth not ten.

The City of *Calecute* (from whence the Province taketh his name) is three miles long, situated upon the Sea side. It

 containeth

containeth but few houſes, and thoſe of little worth, not above ten, fifteene, or twenty nobles rent by the yeare, which is the common rent of all the houſing of the Eaſt *Indies*, if the *Arabians* or *Portugals* be not dealers therein. The Inhabitants live upon Rice, Palmito, Cattell, and Fiſh. Their riches conſiſt in Ginger and Pepper, which draweth yearely a great maſſe of treaſure into the havens of this Kingdome. The *Arabians* were Lords of this trafficke for many ages, till the *Portugals*, ſetting light by the incredible dangers of a long navigation, arrived there not above a hundred yeares ſince, and bartered their wares for Pepper, and other commodities. And as the *Portugals* enriched the Townes of *Cochin*, ſo did the *Arabians Calecute*, and that Kingdome. For this commodity is of ſuch conſequence, that it not onely enricheth the Prince with preſents & cuſtomes, but in ſuch ſort augmenteth the ſtate of the merchants, that ſome of them are comparable to many Dukes in *Europe*, and Kings in *Africke*.

In their wars in *Malabar* they uſe not the ſervice of horſe, not onely for that the climate breedeth none, (for thoſe that they have are brought out of *Perſia* and *Arabia*) but for that the nature of the Countrey is not fit for horſemanſhip. For as in *Swevia* the footmen uſe no Pikes, and the horſemen no Launces, for the thickneſſe of the woods, which make them unſerviceable, ſo in *Malabar* becauſe of the ſtreights, rivers of the Sea, and Mariſhes, they ſeldome uſe horſes, ſo that all their forces conſiſt in ſhipping and footmen. It is ſtrange to ſee how ready the Souldier of this Countrey is at his weapons; they are all Gentlemen, and termed *Naires*. At ſeven yeares of age they are put to Schoole to learne the uſe of their weapons, where to make them nimble and active, their ſinewes and joynts are ſtretched by skilfull fellowes, and annoynted with the oyle *Seſamus*; by this annoynting they become ſo light and nimble, that they will winde and turne their bodies, as if they had no bones, caſting them forward, backward, high, and low, even to the aſtoniſhment of the beholders. Their continuall delight is

in

in their weapon, perſwading themſelves that no Nation goeth beyond them in skill and dexterity. Every one inureth himſelfe to that weapon; whereto he findeth his body moſt agreeable. Their ancient weapons were the Javelin, the Bow, and the Sword; but after the comming of the *Portugals* they learned ſo exactly the mixture of metals, the caſting of great Ordnance, and the practice thereof, that (ſome ſay) their artillery and powder ſurpaſſeth ours. They goe to warre all naked ſave their privities, neither uſe they headpeeces, which is the reaſon that in fights and skirmiſhes they ſhew exceeding agility, charging and retiring more like Falcons than Souldiers. When a man would take them to be farre off, he ſhall ſee them hovering round about him in a trice, ſo that it is as dangerous to follow them flying, as to deale with them fighting. They are ſwift as Leopards, and their flight as much to be feared as their charge. If they come to hand-ſtrokes (which they will not doe but upon neceſſity or advantage) they uſe altogether to ſtrike with the point. They binde Copper or Silver ſhingels to the hilts of their ſwords, the ſound whereof inſtead of Drums and Trumpets, incourageth them to the incounter. They will lie ſo cloſe under their bucklers, that you ſhall not ſee any part of their bodies lie open to the danger. There are one kinde of *Naires* (called *Amochi*) which curſe themſelves, their kindred and poſterity with moſt bitter execrations, if they leave injuries done to their ſociety unrevenged. If their King happen to be ſlaine, ſo much the more furiously runne they thorow fire, water, and aſſured deſtruction to revenge his death. And therefore the Kings of *India* ſuppoſe their eſtates weake or ſtrong, as they perceive the numbers of thoſe *Amochi* to be few or many. By the Law of the Countrey they may not marry, but they are all allowed women in common. They maintaine thoſe women according to their birth and degrees. They muſt be all Gentlewomen, for the *Nairs* may not take any Country woman; yea, ſo great is their diſdaine and pride, that without ill uſage they will not indure any of the common people to

come neere them. In their journeyes they ſend their ſervants before to the Innes and Villages, to declare their Maſters approach; then muſt all travellers depart and give roome. If it be thought in *Turkie*, that by licentious liberty in time of peace the *Ianizars* become more hardy and couragious in war: what may we deeme of theſe *Nairs*, who will not indure a man of meane calling to look them in the face? They inhabit no Townes, but dwell in houſes made of earth, invironed with hedges and woods, and their waies as intricate as into a labyrinth. Of what force this Kingdome is, may be gathered by the armie of 60000. ſouldiers, and 200. veſſels of warre, which he levied 1503. againſt *Edward Pacheco* the King of *Portugals* Captaine, taking part that time with the King of *Cochin*: this war laſted almoſt five months. In the yeare 1529. with an army of 100000. he beleagred the fortreſſe which the *Portugals* built in *Calecute*, under the keeping of *Iohn Lima*. In this ſiege he ſpent a whole Winter, wherein although the *Portugals* behaved themſelves valiantly, yet weighing the Kings forces, and their owne poſſibilities, they thought it beſt to deſtroy it with their owne hands. In the yeare 1601. he beſieged *Caile* with 90000. men, and tooke it by compoſition. He hath more than once given an inſtance of his power at Sea. He is Lord of many havens, whereunto great numbers of ſhipping doe reſort, and in that regard cannot chuſe but be well furniſhed with a great Navie. But in goodneſſe of ſhipping, and martiall diſcipline, we muſt needs confeſſe the Sea-forces of all the *Indian* Princes, to be farre inferiour to thoſe of the *Portugals*, whoſe dominion (both at Sea and Land) nothing hath ſo much augmented as their defenſive warfare. To ſpeake truth, it ſeldome falleth out but the naked man feareth the ſword, and the armed man is more encouraged thereby, bearing himſelfe bolder upon his skill, than his ſtrength, and prevaileth more by temporizing, than by raſh fighting; whereas the *Barbarians* putting more confidence in their nnmbers, than their goodneſſe, have alwayes wanted that vertue which ſhould make armies dreadfull and fortunate, which is good order and Diſcipline.

Iapan,

Iapan.

Iapan may well be called a politike body, compacted of many and ſundry Iſlands of divers different formes and circuits, which as they are divided from the reſt of the continent, ſo are they inhabited by a people much differing in manners and cuſtomes from the reſidue of the *Orient*. They ſtand round and cloſe together like the *Maldivæ* in the Indian Sea, and the *Hebrides* and *Orcades* in the North Ocean. They are in number ſixty ſix, divided into three partialities: The firſt containeth nine; the ſecond foure; the third fifty three. Amongſt theſe, five are renowmed, but eſpecially one for the famous Citie of *Macao*. And it is moſt commonly ſeene, that they who have the ſoveraigntie of thoſe five, are Lords of all the reſt. It is diſtant from *New Spaine* an hundred and fifty leagues; from *China* ſixty. The ſoile is to be accounted rather barren than fertile. The inhabitants are of a very ready wit, and marvellous patient in adverſitie. Their new borne children they immediatly waſh in the rivers, and as ſoone as they are weaned, they take them from their mothers, and bring them up in labours of hunting, and ſuch like exerciſes. They goe bare-headed men and women, as well in foule weather, as in faire. They are very ambitious and deſirous of honour. Povertie is no diſgrace to the Gentrie of their bloud. They will not ſuffer the leaſt wrong to paſſe unrevenged: they ſalute one another with many courteſies: they are very ſtaied, and of a ſetled reſolution. They are very jealous to ſhew themſelves feareſull or baſe-minded in word or deed: they will make no man privie of their loſſes or misfortunes; they have the like beaſts both tame and wilde as wee have, but they will ſcarcely eat any thing ſave Herbs, Fiſh, Barley, or Rice; and if they doe, it is the fleſh of wilde beaſts taken by hunting. Of theſe

graines they make their Wines, and water mixt with a certaine precious powder, which they uſe, they account a daintie beverage: they call it *Chia.* Their buildings for the moſt part are of timber, partly becauſe the upland places are deſtitute of quarries, but abounding with Cedars of admirable height and thickneſſe fit for building, and partly becauſe the Country is ſubject to Earth-quakes. In times paſt all *Iapan* obeyed one Prince, ſhewing him great obedience and ſubjection, and this government endured with no leſſe ſtate and majeſtie, at the leaſt ſixteene hundred yeares, untill about ſeventie yeares ſince, by the rebellion of two of his chiefeſt Lieutenants, the whole Kingdome was diſtracted, each of them holding by armes whatſoever he atchieved by uſurpation. By their example others becomming as ambitious, ſeized on the reſt of the kingdome, ſome on one part, ſome on another, leaving nothing but the bare name of *Dairi*, which ſignifieth the Lord of all *Iapan*, with the title of *Iucata*, (*viz.*) King, to their rightfull Soveraigne. Yea, thoſe Princes which were Lords of the Territories about *Meaco*, would hardly allow him whereof to finde him victuall and apparell, ſo that now he reſembleth the ſhadow rather than the King of the ancient and magnificent Monarchie of *Iapan*. Since thoſe times whoſoever layeth faſt hold on the dominion of the *Coquinai*, (theſe are the five Kingdomes bordering *Meaco*) inſtead of *Dairi*, calleth himſelfe Emperour and King of *Iapan*, and Lord of *Tenza*. *Nabunanga* was one of them in our dayes, and after him *Faſſiba* in power and majeſtie excelling all his predeceſſors. *Nabunanga* was Lord of ſix and thirty Provinces, *Faſſiba* at the leaſt of fiftie.

The forme of government is nothing like the policie of *Europe*. The ſtrength of the Prince conſiſteth not in ordinary revenues and love of the people, but in rigour and the Princes pleaſure. As ſoone as the Prince hath conquered one or more Kingdomes, he ſhareth them wholly amongſt his friends and followers, who binde themſelves by oath faithfully to ſerve him with a limited company of men as well in peace

peace as warre. They againe to make their followers truſtie and ready for all ſervices, reſerving ſome ſmall matter for the ſuſtentation of themſelves and families, divide to every man a portion of the former diviſion; ſo that all the wealth of *Iapan* private and publike is in the hands of a few men, and thoſe few depending on the pleaſure of one, that is, the Lord of *Tenza*. He, as him liſteth, giveth, taketh, diſgraceth, honoureth, and impoveriſheth. When hee caſheereth any Governour of his Province, all the Leaders and Souldiers of the ſaid Province are changed, and none left there but Artificers and Husbandmen. This government draweth with it continuall diſlike and innovations: for *Dairi* (though hee hath neither power nor government) yet being in favour and eſtimation of the people, ceaſeth not to inſinuate into their heads, that this Lord of *Tenza* and the other Tyrants are uſurpers of other mens right, deſtroyers of the Monarchie, and enemies to the ſtate and liberties of *Iapan*. Which perſwaſions take ſo deepe root in the hearts of the people, and ſo extenuate the reputation of theſe Uſurpers, that under colour of ſuppreſſion of other, they often take Armes upon hope to raiſe their owne greatneſſe: ſo that by this daily change of Governours, the people, not knowing who are their right and naturall Lords, know not whom to love and obey: And againe, their Lords being as uncertaine of their continuance, care not for the people, nor for the welfare of their owne vaſſals, no more than if they were meere ſtrangers: but alway aſpiring by the ſame facilitie whereby they gained one, to conquer a better, after the manner of Gameſters, continually hazard one, upon hope of winning another; in this ſort ſometime one alone, ſometime many together, vexing the Iſlands with perpetuall warfare. *Faſſiba* to aſſure his eſtate, and diſable the greateſt ones from enterpriſing againſt him, doth often tranſport them from one Province to another, cauſing them to forgoe their ancient inheritances, and to lead their lives amongſt unknowne neighbours: neither in thoſe places will he ſuffer them to enjoy livings united, but farre divided in peeces and parcels. For

all this, they are never at peace among themselves, by reason that the frontiers of their pettie jurisdictions neighbour so neere one upon another. In these alterations *Fassiba* constrained as well the losers as the winners to doe him homage and obeysance, and once a yeare to pay him a rich tribute, drawing to his owne Coffers the greatest part of the wealth of *Iapan* by these Tyrannies. He keepeth his owne people busied in building of admirable Palaces, sumptuous Temples, Townes and Fortresses, the like whereof are no where to be seene: In these works he hath more than an hundred thousand workmen, labouring in their severall occupations at their owne charges. Amongst the rest, he is now in building a Temple, for whose iron workes, all the stuffe in *Iapan* will hardly suffice, and therefore he hath given commandement to all his people and Merchants to bring all iron and Armour into one place.

Besides the oath of fealtie whereby the residue of the Kings and Princes are bound to aid and assist him in peace and warre, he receiveth yearely two millions arising of the profits of Rice, reserved upon his owne possessions. He was determined after the finishing of the fabrikes, to attempt a journey into *China*, and for that enterprise caused timber sufficient for the building of two thousand vessels for transportation to be felled. By these magnificent fabrikes, this haughty resolution, this large dominion, and conquest for forren Kingdomes, he hopeth to attaine the reputation of immortality among his subjects, as divers of his predecessors have done before him. For *Anida*, *Xaca*, *Canis*, and *Fo oque*, were no other than Lords of *Iapan*, which either for their glory in warre, or invention of some good arts in peace, were accounted as Gods amongst the *Iaponians*, as in the old world *Hercules* and *Bacchus* were amongst the *Grecians*, and *Saturne* and *Ianus* amongst the *Italians*. Of these demi-gods they report as many strange and fabulous inventions, as the *Grecians* and *Italians* did of theirs. But *Fassiba* understanding by the preaching of the *Iesuites*, that there can be no God but one, who created the heaven and earth

of

of nothing, and all other deities to be fooliſh and deteſtable, determined to baniſh them all, and to weed up that good Vine which began to take deepe root in thoſe Provinces. Surely this may ſtand for a memorable example of the pride and blindneſſe of mans heart.

The Roman Emperours oppoſed their forces againſt the Chriſtian Religion, onely to maintaine and uphold the worſhip of their Idols, condemned for vaine and devilliſh by the Law of Chriſtianity: but this man raiſeth perſecution againſt Religion, to arrogate to himſelfe the Name of God, an imagination (as I ſaid before) full of extreme ambition and madneſſe. But in the middeſt of theſe proud and unreaſonable cogitations, God raiſed up againſt him a new enemie from the Eaſterne parts of *Iapan*, who as wee underſtand, is likely to give him his hand and head full of buſineſſe.

The Sixth Booke.

Of America, *commonly called* West India.

This ſpacious part of the World utterly unknowne to the Ancients, and extended upon the vaſt and raging Atlantique *Ocean, lay undiſcovered untill the yeare of our Lord* 1492. *In which yeare it was found out by* Chriſtopher Columbus, *a man of an excellent* judgement *and haughty ſpirit, under the protection and good fortunes of* Ferdinand *King of* Spaine,

Spaine. *Him seconded* Americus Vesputius, *and other famous Gentlemen, who to their everlasting memories, with infinite labour and danger, surveied that huge tract with the Ilands adjoyning, even unto the furtheſt parts of the West and South. That portion they called the* New world, *as well for the incredible ſpaciouſneſſe thereof, being larger than the two old diviſions of* Africke *and* Europe; *as for the infinite number of Ilands, diverſity of manners, faſhions of Inhabitants, variety of Languages, Nations, and Cuſtomes, with the diſproportions of living Creatures, Trees, and Plants, not to bee found or ſeene in theſe parts, which they there found.*

It is bounded upon the Eaſt with the Atlanticke *or North Sea: upon the South with the* Magellan *Streights: upon the Weſt with* Mare pacificum, *or* Mar del Zur: *and on the North with* Terra incognita. *And as ſome Writers affirme, the whole Circum-Navigation amounteth to thirty thouſand miles.*

This Continent, according to its diverſity of ſituation, is diverſly provided: In ſome places it is admirable fruitfull, in other places very barren and needy. Some part thereof lieth upon huge plaines, ſome places are very hilly and mountainous. It is watered with many famous Rivers, whoſe ſands in many places yeeld Gold, with many famous Lakes and Springs. It bringeth forth graine and pulſe ſufficient, eſpecially Maiz, *the chiefeſt bread and proviſion thorow the whole* Indies. *Wine they have none, and where they want this* Maiz, *they make their bread of a kinde of Root, good and wholſome, if the juice be thorowly ſqueezed out, otherwiſe not. It yeeldeth Sugar, Cotton, Wooll, and Flax, as with us; with a thouſand ſorts of Trees, Birds, Beaſts, and Fiſhes, ſome whereof we know, and other ſome not.*

Horſes

Horses they have none, neither conceive their use, and at the first sight of horsemen the Inhabitants stood amazed. In it are found the Spices, Gems, and precious Stones, with those huge masses of Gold, Silver, and other Minerals, which we see daily transported into Europe. The Inhabitants are of a swarty complexion, fairer or fouler, according to their different situations. Not very well favoured, but of savage & brutish behaviours, excellent footmen and swimmers, clearly in their bodies, naked, libidinous, and men-eaters. Some worship the Devill, some Idols, some the Sun, and some the Starres. Their armes are the Bow and Arrow, which in stead of Iron they head with the teeth of Fishes, and the bones of Beasts. Gold, Silver, and Stone they little regard, their chiefest delight is in Feathers and Plumes. Insomuch, that if these Countries had beene travelled into with unarmed search and peregrination; for what occasion of warre could justly bee applied unto those who neither held wealth in estimation, neither coveted Honour with ambitious emulation? No doubt but all Authors in discoursing of these Nations, could have informed you of nothing but Gold-yeelding Rivers, miraculous temperature of Aire, strange shapes in Beasts and Birds; The Sea abounding with Pearle, and Land with Gems; And above all, Man here living and conversing in his rude and anticke simplicity, under the shield of genuine innocency, with irkesome hatred of our vile customs and wrangling conditions. But alas! Avarice under the maske of Religion, and Vainglory had no sooner set foot in these terrestriall places (as I may say) of Paradise, but depravation turned all things topsi-turvie. Since when, happinesse hath taken its flight into some other Climate; and as now nothing is thereof recorded, save undermining of Mountaines,

taines, diſembowelling the Earth, exiling the Natives, unpeopling of Villages, and that by tyranny and ſlavery. For in one or two petty battels, whole Empires have beene ſubdued by an handfull of men; and a Kingdome conquered, in a manner, before it hath beene entred. And no wonder, for this ſimple and naked people had never ſeene Horſe, nor ever heard the report of the Harquebuſh. Without the which, peradventure the Spaniſh *Nation had not galloped in ſo ſhort a time to ſuch miraculous victories: no though every petty Commander, imployed in that action, in theſe daies ſtand comparatively paraleld with the worthy* Scipio, *and the Great* Alexander.

To whom in truth the ancient exprobration of the Britons *againſt the* Romans, *mentioned in* Tacitus, *cannot more feelingly be applied than unto theſe* Indian Spaniards. They are the Robbers and Raviſhers of the World. After the ſpoile of all Nations, through defect of ſtrange Lands and new Conqueſts, they ſcowre the wide Ocean. The riches of the enemy breeds covetouſneſſe in them; the poverty, ambition: which neither the Eaſt nor Weſt can terminate or containe. They onely alone covet the wealth and penury of all Nations with equall greedineſſe and affectation. On Robbery, Murther, and Villany, they colourably impoſe the glorious title of Empery. Solitude and deſolation they terme Peace and Tranquillitie.

So that had not Charles *the Emperour caſt ſtrict reines upon theſe licentious and injurious proceedings,* Spaine *had ſwarmed with ſlaves, and* India *had quite beene bereaved of almoſt all her Natives. Of foure hundred thouſand Inhabitants living in* New Spaine *at the arrivall of theſe* Spaniards, *the Country at this day can ſcant ſhew*

you

son eight thousand. About the like number you shall finde in the Honduras, *remaining of foure hundred and ten thousand; when the* Spaniards *therein set first footing. If you reade their owne Histories you shall meet with no better accounts concerning the present Inhabitation of* Hispaniola, Guatimala, Nicuragua, *and the Ilands adjacent. The greatest number whereof were either slaine, led captives, or consumed in the Mines. Doubtlesse in divulging of the aforesaid Proclamation, the good Emperour could not chuse but remember that God (whose judgements are profound) did once by the cruelties of the* Goths, *the* Huns, *and* Saracens, *waste* Italy, *persecute* France, *and consume* Spaine; *and the consumers were againe consumed in fulnesse of time. So may it fall out with those, who following the steps of their Predecessors, take a glory to amaze the Sea with Ships, and the Land with Armies. Time may come, that Pride shall burne and be consumed with warre; and he that buildeth his house wrongfully upon the ruine of another, shall himselfe become a booty to Aliens and Strangers. The linage of the* Moores *is not quite extinguished. The race of the* Indians *is not utterly extirpated. That progeny as yet surviveth in* Italy, *which in times past and in one day, at one watchword, slue all the loose* French *Vsurpers of other mens fortunes. And albeit that the fatall cowardize of these Nations dare not presume to arme themselves against their Oppressors yet there raigneth a just God in Heaven, who can raise footmen and horsemen from the utmost bounds of the North to asswage and correct the intemperate insolency of blond-thirsty Tyrants.*

New

New Spaine, or Mexico.

NEw *Spaine* is a very large Province, better manured, pleasanter, and more populous than any part of this New world. It was possessed by the *Spaniard*, in the yeare 1518. under the leading of *Ferdinando Cortez*, to the great slaughter of the Inhabitants, and of his owne people. In reward of whose service, *Charles* the fifth bestowed on him the Countrey of *Tecoantepec*. Although it lye under the *Torrid Zone*, yet it is temperate, mountainous, and full of woods. It aboundeth with all good things necessary for life, and profitable either for thrift or pleasure, as fish, flesh, gold and stones. Of all part of the *Indies* none is like unto it for habitation. For therein the *Spaniards* have erected many Colonies, as *Compostella, Colima, Purificatio, Guadalara, Mechoochan, &c.*

Whereof the best and fairest is *Mexico* thorow the whole *Indies*. It should seeme the Shire tooke its name from the Citie. In ancient time it was built in the middest of the Lake, like *Venice*, but *Cortez* removed it to the banke therof. It is at this day a Citie excellent well built, containing six miles in compasse, one part whereof the *Spaniards* inhabit, the residue is left to the Natives. In this Citie the Vice-Roy and Archbishop keepe their Seats, having the privileges of supreme Justice, Printing and Coyning. The Lake whereon the Citie is built, is salt, and ebbeth and floweth, as the Ocean. At ebbe it sendeth its waters into another Lake adjoyning, but fresh; it yeeldeth no fish, but wormes, which in Summer putrifie and corrupt the aire; and yet of the waters thereof they boile great store of salt. The circuit of both these Lakes is about fiftie leagues, and about the bankes, and in the Islands, doe lye above fiftie Townes, every one consisting of ten thousand housholds. Upon these waters

ters doe ferry fiftie thousand Boats, which they terme *Canoas*, to serve the use of the Citie.

This Countrey was an *Indian* Empire, full of order and State; as having seene a succession of ten Kings, and enjoying a Soveraigntie over the neighbour Provinces. But all this was about an hundred yeares since utterly overthrowne by *Ferdinando Cortez*, who with nine hundred *Spaniards*, assisted with an hundred thousand *Indians* of *Tlascalan* (neighbours and enemies to the *Mexicans*) with the helpe also of eightie Spanish horse, the terrour of seventeene field-peeces, and a fleet of twelve or thirteene Pinnaces, and six thousand *Indian Canoas*, to trouble the Towne on the Lake side; performed this great, but easie worke; made an absolute Conquest of the Empire of *Mexico*; and imposed the name of *New Spaine* upon it. The Citie hath at this day six thousand houses of *Spaniards*, and sixtie thousand of the native *Indians*. The gold and silver of these parts is neither so much, nor so good as that of *Peru*; but Merchandize, Mechanicks and Husbandrie, infinitely more flourish. Some one private man the *Spaniards* report to be master of thirtie, yea fortie or fiftie thousand head of Cattell. The profits arising from hence to the King of *Spaine*, will not the *Spanish* Writers suffer to be intirely knowne: This they bragge of; that the yearely fishing of the Lake of *Mexico*, is worth twenty thousand crownes: and that *Mexico* Citie glories in foure faire things; Women, Cloaths, Streets and Horses.

Guatimala.

IT is both the name of a Towne, as also of the Province. The Old-towne, so called, was destroyed by the fall of an Hill, thereunto adjoyning, and an hundred and twentie *Spaniards* miraculously overwhelmed with the ruine thereof. About three miles from thence is the New-towne situated, containing eightie or ninetie faire stone houses therein, all covered with tile. It is much subject to Earth-quakes, but other-

otherwiſe of a good temperate aire, fruitfull of corne, and plentifull of trees brought out of *Spaine*, which doe not well proſper therein.

Fonduras.

IT is a great Countrey, and was exceeding well inhabited before the arrivall of the *Spaniards*. And howbeit they boaſt of the erection of five Townes therein, yet all of them conſiſt not of above an hundred and twentie, or an hundred and thirtie houſes, and thoſe for the moſt part built of reeds, and ſtraw; yea, and but poorely inhabited, becauſe the gold, which is their ſole deſire, beginneth to faile.

Nicaragua.

NIcaragua ſtretcheth towards the South-ſea, lying South-eaſt from *Mexico*, and is not very great, but rich, fruitfull and pleaſant, inſomuch as the *Spaniards* call it *Mahomets* Paradiſe; but ſo extreme hot, that it is not to be travelled by day, but by night. It ſhould ſeeme that their Winter begimneth in *May*, for from thence it raineth ſix whole moneths; the other ſix are very faire and drie, and day and night being of equall length. Honey, Wax, Cotton-wooll, and Balſam grow there in great abundance, with many other kinds of fruits, which are neither found in other Provinces, nor yet in *Hiſpaniola*. There are ſome few Kine, but many Hogs, and thoſe brought from *Spaine*. Parrots are there as common as Crowes in *England*. The Countrey is well repleniſhed with *Indian* Villages, their ſmall houſes conſiſting of reeds and ſtraw. The gold that they have is brought from other places, and ſo is all other metall. In manners they reſemble the *Mexicans*, and ſo in apparell, and language, ſave that the *Mexican* is the better; with the uſe whereof a man may travell fifteene hundred miles, and is

eaſily

casily to be learned. One Lake it hath three hundred miles about, which hath no vent into the Ocean: The chiefe Cities are *Nueva*, *Granado*, and *Leo*, the Seat of a Bishop.

Cuba.

Cuba or *Fernandina* is a great Island, and by reason it hath on the East-side Saint *Domingo*, on the West *Iucatan*, on the North *Florida*, and on the South *Iamaica*, it is very much frequented by Merchants. It is more long than broad, and containeth in length, from East to West three hundred miles, and from North to South threescore and ten. In breadth it is not above nineteene miles, in some places but fifteene. The ground is high, rough, and full of Hils, the Rivers small, yet rich of Gold and Copper. The aire is temperate, but of the coldest. The soile affordeth great store of Mather; it is full of Woods, and fresh-fish by reason of the faire Rivers therein. It boasteth of six Townes inhabited by *Spaniards*; whereof that of Saint *Iames* is a Bishops See; and *Havana* the chiefe Staple, where yearely all the ships make their *Rendevouz*. The people resemble those of *Hispaniola*, but differ in speech, and goe all naked; being now almost rooted out, and supplanted by the *Spaniards*. Here though the Gold bee course, yet the Brasse is most pure. It beareth plentie of Sugar, Ginger, Cassia, Aloes, Cinamon. The common people may not eat Serpents, it being meat for their masters.

Iamaica, *or the Ile of Saint* Iago.

I*Amaica* lieth seventeene degrees on this side the Equinoctiall, and hath on the East S. *Domingo*, on the West the Cape of *Iucatan*, on the North *Cuba*, and on the South *Lacerena*. The breadth surpasseth the length, being from East to West about fiftie miles, and from North to South

twentie. In it the greater part of the Inhabitanes by farre are *Spaniards*, sixtie thousand Natives being by them destroyed, like their neighbours of *Lucaya*. It is very fruitfull both toward the Sea, as also to the Inland: and was in times past very populous, and such as were more wittie and subtill both in warre and other professions, than were their neighbours. It yeeldeth also Gold, and very fine Cotton-wooll: And at this present it is full of such beastials as the *Spaniards* have brought thither out of *Spaine*. The women here killed their owne children, rather than suffer them to serve the *Spaniards*.

Hispaniola.

Hispaniola, which the Natives call *Haitie*, for greatnesse is the second Island in those parts. On the East-side lieth Saint *Iohns*, on the West *Cuba* and *Iamaica*, on the North the Islands of the *Canibals*, and on the South the firme land. The Compasse thereof is foure hundred *French* miles, being broader than it is long. For in length it is from East to West an hundred and fiftie miles, and from North to South fortie miles. It is stored with Azure, Basill-wood, Cotton-wooll, Amber, Gold, Silver, and abundance of Sugar. It is so fruitfull, that within sixteene dayes, Radishes, Lettuce, and Cole-wort will ripen, and be readie to be eaten; and within six and thirtie, Melons, Cucumbers and Gourds will be as forward. It hath many Townes, whereof that of Saint *Domingo* is the principall, as containing above five hundred houses, and those inhabited by *Spaniards*, and built after the *Spanish* fashion. Next their Gold, their greatest trading is Sugar and Hides: For all sorts of Cattell brought thither out of *Spaine*, have so prospered therein, that some are owners of six or eight thousand beasts. Here are the *Spaniards* said to have wasted three millions of *Indians*. The Gold is better here than in *Cuba*; The Sugar yeelds twentie or thirtie fold, and Corne an hundred fold. Foure goodly

ly Rivers it hath, and five or six handsome Townes of *Spaniards*.

Boriquen.

Boriquen, or the Iland of Saint *Iohn*, on the East hath the Island of Saint *Cruz*, on the West other small Islands, Northward Saint *Domingo*, and on the South the Cape of *Paria*. From East to West it is fiftie miles long, and eighteene broad. In forme it is almost square, and is populous, well housed, having many good Havens, and repleniſhed with Woods. The Inhabitants are valiant, and have Warre continually against the *Canibals*. Upon the Northside it is rich in gold, but towards the South fruitfull of bread, grasse, fruit and fish. The two chiefe Townes are Saint *Iohns*, and *Puerte Rico*.

Should I run over all the Coast of *Paria*, and there tending *Brasilia*, never give over untill I had shewed you the streight of *Magellan*, with the description and relation of the people, and *Pentagones* inhabiting all those tracts, I could shew you nothing but heathenisme, barbarisme, and men of strange and uncouth behaviours.

No better can be related of *Quivira*, *Florida*, *Norumbega*, *Terra Labratoris*, *Estotilant*, &c. Provinces in themselvos good, fertill, and all situated towards the North.

Virginia.

THe Natives call it *Aphaleken*: It lyes betweene *Florida* and *Norumbega*; the West part is yet undiscovered, but the East is bounded with the *Mar del Noort*. Discovered it was *Anno* 1584. at the directions of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and named *Virginia*, by our *Virgin Queene Elizabeth*.

The soile is said to be marvellous good for Corne and Catteil, wonderfull hopefull for Mines of Copper and Iron:

plentifull in materials for ſhipping, as Timber, Pitch and Tarre; here be Cedars and Vines alſo, Oyle, ſweet Gummes and Simples for Dyars, with many other moſt uſefull Commodities. The more to blame they that bring us nothing from thence but Tobacco; which now begins to be ſo baſe and low prized, that it is ſcarcely worth the coſts and labour. The Northerne parts of *Virginia* be called *New England*; better diſcovered and inhabited. Both Plantations have ſeverall Townes and Forts of the *Engliſh* upon them.

Nova Francia.

THis lyes parted from *Virginia* by *Norumbega*; and had the name from the *French* Diſcoverer, *Iaques Cartier*, ſome hundred yeares ſince. Though the ſoyle be none of the fruitfulleſt, and the people none of the civilleſt, yet have the French-men here gone forward with their plantation; eſpecially about *Canada*, the chiefe Towne of it: a place much ſpoken of within theſe two yeares, for thoſe two rich prizes of Furres and Bevers (with which it ſeemes the Countrey aboundeth, though of a courſer wooll than the Ruſſian) lately fetcht from thence by Captaine *Kirke* our Countriman.

THE

The Seventh Booke.

America Magellanica,

Or

Peruana.

MAgellanica *is the sixth part of the World, which as it is least knowne, so without doubt it containeth many large Provinces, and those five in number,* viz, Castella del Oro, Popaiana, Brasilia, Chile *and* Peru: *Whereof* Peru *is so famous, that sometime under that name, all that huge tract is contained, and named* Peruana. *The Islands thereof are* Iava major, *and* Iava minor, Timore, *the* Moluccæ, Los Romoros, *and the Islands of* Salomon. *It is separated from* New Spaine *by a narrow peece of ground, not above seventeene miles in breadth, called the Streight of* Darien. *It containeth threescore and foure degrees, and extendeth on the South-side the Line to fiftie two, and on the North-side to twelve; That, which by the* Spaniards *at this day is bounded betweene* Villa de la Plata, *and the Province* Quito, *(in length from North to South, seven hundred miles, and in breadth from East to West, about one hundred) is properly* Peru;

A fruitfull, ſound, populous and well inhabited Countrey; wherein, aſwell for thoſe beatitudes, as for the riches thereof (being infinite) the Vice-Roy of that Diviſion keepeth his reſidence.

It divideth it ſelfe into three parts; The Plaines, the Sierras *(mountaines,) and the* Andes.

The Plaines lye upon the Sea-coaſt, and are out-ſtretched in length by the ſpace of one thouſand and five hundred miles, in breadth they are not above threeſcore, and where they are narroweſt thirtie. Theſe Plaines are gravelly, full of deſarts, and for the moſt part barren, eſpecially where freſhets and lakes are wanting, being never releeved with raine nor ſhowers. Thoſe grounds that lye nigh the bankes of the Rivers, are very fruitfull, by reaſon of the diſcent of water all the Winter, diſtilling from the mountaines and rockes, which are not paſt ſeven or ten miles aſunder: the reſidue further off, the husbandmen doe enforce with great induſtry by letting in ſluces, and digging of channels to their plentifull harveſt of Cotton-woull and Corne. The Inhabitants of this tract are a baſe people, cowardly and poore, ſleeping and living under trees and reeds, and feeding upon fiſh and raw fleſh. The Mountaine Countrey is extended from North to South about one thouſand miles, being diſtant not above twentie leagues from the Sea, and in ſome places leſſe. They are very cold, and ſubject to continuall ſnow, wanting wood, and incumbred with Lions, Wolves, blacke Beares, Goats, and a certaine beaſt like a Camell, of whoſe woull they worke them garments, and other utenſils. Theſe Mountaines are full of Inhabitants, fertill and bateſull, eſpecially where the aire is indurable, and the Inhabitants more wittie, courageous, and civiller than the reſidue.

The

The Andes are likewise mountaines: but lying in one continuall ridge without valleys, extending from North to South. Betweene which and the former, lyeth Callao, a Province full of Mountaines also, subject to cold, yet very populous. Thus much of the nature (in generall) of these halfe known places, of the soile and people: of their forces little can be spoken, by reason of their subjection to the Spaniard, and inforced ignorance in matters of armes and policy.

It is rich in gold and silver, more than any Country in all the World, as may appeare by the yearely quantities thereof brought from thence. Yet say the Inhabitants, that in respect of the remainder, it is no more than if a man should take a few graines out of a sacke full of Corne. Which surely may carry some presumption of truth, considering what Authors write of Atabalipa his ransome, offered and performed in those daies, when Avarice was not in halfe so much request as now it is.

It wanteth no good thing that God hath created for the use of man, either for pleasure or necessity. Onely in this it is dispraisable, that (for the greater part) it bringeth forth Inhabitants of savage, irreligious, and inhumane behaviour, delighting in devouring of mans flesh, with other uncleane and undressed viands.

Summer and Winter beginneth with them as with us, upon the Hils; but in the plaine land it is cleane contrary. For when it is Summer in the Hils, it is Winter in the plaines: So that there the Summer beginneth in October, and continueth till April. Which for the exceeding strangenesse, I have the rather noted, to see a man upon one day in the morning (in one and the same Country) travelling from the Hils to be well wet with raine, and before night to arrive in a pleasant & sun-shining Country, where from the

beginning of October (that is all their Summer long) it seldome or never raineth so much as to lay the dust in the high waies. But then it is sultry hot in the Plaines, and when any small due falleth, then is it faire weather on the Hils.

Yea, when the South-west winds blow in the plaine Country, which in other places are commonly most, and causes of raine, there they are of cleane contrary effects.

Castella Aurea.

OUR golden *Castile*, is that part of the firme land (so called by the *Spaniards*) which stretcheth from the City *Theonima* and *Panama*, even to the bay of *Vrava* and Saint *Michael*, and taketh up all that streight wherewith these two spacious parts of the New world, are linked as it were with a defensible chaine. It is badly inhabited, and lesse manured for the contagiousnesse of the aire and standing waters. Yet are there therein two famous Cities; *Theonima* or *Nombre de dios* situated on the North Sea, and *Panama* on the *Peruvian* or *Pacificke* sea. And whatsoever Merchandise is brought by the *Peruvian* Sea towards *Spaine*, is unloden in the City of *Panama*, and thence transported by land to *Nombre de dios*, where it is finally againe shipped for *Spaine*. The like course is observed from *Spaine* to those places.

Of their forces little can be spoken by reason of their subjection to the *Spaniard*, and ignorance in matter of armes and policy. But as for their private commodities, as Gold, Silver, and Stones, who knoweth not, but that they are the chiefest traffick of all these Provinces. The name it hath from the abundance of Gold and Silver, and is divided into foure Provinces; first, *Castella del Oro* it selfe: secondly,

Nova

Nova Andaluzia: thirdly, *Nova Granata*; and fourthly, *Carthagena*, taken by Sir *Francis Drake*, and this yeare skared by the *Hollander*.

Chile.

VPon the South of *Peru* toward the *Pacificke* Sea lieth *Chile*, whose name hath beene derived (some say) from incredible cold raging therein. Yet feeleth it raine, lightnings, and the alteration of seasons, as we doe in *Europe*. It partly lieth upon the Sea-coast, and is partly mountainous, but somewhat warme toward the Sea-side. It beareth all sorts of fruit brought out of *Spaine*, and transporteth many Cattell, and store of Ostriches. The Rivers runne their course in the day time, but in the night by reason of their congelation, if they move, it is very slowly and weake.

The Inhabitants are tall, well set, and warlike: and their armes are the bow and arrow: their garments the skins of wilde beasts and Sea-wolves. It is divided into two Provinces; first, *Chica*; and secondly, *Patagones*; whose people are eleven foot high. Here, besides Gold, is Hony and Wine good store, and other Fruits of *Spaine*; five or six townes of *Spaniards* it also boasteth of.

Guiana.

GVIana is situated beyond the Mountaines of *Peru*, and betweene the two mighty Rivers, *Amazone* and *Orenoque*, directly under the Æquinoctiall. The Aire is delicate, and the soile fruitfull; but (by reason of the Raines and Rivers) so subject to inundations, that the people are faine to dwell in Arbors made like Birds-nests in the tops of Trees. It is so firmely beleeved to bee rich in gold Mines, that not onely Sir *Walter Raleigh* went thither once or twice, but there is a new Colony and plantation of *English* this last yeare sent to live there, at the charges of many wise and valiant Gentlemen of our Nation. The Planters sustaine them-

themselves by what God and Nature affords them for their labour upon the place. Though Gold be the chiefe of their errand, yet they purpose to fortifie and secure the place against the *Spaniards*, before they will discover or open any Mine. Our Nation hath hitherto lived quietly, and beloved of the *Caribes* (which be the ancient native people) the way to winne and keepe in with whom, being to make much of their little children. This Plantation, if it pleases God to prosper, we may in time heare more of the commendations of *Guiana*.

Brasile.

Brasile lyeth betweene the two mighty Rivers of *Maragnon* upon the North, and *Rio de la plata* upon the South. It was discovered by *Americus Vespuccius* in the daies of King *Emanuel*. The Country in a manner is all pleasant, faire weathered, and exceeding healthfull, by reason that the gentle winds from Sea doe cleare and evaporate all the morning dewes and clouds, making the aire fresh and cleare. It is well watered, and divided into Plaines and easie Mountaines, fertile, alwaies flourishing, full of Sugar-canes, and all other blessings of Nature. For hither the Portugals have brought all sorts of *Europe* Plants with good successe, and have therein erected many Ingenors to try their Sugars. Hence comes our Brasile-wood, the trees whereof are by the Natives hollowed as they stand, to make houses and dwelling places.

Terra

Terra Australis.

THis Land was lately found out, and by our lateſt Coſmographers, for the great and ſpacious circuit thereof, as comprehending many large Regions (*viz.*) *Pſitacorum regio*, *Terra del fouge*, *Beac*, *Lucach*, and *Maletur*, deſcribed for the ſixth part of the world. But what people inhabit them, what faſhions they uſe, or what profitable commodity fit for the life of man they afford, it hath not yet beene by any man diſcovered.

Borealis Orbis pars.

THis diviſion is ſituated neere unto the North Pole, the leaſt of the reſidue, almoſt all unknowne, conſiſting of Ilands, and thoſe ſituated about the Pole. For Authors affirme, that under the very Pole lyeth a blacke and high Rocke and three and thirty leagues in compaſſe, and there theſe Ilands. Among which the Ocean diſgorging it ſelfe by 19. Chanels, maketh foure whirle-pooles or currents, by which the waters are finally carried towards the North, and there ſwallowed into the bowels of the earth. That *Euripus* or whirl-poole, which the *Scythicke* Ocean maketh, hath five inlets; and by reaſon of his ſtreit paſſage and violent courſe is never frozen. The other *Euripus* on the backſide of *Groneland* hath three inlets, and remaines frozen three moneths yearely; its length is thirty ſeven leagues. Betweene theſe two raging *Euripi* lyeth an Iland (about *Lappia* and *Biarmia*) the habitation (they ſay) of the *Pigmies*. A certaine Scholler of Oxford reporteth, that theſe foure *Euripi* are ingulphed with ſuch furious

trious violence into ſome inward receptacle, that no ſhip is able with never ſo ſtrong or oppoſite a gale to ſtem the current. And that at no time there bloweth ſo much wind as will move a wind-mill. This is likewiſe the report of *Giraldus Cambrenſis* in his marvels of *Ireland*. But *Blundevile* our Countryman is of a contrary opinion, neither beleeving that either *Pliny*, or any other *Roman* came ever thither to deſcribe this promontory: or that the Frier of *Oxford*, without the aſſiſtance of ſome cold Deuill out of the middle region of the Aire, could approach ſo neere as to meaſure thoſe cold parts with his *Aſtrolabe*. So that (as we ſaid in the beginning) this is but a meere folly and a fable, which ſome mens boldneſſe made other mens ignorance to beleeve.

And thus conclude wee our Relations.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY FEB 15 23 CAMBRIDGE

THE

THE TABLE.

A

Ægypt. 455
Æthiopia Superior. 444
Inferior. 460
Africa. 422
America. 625
Armenia the greater. 545
Asia. 460
Austria. 274

B

Barbarie. 427
Bavaria. 301
Bethlen Gabor his Estate in Transylvania, 394. in Hungaria, 399. a briefe Chronicle of his life and fortunes. ibid.
Bohemia. 277
Borealis orbis pars. 643
Boriquen. 635
Brandenburg. 300
Brasil. 642
Brittaine. 74

C

Alecute. 617
Castella Aurea. 640
Cathay. 498
Chile. 641
China. 589
Cuba. 633

D

Denmarke. 207
Desarts, their descriptions and use. 45.
Dominion, the meanes to inlarge it. 19

E

Urope. 62

F

Ez. 434
Fonduras. 632
France. 122

G

Elderland. 202
Geneva. 304
Genoa. 337
Groningen. 203
Guatimala. 631
Guiana. 641

H

Ebrides. 121
Hispaniola. 634
Holland.

Holland. 201
Hungarie. 378

I

Iamaica. 633
Iapan. 621
Ilands of England. 129
India Asiatica, *or* East-India. 574
Ireland. 68
Italy. 317
Iudea. 551

K

Kathaia. 498

L

Lorrayne. 428
Lybia. 376

M

Malta. 373
Man the Ile. 120
Manly Arts breed martiall valour. 29
Mantua. 362
Mariſhes, their deſcription and uſe. 44
Mexico. 630
Millaine. 336
The Great *Mogor.* 578
Moldavia, 539
Mona. 120
Monomotapa: 453
Moravia. 278
Moſcovia. 463
Mountaines, their deſcription and uſe. 42

N

Naples Kingdome. 330
Narſinga. 613
Natolia. 540
Navarre. 194
Negroes Land. 429
Netherlands. 195
New Spaine, 630
Nicaragua. 632
Norwey. 212
Nova Francia. 636
Numidia. 427

O

OF *Obſervation.* 1
Over-Iſel. 203

P

Palatinate. 285
People of the North, their conſtitutions, complexions, and natures. 8. Of the South. 12. Of the middle Region. 15
Perſia. 563
Peru. 637
Poland. 409
Popes Eſtate. 320
Preſter Iohn. 444

R

Religion, a great advancer of Monarchie. 30
Rewards military, the benefit of them. 30
Rivers, their uſe in preſerving of Empire. 41
Roman Empire. 262
Ruſſia. 463

S

Savoy. 364
Sarmatia. 463

Saxonie

Saxonie. 287
Situation, the aptnesse of it for Empire. 35
Of the *Situation* of Nations. 4
Scotland. 114
Sea, the commodities in inlarging Empire. 29
Seigniories, divers pettie ones easily overcome one by one, by a common enemie. 37
Siam. 602
Sicily. 369
Spaine. 222
States of the Low-Countries. 200
Swethland. 213
Switzerland. 309

T

Artaria. 494
Tartars, their manners and armes. 485
Temperature, the division of it. 2
Terra australis. 643
Transylvania. 394
Travell, instructions for it. 46
Treasure, the use in Warre. 33
Turkes, their originall and story. 554
Turkie. 505
Turcomania. 545
Tuscanie. 324

V

Valour, the commendations of it. 23. Military *Valour* how increased. 27
Venice. 339
Virginia. 635
Urbine. 361
Usage to the Wars, the effects. 27. Free *Usage* of people, a meanes to make Princes potent. 28
Utrecht. 203

W

Walachia. 539
Wales. 117
Weapons, their qualities and advantages. 32
West-India. 625
Wildernesses, their descriptions. 45
Wisdome, the use of it in Warres. 25
World, and the greatest Princes in it, and the means to inlarge Dominion. 19

X

Great *Xeriff.* 433

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
D
FE 15
23
CAMBRIDGE

FINIS.